RAIMUNDO NONATO DE PÁDUA CÂNCIO

PRACTICES OF COLONIALITY/DECOLONIALITY FOR LANGUAGE LEARNING AND ACQUISITION IN THE AMAZON

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SUMÁRIO

PRESENTATION

This book presents a study on the acquisition and learning of the Portuguese Language and the Waiwai Indigenous Language, spoken by the Waiwai (Karib) peoples of Aldeia Mapuera, of the Nhamundá-Mapura Indigenous Territory, in the Brazilian Amazon. The main objective is to analyze, based on critical Post-colonial and Decolonial theories, the meanings assumed by the acquisition and learning of the Portuguese language and how these indigenous peoples deal with this particularity of being constituted between two languages, which assume different powers in the their cultural background. The presented problem calls into question the knowledge that comes from cultural experiences and is incorporated as skills that help to demarcate identities in the school environment and in the context of the acquisition of Portuguese. The subjects shown here are not separated from the reality that permeates them. They are people who speak from a certain body and place, have histories, political and ethical motivations, as well as interests to speak in a certain way and not in another.

It is precisely because they are subjects who speak from a place, have unique experiences and histories, since in Brazil they live in a border region (Brazil-Guyana), that we pay special attention to the way in which Portuguese learning is historically claimed by them, considering that the Waiwai people, composed of several ethnicities, are multilingual and their history shows that, in that context of borders, there was always a wide network of exchanges between these subjects, where objects, techniques, rituals and people circulated and still circulate. However, in order to better understand these relationships, it is essential that discussions about the production of knowledge among indigenous peoples, as in this approach, be constituted from multidisciplinary theoretical fields.

In this sense, this study, carried out with funding from CAPES and being part of the Graduate Program in Education at the Federal University of Para, is registered among those who seek to reflect on the power relations arising from the colonial heritage and economic and cultural imperialism in the Amazon Region, marked by the contact with the colonizer, who has always used the acquisition and learning of languages as resources undertaken in the process of Christianization, involving disputes, power relations and against hegemonies in this context. As Bakhtin (2006) rightly observed, language conflicts reflect class conflicts within the same system, because verbal communication “implies conflicts, relationships of domination and resistance, adaptation or resistance to hierarchy”, in addition to the use of language by the ruling class to reinforce its power.

As a consequence and challenge to the historical practices of coloniality experienced by indigenous peoples in this country, today they have “guaranteed” the right to a specific, differentiated, intercultural, bilingual/multilingual and community school education, as defined by the national legislation that underlies Indigenous School Education. However, for many peoples it is increasingly difficult to maintain their ancestral knowledge, preserve their languages, guarantee their rights, including education capable of strengthening ethnic and cultural affirmation, and ensuring their own lives.

In view of the current scenario, it is urgent, therefore, to inquire about the so-called installed capacity to face the challenges and to reflect on the resistance and the conditions in which these peoples find themselves and also have to overcome their problems.

Our intention with this book is to draw attention to the fact that diverse voices echo in the language education and, specifically, in the teaching of Portuguese as a second language in multicultural contexts, such as in the Amazon. Signs coexist and "in them there are ideological-social contradictions between the past and the present, between the various periods of the past, between the various groups of the present, between the possible and contradictory futures" (MIOTELLO, 2008, p. 172). Our proposal is to bring information that allows students, teachers, researchers, education departments and indigenous leaders, a better understanding of the power relations between languages and cultures, between knowledge, forms of coloniality, both regarding the schools and other social spaces. We hope that the information gathered here can mainly raise the debate and provoke reflections on an education that wants to be bi/multilingual, differentiated and intercultural.

For the development of this book, as we organize it here, it is important to structure the text in three chapters. In the first chapter, "The Waiwai of the Brazilian Amazon", we present the Waiwai people, their cultural tradition, social organization and sociolinguistic aspects. In the second chapter, we emphasize the "Theoretical basis and methodological procedures", where we approach the foundations of critical post-colonial and decolonial theories, as epistemic, theoretical and political perspectives followed. After this, we address the set of procedures that make up the methodological structure of an instrumental nature, and that provides tools for effective analysis. In the third chapter, "Coloniality/Decoloniality: language acquisition and learning in the formation of the Waiwai culture", we discussed the aspects of the acquisition of the indigenous language and Portuguese in Mapuera Village, highlighting the meanings assumed by the acquisition of Portuguese in them. These questions are approached from the following matrix of coloniality: coloniality of power, coloniality of being and coloniality of knowledge.

Good reading!

PREFACE

For some time, Ailton Krenak, an important indigenous writer, for whom I have a deep admiration, who is able to see beyond what is apparent, has been alerting us to the world of illusion in which the white man is immersed. With the pandemic and the current necropolitics occurring in our country, Krenak raises a debate as to whether whites will be able to survive as indigenous peoples have survived to the present day. The extermination has spread to such an extent that it is not just the surviving indigenous peoples who are the threatened humans, but the white man himself, the protagonist and responsible for the ongoing genocide.

As someone who tells one more story to postpone the end of the world, Krenak has been highlighting the decisions made by humanity in an effort to make the project of "civilization" that separated man from nature prevail. Outcasts, he demonstrates that we have been alerted all the time to the consequences of the recent choices that we made and causing us to remember another great writer, the incomparable Saramago, he says clearly that "if we can pay attention to any vision that escapes this blindness that we are experiencing all over the world, perhaps it can open our minds to some cooperation between peoples, not to save others, but to save ourselves" (KRENAK, 2019, p. 22).

Salvation is what this book is about. This work is the result of a doctoral thesis produced in the Graduated Program in Education at the Federal University of Pará (UFPA), and which I had the honor to act as an supervisor from 2013 to 2017. Far from constituting a work on "the massacre against the indigenous Waiwai", without denying the attempts of "civilized" men to consolidate it, the discussion here is based on a project by its author to show how the Waiwai of Mapuera Village, living in the Brazilian Amazon, northwest of Pará, at Nhamundá-Mapuera indigenous territory, articulated coping strategies in a visibly unequal war. They used the wisdom accumulated by the cosmogonic relationship with nature to fight this war waged since more than 500 years ago, because for them, it meant the struggle for survival.

As a graduate in Portuguese, with experience in studies of indigenous languages, *Raimundo Nonato de Pádua* Câncio analyzes the survival of the Waiwai in conjunction with one of the most important technological instruments created by men to preserve their traditions and guarantee their existence: the Language. Living with whites since they stepped here, aware of their stratagems, the indigenous, subjected by whites to a perverse process of extermination, soon realized that the school was a resource of political power that could be used in a counter-hegemonic way.

Perceived this in the context of the Waiwai people, in the first contacts established as a graduate student of Languages Teaching Degree (Portuguese Language), from the Federal University of Pará, the author of this work, provided with a deep critical sense, allowed himself to be led by the experience with the difference. Mediated by the school space, the interaction with the Waiwai made an interlocutor out of this vigorous young teacher. The exercise of listening was producing a great sense of responsibility and commitment to the indigenous cause. He then became a partner. Moved by the researcher's peculiar curiosity, he became an ally. In this condition, he assumes to carry out his doctoral thesis convinced that it was necessary to make efforts to understand the meanings that the acquisition of the Portuguese language assumed in the history of resistance of that people and why their dominance among the Waiwai was so vital.

As it could not be otherwise, he used vast knowledge about ethnography. Through his affective reason, he allowed himself to record data, collect information, documents and, more importantly, to extend the inter-ethnic relations he had started with that people to penetrate even more into his universe of representations. This universe allowed him to recognize people who, even though different, understood each other because they were, together, in the dream of making Waiwai traditions last for many generations, in addition to make public the intellectual capacity of the indigenous people of Brazil to survive the colonial domination policies produced both internally and internally.

Guided by a logic that places the Waiwai as subjects capable of facing the civilizing process fueled by the representation of indigenous peoples as savages, the author makes the decision to understand the resistance and confrontations of the Waiwai based on the theoretical foundations of the coloniality/decolonial movement. In this direction, it will address the struggles of the Waiwai, such as the defense of the school and the teaching of the Portuguese language in the indigenous school, within the scope of the fight against deterritorialization, which sought to surrender the indigenous people, from a material point of view, to economic and political conditions, to the modern western world, and, from a cultural point of view, to the European representation system, determined by patriarchy, racism and christianization.

Our author, taking as the center of the discussion the total conversion intended by the whites against the Waiwai's relationship with nature, mobilized by reading the coloniality/decoloniality movement, by living with these people and by the profound admiration that came to nurture and defend difference, starts to look at the collective Waiwai, who presented themselves with all the strength and energy of resistance, in the rawness of their objective conditions of possibility of survival. From then on, he launched a malleable, unorthodox look, more suited to an antithetical reading of that reality, which tries to capture the contradiction and the nuances of the Waiwai people's advances and retreats strategy. Thus, it comes to understand the defense of the teaching of the Portuguese language as an important defense strategy in struggle.

From this point of view, the discussions he has about the teaching and learning of Portuguese at the Waiwai School do not restrict the topic to a merely pedagogical reading. Instead, it places it in the context of the preservation of indigenous cosmogony, which he will deal within the spectrum of the coloniality of power; in the struggle for control of the discourse, addressed in the context of the coloniality of being; in the tension between indigenous knowledge and non-indigenous knowledge, contemplated in the sphere of the coloniality of knowledge.

When entering the debates of these three important axes of discussion, the author *Raimundo Nonato de Pádua Câncio* puts us before the historical process of formation of the Waiwai that results in the defense of the teaching of the Portuguese language. That's when the strategy is realized. In claiming this teaching, the Waiwai use their own language as a counterpoint to defend their "demand" in the midst of multilingualism. From there, we can see the historical significance of the learning acquired by the Waiwai in their relationship with whites; the meaning that the school started to assume as an instrument of defense and a resource of hope is perceived. Once in interaction, the Waiwai are appropriating the institutions of the national state, moving in the political game to lead the narrative and make the need for existence prevail, even if it costs them a lot of constraints and a certain feeling of inferiority when speaking Portuguese.

All the field material collected by the author in conjunction with a critical theoretical basis, provided by the coloniality/decoloniality movement, makes this book a unique work, of great

academic scope, which allows us to understand the meaning of Krenak's reflections, initially put forward. The discussions presented by *Raimundo Nonato de Pádua Câncio* show that if this story has two sides, the indigenous side, despite the political and material disadvantages, seems to have been the one that better managed to learn from the struggle. The unconditional defense of multilingualism at the Waiwai School is a thorough demonstration of learned wisdom. Their resistance is a life lesson capable of making us doubt even if the whites, in a not so distant future, will be able to survive the destruction they inflict on themselves.

Belém, September 20th, 2020.

Prof. Sônia Maria da Silva Araújo

CHAPTER 1

THE WAIWAI OF THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON

WHO ARE THE WAIWAI PEOPLE?

Waiwai, or "Uaiuai" indigenous people, as known by the ethnological literature, is a generic designation attributed to a set of indigenous groups that came together at a given historical moment and, today, inhabit an extensive region, in the northern Amazon, in the region of where the Serra Acaraí delimits the border between Brazil and Guyana. This region comprises the south of Guyana (Essequibo River), the east of the state of Roraima (Jatapu and Anauá Rivers) and the northwest of the state of Para (Mapuera River). There, they speak the Waiwai language, and others of the *Karib* family.

The Danish anthropologist Niels Fock (1963, p. 9), who much contributed to the understanding of the Waiwai culture before the missionary presence among them, observed that "Waiwai" was a term created by the Wapixana to designate an indigenous people who had lighter skin (HOWARD, 1993, p. 245). According to Howard (1993), in the Wapixana Language, "Waiwai" has the same meaning as "white flour" or "tapioca".

From a cultural point of view, the Waiwai formation derives from a mixture of original groups of indigenous Waiwai, Parukoto, Tarumã and Mawayana. Thus, in a certain context, a Waiwai can call himself Parukoto, as do the Katuena, the Hixkaryana, the Xereu and others. Therefore, it is complicated, both for anthropologists and for the indigenous themselves, to answer the question of who exactly the Waiwai are (HOWARD, 1993, p. 230). When conducting field research in this region in the years 1954 and 1955, Niels Fock already noted the difficulty of detaining this group due to the mixed origin. However, according to him, from an ethnic point of view, the Waiwai are dominated by the Parukoto; even though, from a linguistic point of view, they seem independent (FOCK, 1963, p. 9).

In Brazil, they occupy three Indigenous Territory (TI): TI Waiwai, in southwest Roraima; TI Nhamundá-Mapuera, in northwestern Pará and northern Amazonas; and TI Trombetas-Mapuera, which covers a large area between the extreme south of Roraima, the extreme north of Amazonas and the northwest of Pará. The first demarcated area of the Tarumã / Parukoto cultural complex was the Nhamundá-Mapuera Indigenous Territory, located in the States of Amazonas and Pará. The following figure shows the location of the Trombetas-Mapuera and Nhamundá-Mapuera Indigenous Territory. In this area is the Mapuera Village (or Yxamna), the *locus* of this study.

Figure 1 – Location of Trombetas-Mapuera and Nhamundá-Mapuera Indigenous Territory

Source: Elaborated by the author. Câncio (2020).

The available historical sources indicate that the first contacts of the Waiwai peoples with segments of national societies (missionary records, chroniclers and official documents) took place through the existence of a wide native network of exchanges, through which objects, techniques, rituals and people circulated. These contacts occurred also for a constant movement of fusion and dispersion as a structural characteristic of these groups, which shared several socio-cosmological traits (DIAS JUNIOR, 2005; CAIXETA DE QUEIROZ, 2008).

According to Howard (1993, p. 234), there was an intertribal exchange system that extended beyond the Mapuera-Essequibo region, articulating with many other peoples, then forming a vast network that extended from northern Brazil to Venezuela and the English, Dutch and French colonies in Guyana, stablishing a relationship that still exists today. The possibility of thinking about these relationships has contributed to analyze the articulation between the local, regional, national and transnational spheres in border areas and to understand the dynamics of identifications and representations about the "other".

According to records by Caixeta de Queiroz (2008, p. 203) the first information about the Tarumã-Parukoto was provided by Harcourt, a researcher who visited Guyana in 1828. However, the first descriptions of some peoples were made only in the 18th century, by Friar Francisco de São Manços, known as the first Portuguese to ascend the Trombetas River, when the private enslavement of the indigenous people for the missions of Amazonas began. One of the peoples described by the friar was the Xereus, who were enemies of the Parukoto and inhabited one of the tributaries of the Trombetas River. Such expeditions were thoroughly described in the

document called "Report", which is considered the most important document written about the region, throughout the colonial period (PORRO, 2008).

From 1725 to 1759, Protássio Frikel (1958), a Franciscan missionary who became a researcher at the Goeldi Museum and made several incursions into the central region of Guyana, during the 1940-1950s, recorded that there was a Catholic mission among the Wabui, in the Nhamundá River, which had been brought from the banks of the Trombetas River by Frei Francisco de São Manços. The data indicate that, probably, the Hixkaryanas and the Xereu of today are the Wabui, coming from Trombetas, mixed with the other groups of Nhamundá (CAIXETA DE QUEIROZ, 2008, p. 204). According to Caixeta de Queiroz (2015, p. 109), Friar Francisco de São Manços was responsible for the village of São João Batista de Nhamundás, and when traveling for the first time to Trombetas, in 1725, he found the Wabui at Lake Nhamundá. According to Porro (2008, p. 388), "162 indigenous from the Babuhi (Uaboy) nation were brought and settled in the mission, in addition to 70 from the Nhamundá nation, probably from the homonymous river".

Howard (2002) records that it was up to Robert Schomburgt, in the 1830s and 1840s, to make the first more accurate records of the peoples of the Tarumã-Parukoto cultural complex. The name Tarumã-Parukoto is used by scholars to refer to this ethnographic context constituted by a network of cultural, ritual, commercial and conflictual relations that shelters different groups, mostly belonging to the Karib linguistic family, who came together to form the people, today known as Waiwai. It is, in fact, the meeting of indigenous groups that present great cultural and linguistic diversity.

These initial movements indicate that the peoples of the Tarumã-Parukoto Cultural Complex experienced intense conflicts that caused the displacement and abandonment of their territories, that is, they always experienced situations of deterritorialization and reterritorialization, due to the aggressive colonization policies, which caused the separation and disconnection from the territory. It is important to consider that, for Saquet (2009, p.120), territory also means thought, social and even cosmic relations, in addition to symbolic-cultural and political manifestations carried out in daily life. This deterritorialization process is established within this idea of *Coloniality of Power*, through the progress and the "civilizing" policy of the territory.

Caixeta de Queiroz (2015) explains that in the 19th century there was an extensive network of relations between indigenous and peoples of African origin in this region, starting in Brazil, extending even to neighboring countries. The author comments that part of the indigenous population seems to have moved away to the headwaters of the rivers with the arrival of "foreign blacks" who were escaping from slavery.

At the end of the 19th century, although the persecution and capture of the people of African origin in Alto Trombetas slowed down, it can be said that there was also a continuation of the process of religious conversion, of preaching the faith among the indigenous and peoples of African origin of that region, which had an impact on the formation of villages under religious orientations, as in the case of Oriximiná.

Access to the areas where the Waiwai lived, in the border region, was generally from north to south, with travelers leaving Guyana and not Brazil. Since they were more accessible to these expeditions in the border region, due to commercial contacts with the Tarumã and Wapixana, the Waiwai suffered, around 1890, a strong demographic shock due to diseases

introduced by non-indigenous people. Then, around 1925, a measles epidemic spread among the population, estimated at between 300 and 500 people (FRIKEL, 1970, p. 44). About these epidemics, Howard observes that:

> White people's contagious diseases reached even the most remote villages through interactions. Infections contracted by the Wapixana [who inhabited the savannah region in the north] were slowly decimating the Tarumã and, at the turn of the century, reached the Essequibo Waiwai, causing their escape to the south of Brazil (HOWARD, 2002, p. 31).

According to the author, after the Tarumã were practically extinguished due to the flu epidemics, in the 1920s, the Waiwai married the few survivors and moved to their territories. Ricardo (1983) also comments that, in the 1920s, the people of Nhamundá and Jatapu were victims of an influenza epidemic and, since then, dispersed in an area of small villages. On the other hand, the peoples of the upper Mapuera continued to migrate towards the northern part of the Serra do Acari and the Essequibo River.

This process of dispersion, intermarriage and fusion between the Waiwai, Mawayana, Parukoto, Tarumã and others, according to the same author, continued until the end of 1940. At that time, it began a movement of migration from the Waiwai towards the upper Essequibo. The Anglo-Brazilian Limits Commission, in 1935, confirmed this movement by explaining that most of the Waiwai were in Essequibo, English Guyana, while Mapuera was inhabited by other peoples, such as the Xerew and the Mawayana (FOCK, 1963). According to Howard (2003, p. 57), the most frequent interaction of the Waiwai peoples with non-indigenous people (Karaywa) started from the 1950s, when American evangelical missionaries settled on the banks of the upper Essequibo River, in Guyana.

The Waiwai's most frequent contacts with American Protestant missionaries took place in the late 1940s and in the mid-1970s and 1980s, when a certain concentration of people between the groups began to occur. Caixeta de Queiroz (2015, p. 114) explains that the first evangelical front, composed of American missionaries, was founded by brothers Rader, Neil and Robert Hawkins, and by Claude Leavitt, called "Kron" by the indigenous people, who worked in the region at least since 1945 and settled between the Tarumã-Parukoto groups between 1949 and 1950 (CAIXETA DE QUEIROZ, 2008).

Neill remained in Guyana, while Rader and Robert continued their journey with the help of Waiwai guides to the villages on the Mapuera River, on the Brazilian side of Serra Acaraí. The Hawkins' team spread an infectious disease among the indigenous people, who were treated with pills and injections (OLIVEIRA, 2010, p. 23). They founded the Kanashen or Konashenay Mission, aiming to intervene and convert them, because, for the Hawkins, those indigenous were enslaved by a spiritual relationship with demonic entities, which were extremely resistant to the gospel.

As a strategy to attract them, the missionaries sent indigenous messengers to offer objects to other groups, such as hooks, mirrors, knives and beads. This strategy gradually became successful, so the population of this area increased from about 80 people to more than 250, in just three years, forming a set of groups (YDE, 1960, p. 83). Such concentration quickly resulted in a single agglomeration, *Kanashen*, whose name meant "God loves you here", making the indigenous more attracted to live in that place.

According to Howard (2003, p. 288) the conversion movement of the Xereu people, who lived in the lower Mapuera River, took place in 1954. Missionaries Robert Hawkins and Claude Leavitt (the latter had joined the Hawkins brothers in 1953) went down the Mapuera River accompanied by the Waiwai, announcing the end of the world. The fearful Xereu then moved on to the Guyana mission, where they would be, allegedly, more protected. From 1950 to 1970, according to Frikel (1971), Brazilian agencies denied permission for American missionaries to open a mission in the upper Trombetas-Mapuera, which is why they moved to English Guiana, building their base in the village Erepoimo, in 1950, on the right bank of the Essequibo river. In 1960, missionaries expanded their actions to Suriname, creating two missions: *Araraparu*, at the Kuruni River, and *Paruma*, at the Paloemeu River. These missions also had the objective to attract the indigenous people from the Brazilian side.

Frikel (1970, p. 47-48) observes that another evangelical missionary front led by the Derbyshire couple, linked to the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), joined the Hixkaryana, in 1958, on the Nhamundá River, where today the Kassauá village is located. At the end of the 1960s, there was already a very small population and at constant risk of death, due to an epidemic that was spreading in the region. In a very similar way to the Xereu case, the missionaries promoted incursions in the years 1966 and 1967 to the upper Trombetas River, attracting part of the Katuena, Tunayana, Xereu and Kahyana groups to the mission *Kanashen.* Another part of these groups was attracted to a village that had been created by the same missionaries, in southern Suriname, the Kwamará Village.

Caixeta de Queiroz (2008, p. 215-216) reports that, in the early 1970s, the definitive independence of Guyana started to take place, when a socialist government was installed, thus preventing the continuation of foreign missionaries among the Tarumã-Parukoto in that region. The missionaries expelled from Guyana also split up and started to follow the movement of indigenous people on the Brazilian side. One part of them settled with the Waiwai in Roraima and joined the missionary organization MEVA; and another part settled in Mapuera, as member of the Evangelical Christian Mission of Brazil, in 176 (MICEB).

Led by Kiripaka and Yakutá (brother of Ewká), one of the groups that returned to Brazil migrated to Novo River, in the southeast of Roraima, a tributary of the Anauá river, and founded the following villages: Pista Velha, Yauko and, finally, the Kaximi Village. A group led by Ewká also returned to Brazil and founded Mapuera Village, where the Hixkaryana-Xereu used to live. It is important to note that "In this journey back to Brazil, the indigenous are encouraged and assisted by the missionaries, by the Brazilian military authorities and by FUNAI"[1] (CAIXETA DE QUEIROZ, 2008, p. 216).

Most of the indigenous settled on the Mapuera River, in Pará, where they founded the village with the same name as the river. The inhabitants of Mapuera helped the Brazilian Air Force to open an airstrip in that region. A smaller part was established in Roraima, on the banks of the Novo River. This new village, Kaximi, was strategically close to the Waimiri-Atroari. The Brazilian government intended to use the evangelization expeditions carried out by the Waiwai to resolve the great conflict that the construction of BR-174 had generated with those indigenous, and to make mineral exploration in the region viable (OLIVEIRA, 2010, p. 28).

Oliveira (2010) explains, concerning this reterritorialization movement, that

1 FUNAI – *Fundação Nacional do* Índio is the official indigenous department of Brazil.

> Most of the indigenous settled on the Mapuera River, in Pará, where they founded the village with the same name as the river. The inhabitants of Mapuera helped the Brazilian Air Force to open an airstrip in that region. A smaller part was established in Roraima, on the banks of the Novo River. This new village, Kaximi, was strategically close to the Waimiri-Atroari. The Brazilian government intended to use the evangelization expeditions carried out by the Waiwai to solve the great conflict generated with those indigenous by the construction of BR-174, and to make mineral exploration in the region viable (OLIVEIRA, 2010, p. 28).

After the village of Mapuera was installed in 1973, the Waiwai continued their search expeditions for unseen (enîhni komo) or isolated peoples. However, other dispersion fronts were unleashed in the region, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, "in a movement to reoccupy back the area and, most of the time, the traditional dwelling places of the people (Yana), before the missionary intervention in the 1950s and 1960s" (CAIXETA DE QUEIROZ, 2015, p. 118). About the foundation of Mapuera Village, Professor Tio Tio clarifies:

> The village was founded in 1973, when we moved here from English Guyana. That same year we walked, cut down crops, burned and planted [...]. In 1975, I went to seek the change of chief Ewká. At that time I was already an evangelical. Some Waiwai were already evangelicals, they converted in 1969. The Waiwai lived on Mapuera River when the missionaries arrived. After they were taken to English Guyana, so they could hear the word of God. After that, they went to Jatapu, collected by the Hixkaryanas. We went there. Then, over time, they spent almost 22 years there in Guyana. We decided to return to Mapuera. That's why we made the village here (INTERVIEW with Professor Tio Tio, on 24/11/2016).

As can be seen, in these brief historical data and description of the Waiwai people, the movement of dispersion, concentration and reterritorialization experienced by them led to constant displacements, often motivated by issues imposed by non-indigenous people, mainly due to the invasions and interventions from the catechists fronts in their territories. The formation of smaller territories, which until today continue to constitute settlements, only began to occur after these movements. These settlements extend along the rivers of the North Amazon, on Brazil and southern Guyana.

The historical records on the advance of the colonization fronts in the region, allow to prove that the current location of the Waiwai people is the result of a long historical process of refuge of the indigenous populations, whose movements, throughout the colonial period, displaced many groups, from the coast and the Amazon Delta towards the interior of Amapá and northern Pará. It was in this refuge situation that, from the turn of the 20th century, these populations were again contacted on both sides of the Brazilian border with Suriname and with French Guiana. This time it happened no longer due to the old colonization fronts, but rather by extractive groups, as well as by travelers, missionaries and, already in the 20th century, by representatives of assistance agencies (GALLOIS; GRUPIONI, 2003, p. 78).

Since 1970, many researchers visited the Waiwai villages. According to Caixeta de Queiroz (2008, p. 27-28), in 1976, 1981 and 1983, working groups from FUNAI/RADAMBRASIL[2] went to the region of Mapuera Village for studies on the delimitation of the Nhamundá-Mapuera territory, which began to be demarcated and approved as permanent possession of the Waiwai, Hixkaryana, Kaxuyana, Katuena, Mawayana and Xereu. However, the definitive demarcation only occurred after new studies carried out in 1999 and then, in 2003, the territory with a total area of 405.000 hectares received its approval.

Although the focus of this study is the Nhamundá-Mapuera indigenous territory, it is important to highlight that the indigenous peoples of the Oriximiná region form a population of around 4 thousand people, distributed in 35 villages, located in four Indigenous territories: Nhamundá-Mapuera, Trumpets-Mapuera, Katxuyana-Tunayana and Zo'é. The latter is located on the Erepecuru River, where the indigenous people of the same name live, who speak a Tupi language, totaling approximately 280 people, organized in eleven local groups.

Before entering the indigenous territory, in the same region also known as "Calha Norte of Amazonas River", where the Trombetas-Mapuera and Nhamundá-Mapuera indigenous territories are located, there is an immense protected area. These are the Rio Trombetas Biological Reserve (REBIO), the Trombetas State Forest (FLOTA), the Saracá Taquera National Forest (FLONA) and the Faro State Forest (FLOTA). In this immense region, also called Calha Norte Paraense, the State Conservation Units (UC's), along with other federal UC's and the Indigenous Territories, form the largest block of officially protected forests in the world, corresponding to 81% (22 million hectares) of this regional territory. This block of UC's and TI's connects the central corridor of the Amazon to the biodiversity corridor of Amapá, forming the largest biodiversity corridor on the planet (CARDOZO; JUNIOR, 2012, p. 8).

With regard to the Nhamundá-Mapuera indigenous territories, it can be said that most of the villages are located on the banks of the Mapuera River. The access to them is through this river, an affluent of the Trombetas River. The latter is large and highly navigable. The Mapuera the Cachorro Rivers emerge almost at the same point on the Trombetas River, where the waterfall called Porteira is located. Cachoeira Porteira is also the name of one of the 36 communities of *quilombo*[3] remnants in the municipality of Oriximiná-PA, existing on the Erepecuru and Trombetas rivers. This community is the last location that can be reached by navigation on medium-sized vessels. It is located at a point of confluence between Cachorro, Mapuera and Trombetas.

Therefore, this meeting point of the three rivers is a mandatory camp and crossing point for the indigenous people of the Mapuera River who wish to go to the villages of their "relatives", located on the Mapuera and Cachorro Rivers and on the Trombetas River above; or to the towns and cities below the Trombetas River, such as Porto Trombetas and Oriximiná. The Mapuera River has 82 waterfalls, the main ones being: Porteira, Escola, Paraíso, Égua and Caraná. The skill developed by the Waiwai before the countless smooth and sharp stones submerged in the Mapuera River is quite impressive.

2 The Radam Project, operated between 1970 and 1985 under the Ministry of Mines and Energy, was dedicated to covering various regions of the Brazilian territory by aerial radar images, captured by plane.

3 Quilombo was the name of communities founded by slaves who escaped from the farms and operated as a shelter. These places, later, were transformed into resistance centers of black slaves.

During the ebb period, the traffic of canoes and bass boats is much compromised due to the large number of rocks that emerge in the river beds, allowing only the most experienced indigenous to venture through the narrow channels of passage amid the choppy waters. Countless times they have to fall into the water to push and pull the canoes (*Kanawa*), which have approximately ten meters long, between the rocks and against the strong rapids.

For location purposes, the Mapuera Village is in Pará, on the banks of the Mapuera River, tributary of Trombetas, a river that flows through the city of Oriximiná on its left bank. Following the climb to the Mapuera River, we find the following villages: Tawanã, Yawará, Paxará, Mapium, Kwanamari, Takará, Inajá, Paraíso, Placa, Mapuera (central village), Tamyuru, Pomkuru and Bateria (Wakri). The following villages are located on the Cachorro River, also in the order of ascending the river: Chapéu, Santidade, Kaspakuru, Tunuri and Ayaramã. The following figure shows the location of the indigenous villages on the Mapuera and Cachorro River, highlighting the Mapuera Village illustrating the idea of the route taken to reach the central village.

Figure 2 – Location of Mapuera Village in the city of Oriximiná-PA

Source: Câncio (2020).

Today there are two ways to reach Mapuera: 1) by twin-engine plane, leaving Oriximiná, which takes approximately one hour and thirty minutes; and 2) by river, leaving Oriximiná by boat, in an estimated time of 16 hours to Cachoeira Porteira. Then, it will take another 21 hours, until reaching Mapuera, going up the Mapuera River in canoes (*Kanawa*) with a 15hp adapted motor. This estimated time does not count the time spent on overnight stays and stops in other villages to drop off goods, when brought from the city by the indigenous people.

The so-called "mother village" is located on the right bank of the Mapuera River within the Nhamundá-Mapuera territory and is considered the most important village among the Waiwai

people. This village has a *cacique*[4], also called by them chief Cacique, Mr. Eliseu Rodrigues da Silva Way Way, and two more *vice caciques*. There are also other leaders, such as the indigenous pastor who preaches the gospel translated from English into the Waiwai language, the FUNAI representative, the school principal and others called kayaritomo, important people who lead the organization of that indigenous people. Among other issues, they deal with decisions and articulations with indigenous leaders from other villages, and also with authorities in cities. Other aspects of Waiwai culture, such as cosmogony, organization of social life and economic activities, will be seen in the following subsections.

In 1976 FUNAI/RADAM Project formed the first Working Group (WG) for the study and delimitation of Nhamundá-Mapuera Indigenous Territory, which define, at the time, an area of 950.000 hectares. A second WG for the identification of the area was created by Ordinance No. 920, of January 12, 1981, in order to complete the data of the previous team. The coordinating anthropologist of this last WG, Maria da Penha Cunha de Almeida, argued, on the occasion, the need to readjust the proposal of the FUNAI/Radam team, in order to include the indigenous fields located in both areas within the limits of the Nhamundá-Mapuera Indigenous Territory in both sides of the Mapuera River.

After these studies, Nhamundá-Mapuera Indigenous Territory was declared for permanent possession by the Waiwai, Hixkaryana, Kaxuyana, Katuena, Mawayana and Xereu peoples, and their demarcation was determined on November 25th, 1982. However, a new inter-ministerial Working Group was created on March 17th, 1983, in order to examine the relevance of the demarcation proposal mentioned above. This WG noted the lack of memorability of indigenous occupation and recommended the demarcation of their territories. After the demarcation, Nhamundá-Mapuera Indigenous Territory had its homologation decree published on August 18th, 1989, with a total area of 1,049,520 hectares.

In 2013 he studies to identify the indigenous territory were completed. Since then, in partnership with the population of African descendants from Oriximiná, with the support of the Institute for Research and Indigenous Formation (Iepé) and the São Pró-Índio Commission, the indigenous people put pressure this study to be published. Expelled throughout the 1950s, and during the Military Dictatorship (1964-85), from their original territories, the indigenous people of the Oriximiná region were encouraged by military and religious missions to abandon their territories and join together in larger villages, under the watchful eye of FUNAI. These data are also important for the right acquisition of the territories.

One of the risks faced by the traditional peoples of the Oriximiná region is caused by the high concentration of bauxite, the raw material for aluminum, in its subsoil. The Mining area of Mineração Rio do Norte (MRN), already has an ore extraction plant in the municipality, which shows that mining activity advances over the territories of the population of African descendants. Those who do not have territory titling feel vulnerable to advancement of the mining economy and some communities are awaiting demarcation under pressure from the mining company installed in the region.

In this brief account of the history of the Waiwai people, it was possible to verify the long and conflicting path faced by them in the complex relationships experienced, which led to intergroup processes, networks of exchanges, tensions and conflicts in their relations in movement in the northern Amazon. At different times through history, these movements characterize the re-

4 Cacique is how the indigenous reffers to the chief of the village.

sistance, formation and occupation of the territory and even nowadays, they still mark relations with local politicians, *ribeirinhos*[5], traders, researchers, and with those considered agents of threat and/or pressure.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND LANGUAGE ASPECTS

As previously observed, the Waiwai people of Mapuera Village should be considered as a group formed from the sharing of a history and transit in "common" territories, although very culturally diversified. The changes established from the relations and tensions between them and foreigners have made possible new socio-cultural processes, constituted to generate new social structures and practices. Most of them are processes produced in the articulation of cultural differences, through a complex negotiation that had repercussions on the current social organization and the forces that act on languages (Waiwai-Portuguese) in that context.

In his studies of the Waiwai culture before the entry of the missionaries, Fock (1963) recorded in his research that in four of the five villages he met, the village "owners" (kayaritomo), as he referred, were also shamans (Yaskomo). The shaman was the one who had the status of chief in these villages and articulated security and abundance, which he also did by mediating with other beings; given the privileged access he had with the spirits, with who he managed to avoid many diseases among the people. When Ewká decided to convert to Christianity and to interrupt relations with his auxiliary spirits, he was expelled from the village by the other indigenous people, who feared reprisals from the spirits through witchcraft and invocations of diseases. To become a shaman among the Waiwai, it would take a whole process of initiation. The status of shaman was assigned by a spirit (when it appeared in the form of an animal it was Kworokyam) who chose the indigenous person through a revelation in a dream (SOUZA, 2014, p. 29).

In contrast to the aspects of Waiwai culture that gave leadership base and power, the preaching of American missionaries among them was based on aspects related to Euro-Western ethics and morals and involved subjects such as work, adultery, theft, drinking, among others, given that the conversion to Christianity should be manifested objectively in everyday life. In this sense, the new religious experience spread by the missionaries "demanded" that they put themselves as an example of behavior and conduct to be followed by the indigenous people. And these new adaptations and changes should not only occur in the religious sphere, but also in social and educational practices.

Although the Waiwai established a relationship of exchange between groups for a long time, through which they acquired materials, such as nets, rosaries, knives, axes, beads, and others, the insertion of missionaries among them was fundamental to arouse greater interest in these materials. The established a relationship that had repercussions in negotiations and brought a cultural new meaning between the parties. Howard (2002) recorded some aspects of this process:

> In these encounters with whites, the Waiwai used the ritual language of exchanges as a tool to tame "wild" and enigmatic visitors, and at the same time to capture some of their exotic and threatening powers. Thus, they sought to

5 *Ribeirinho* is ta common given name in Brazil for the people who live by the river bank.

> exercise some symbolic and material control over outsiders from the peripheral areas of their social universe, and thus reaffirm their own position at the center of that universe (HOWARD, 2002, p. 25).

Therefore, this contact relationship not only served the interests of foreigners, but they were also interested, above all, to "satisfy their own ends, in an attempt to appropriate and pacify the powers of whites" (HOWARD, 2002, p. 29). The disputes experienced during the 1960s changed the nature of the leaderships and affected their dynamics. There was a greater dependence on the resources that entered the villages through government agents (politicians) and missionaries (religious). The religious conversion caused the Waiwai, somehow, to reevaluate their own spiritual universe, often attributing negative connotations, to the point of generating aversion in some of them to their traditional cosmology.

But this conversion process did not happen in a peaceful or consensual way; it incited confrontations, clashes, continuities and discontinuities, which competed to form this intermediate space which is Mapuera Village. Currently in Mapuera there are about nine indigenous pastors, who preach the Bible in the Waiwai language, the main one being Mr. Fernando Waiwai. The cultural contradictions experienced in this historical-social process are carried by them not only in their bodies, but also in their speeches.

Such transformations brought new meaning to social structures or practices that generated others, mediated by economic and communicational exchange with other indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, due to the "benefits" of modernity. On these issues, Canclini (2015, p. 23) warns, then, that it is not possible to speak of identity only as a set of fixed features. It is necessary to pay attention, above all, to the different ways in which the members of each group appropriate the heterogeneous repertoires of goods and messages available. For the same author, the study of cultural processes, "serves to know ways of being situated in the midst of heterogeneity and to understand how hybridizations are produced, more than leading us to affirm self-sufficient identities," (CANCLINI, 2015, p. 24).

The stay at Mapuera Village made it possible to capture some aspects of the current social organization and social practices experienced there. Today, the current leaders of Mapuera, the chief *cacique* and vice *caciques*, speak the Portuguese language very fluently, which allows them to establish political and commercial relations with politicians and traders in the nearest cities and in large urban centers, such as Belém, in order to resolve issues related to the education and health of the indigenous population.

When talking about life in Mapuera Village, teachers Taniw and Tio Tio gave a brief account of how this process of leaving for the city was like before and how it works today:

> At the time of *cacique* Ewká, almost everything was forbidden, especially going to the city, because of that our tribe took a long time in education; without the study we would never have the same knowledge that we have already developed today. I remember very well when *cacique* Tohoraxá administered in the same way as *cacique* Ewká; it was only when the son of Tohoraxá took over the village that our quality of life improved (INTERVIEW with Taniw, 06/27/2016).

> Today we go a lot to Oriximiná, almost every month [...] a lot of people go to Oriximiná because many have to receive retirement payment, there are teachers

> who will receive their salaries; there are those who work in health, those who have a *Bolsa Familia*[6] to receive. So because of that they are constantly going to Oriximiná. But in 1980, everything was very difficult; only about three people could go to Oriximiná, or to Manaus, or Belém, to take handicrafts to sell, to buy merchandise to bring to the community (INTERVIEW with Tio Tio, on 11/24/2016).

Therefore, leaving or entering the indigenous territory, until reaching the Mapuera Village, was not easy, it was an achievement that was shaped over the decades, according to the ideological principles of each indigenous leader, always paying attention to culture-territory-religiosity relations, because this could represent a regressive process of "cultural loss". It was an idea that was discussed and warned by the missionaries with whom they lived. The speeches of the interviewed subjects show that power relations have always crossed and controlled the decisions of indigenous leaders in that context, which presupposes the existence of a power base between them that can allow or deny privileged access to social resources, which, at that time, were scarce.

This allows us to say that it is not possible to talk about a Waiwai territory without associating it with power relations, which presupposes cultural clashes. However, it is worth noting that the power here is not only associated with the power of the State, but with the power that the indigenous peoples themselves have from their different appropriations in and over their own territories, and the way they manifest their territorialities. This is also part of the fact that traveling to the city is not yet part of the reality of all indigenous people. The ones who travel the most are teachers and their families, because almost every month they will receive their salaries. The leaders also travel with them, or those who bring manioc flour (uuwî) to sell in the city. Therefore, it can be said that the traditional territory is formed from power relations, established on a daily basis.

The search for "social harmony" is something that is always part of the Waiwai's speeches. We realize that, while they want the socialization of technologies, that provides access to other knowledge, they also express a lot of concern about the problems it may cause. Here, the "social harmony" is understood in terms of what Howard observed (1993, p. 235), when reflecting on the process of "pacification" engendered by the Waiwai to other peoples, in the sense of using the language of evangelization as a persuasive resource to pacify the other. According to the author, when considering her "backward and ferocious brothers", they felt obliged to teach them an appropriate conduct, in order to reach an ideal of a "peaceful" person. This concern with the conduct of the relatives themselves (they use the term "relative" to refer to other indigenous peoples, even if they are not Waiwai) was evident in the speech of most Waiwai, when the relationship with non-indigenous people was highlighted:

> Outside the village they can develop bad behavior, with the use of drugs, cigarettes, alcoholic beverages, and this is not good for us. It is necessary to guide them when they go to the city to do something. We say "look, you need directions before you go to the city", but not only in these situations. In the village, for example, if they are going to do something, we give advises so that nothing bad happens to them. If they bring help to the Waiwai people it will be very

6 Bolsa Família is an insurance given by the Brazilian Government for the families with a very low income.

> good, because they will bring trained people, who will be able to help the indigenous of our village (INTERVIEW with professor Taniw, on 06/27/2016).
>
> what concerns me is the disrespectful behavior towards people, those who start to disrespect their parents and family. This brings a lot of pain to them. This change in children's behavior is bad, it is worrying because, for us who live normally in the village, suddenly we have to change our behavior and this can be bad. Because it may lead us to often change, but not always in a good way (INTERVIEW with professor Wîrîkî, on 06/27/016).

Therefore, it is a concern not only about physical survival, but also cultural survival, although their knowledge should not be seen as a closed corpus that persists in time, but as something that is related, in that context, to the cultural differentiation in relation to other cultures, whose boundaries between the "I" and the "other" are intertwined in elements that have cultural, and often moral, origins. This also leads us to think that among the Waiwai,

> [...] what matters is not the maintenance of the traits themselves, but of the difference that originates the identity and that is established contextually through malleable and flexible traits. The culture must not remain in a supposed integrity; what must be preserved is its differentiation from the others, the borders, and these are drawn by elements that have a cultural origin, but are chosen in context (COHN, 2001, p. 37).

In the field diary we recorded some dialogues with the Mapuera indigenous people, with whom I had not interviewed. We always asked them questions related to customs, conduct and living in the village. Between one speech and another, many of them highlighted the rigid rules they followed and must still follow in the village:

> After many conversations in the village, it became clear to me that they are aware of the changes in terms of the levels of rigidity consolidated over time. Some of them reported that an indigenous person cannot date. According to them, if someone wants to approach an indigenous woman, they must ask the leaders to get married. It is not allowed to maintain any intimate relationship before marriage, under punishment. They say that the punishments of earlier times were more rigorous. When I asked how these punishments were applied, some of them told me that the offender was prohibited from going to the city for more than a year, and was obliged to weed the dirt track where small planes land in the village, he could not participate from the events and parties at the big house "umana", he couldn't play ball with friends; in short, he was excluded from social life in the village. The airstrip is over 1,000 meters long and over 100 meters wide. Many of them have told me that in recent years these forms of punishment have been less recurrent in Mapuera (FIELD DIARY, 22 November 2016).

Regarding the possibilities of knowledge and the formal rules of coexistence negotiated there, we observed that in Mapuera some indigenous people defends that it is necessary to rethink certain social rules, especially those introduced by the action of missionaries in the village. But for them, it does not mean to give up care and respect for anyone. We believe that this is related to the "freedom" that they wish to have to send their children to study in the city,

so that they can go to college. The fact that today there are already many Waiwai in universities, in Oriximiná, Santarém and Belém-PA, arouses the desire in many young people who are in the village to study in other social spaces. Some younger Waiwai say they do not want to get married because they want to study and work in the city. For them, marriage came to be seen as a responsibility that competes with the objective of studying outside the indigenous territory.

The indigenous anthropologist Luciano José dos Santos Baniwa (2009) draws attention and justifies the demand for higher education by indigenous peoples in recent years:

> [...] indigenous peoples have claimed the university as a space for qualified training of cadres not only to develop and manage projects in indigenous territories, but also to accompany the complex administration of the indigenous issue at the governmental level, distributed among different ministries. They want to be able to dialogue with these administrative bodies, without white, brown, or black mediators, occupying the spaces of representation that are being opened to indigenous participation in councils, commissions, ministerial working groups in areas such as education, health, environment and agriculture, to name the most important. They wish to be able to live from their territories, combining their knowledge with others from the western technical-scientific collection, which will allow them to face the situation of defining a finite territory (LUCIANO, 2009, p. 10-11).

Another issue that caught our attention was the fact that the vast majority of Portuguese speakers in Mapuera Village are male. Unlike boys who are much more outgoing, adult and younger women are very shy and reserved. Among other factors related to culture and the insertion of missionaries among them, shyness and "modesty" are factors that lead women to not speak the Portuguese language. Regarding the use of Portuguese by Waiwai women, Waytia explained:

> Girls who learn Portuguese often do not show that they know it, because they are very shy. If they know Portuguese, they only use it when it is necessary. Men do not, when they learn to speak Portuguese, they want to show it to people who speak the language. My sisters have no difficulties because, since they were children, they live with Portuguese speakers. Their communication at home is mixed, they speak Portuguese and indigenous. Their communication is totally different from that of daddy with mommy, since they speak totally indigenous, even though they also speak Portuguese. In fact, my sisters are already the opposite of other women, they are afraid and ashamed to speak the indigenous, because as they did not go to school, there in the village, they do not know the right phrases, but they still communicate (INTERVIEW with Waytia, on 06/27/2016).

Speaking Portuguese in Mapuera is still a privilege of men, since they do not feel embarrassed or restrained from establishing a dialogue with non-indigenous people. It is important to note that a large number of older indigenous women (caca) do not speak Portuguese, especially those who came from Guyana. They speak English because it was the language that they learned in the experience of living in that country. Regarding this issue, I made the following observation in my Field Diary:

> almost every day, children and young people bring their cell phones to charge in the "teachers' house". The attempt to establish dialogue with many of them showed me that only a very few of them speaks Portuguese, around two out of ten. It is also common for some people to come and get ice water. In the teacher's house, among the non-indigenous teachers, there was one who had a certain fluency in the English language. A lady over seventy years old, who does not speak Portuguese, approached him and asked for ice water in English. Whenever they wanted something, they brought a fruit, such as pineapple or banana, to give to teachers (FIELD DIARY, November 24, 2016).

Many times in Mapuera we felt ourselves as foreign, because in addition to the fact that Portuguese is not very frequent in that context, we did not perceive a nationalist feeling in people, which may be related to the confrontations experienced with non-indigenous people, also seen with interethnic conflicts. The language, the different customs, and other external aspects of differentiation, here and there accentuate the differences, and they always appear in the speeches of the indigenous people.

As we travel the river towards Mapuera Village, the locus of the study, we observed that all villages have common characteristics regarding the layout of the houses. There is usually a large house in the center (umana), flanked by other families' houses in the space, and the Church, the school and the health post occupy strategic points in order to facilitate the constant transit to these places. It is also possible to notice that between one house and another there are small sheds of flour, where manioc derivatives are handled and produced. Surrounding the village there are small plantations of fruit trees, usually mango, cashew, lemon and palm trees, such as buriti. The fields are always located in more distant places. The scenarios where the villages are located are enchanting, due to the fusion of the forest with the apparent meekness of the dark and clear waters of the Mapuera River, which is broken by the strong rapids formed by the shock of the water with the stones.

The 2016 data from FUNAI, obtained in Mapuera, indicate that around 1,062 indigenous people live in this village alone. These people are grouped into families that live in approximately one hundred houses. Most of them are built in traditional style (wood and straw), but there are also others made of wood; covered with asbestos or aluminum tiles. All the houses are "disorderly" organized in the space, along the Mapuera River, but grouped in a way so that each indigenous people can be aggregated in their difference. Some houses are already bordered by wooden fences.

The interior space of the most traditional houses resembles a small room where the nets are tied to the frame that supports the thatched roof of palm trees. Generally, the food is made outside, on stoves (campfires) very close to the ground, on which are placed animal meat for smoking (mukiado), which helps in its curing. On the outside of most houses, it is also possible to find a small space where women peel manioc and where beiju and water flour are made, which are essential products for the Waiwai people feeding.

The largest and most traditional construction in Mapuera is Umaná (called the big house), a huge house built of wood and straw, over twenty meters high, and this construction draws attention due to the mooring techniques developed by them, using long logs made of wood, fibers and straw. The "big house" was built in a strategic area in the village, not very centralized, perhaps because the most traditional meetings and parties of the Waiwai culture are held there.

Currently Umaná has been hosting evangelical services because the Church (Kaan Mîm) was demolished to build a much larger one, with more space, which is already under construction.

The Church, which initial construction was guided by the missionaries, is located in a much more strategic space than Umaná in the village. Although it is protected by a wooden fence, the access by anyone to it is facilitated due to its centralization, being accessible to those who live in the more distant "neighborhoods". Next to the Church there are two houses where SEDUC-PA teachers are currently staying, and they teach classes in high school in Mapuera. Previously, Sister Irene Benson lived there and also the other missionaries of the Evangelical Mission in the Amazon who arrived in the village.

The Mapuera River (Mapuera yewku) runs through the village and, in the port of the houses built on the bank of the river, the canoes (kanawa), made by them from a developed technique of heating and excavation of immense tree trunks taken from the forests, are moored. In general, the village scenario shows that there are different forms of social subjectivities in that place, articulated at different times, subverting the idea of the homogeneous, for the perception of a space for cultural negotiation. In the following figure it is possible to have a partial aerial view of Mapuera village, with the location of some of the main institutions:

Figure 3 – Aerial view of the Mapuera village

Source: Câncio (2020).

Schuler Zea (2010) recorded that the annual Waiwai cycle alternates between the dry season and the rainy season. The dry season is plentiful in food and collective life, while the rainy season is marked by scarcer natural resources, causing families to disperse in farther fields, "with a significant reduction in agricultural activities and others activities promoted in the drought period, such as intensive fisheries, hunting and appropriation of materials extracted from the dense forest which has not been flooded" (SCHULER ZEA, 2010, p. 183).

The main planted species are cotton, pineapple, banana (several species), sugar cane, papaya, tubers such as yams and potatoes (different types) and, above all, wild manioc, brought from Guyana. After extracting toxin, beiju, flour and tapioca it is used to make drinks with fruit

juice. In addition to *coivara*[7] agriculture, their subsistence activities are based on hunting, fishing and collecting wild products. The main animals haunted are tapir (yaypî), deer (koso), wild pig (poniko), monkey (meeku), curassow (pawxi), dark-winged trumpeter (pixko), agouti (akrî), low land paca (îîra), armadillo (kapayo), jabuti (wayam), toucan (yakwe), macaws (kwayarî), among others. Since the 1950s, Waiwai men have become used to hunting with shotguns, but when ammunition is lacking, they continue to use bows and arrows.

Schuler Zea (2010, p.184) also observed that the collection brings an important complement to the diet, since cashews apples, açaí, moriche palm fruit, peach palm and Brazil nuts are collected. The chestnut is collected mainly for sale, as are manioc flour, canoes and handicraft products. With the money from these products sold, the most purchased items are: outboard motor, clothes, hooks, thread, ammunition, soap, salt and industrialized nets. However, I noticed that the most commercialized product currently in Mapuera is manioc flour.

The production of handicrafts is a very common practice in Mapuera, being an impressive artistic work due to the particularity of the pieces produced. Men and women of all ages are dedicated to the production of various types of handicrafts, which shapes are always related to the elements of the forest. The design of the headdress, bracelets and necklace are reminiscent of snake skin, reproducing the shape of some bird, such as the macaw and the haw, or it highlights the indigenous graphics, whose features are always related to ancestral myths.

After considering the social organization of the Waiwai of Mapuera village, I will highlight some sociolinguistic aspects of this indigenous people. To do so, I begin by locating the Waiwai Language among the languages of the *Karib* family. The peoples of this linguistic family have a multilingual reality, as they live on both sides of the region where Brazil borders Suriname, Guyana and French Guyana. Their experiences of contact with each other and with the other inhabitants of the countries where they circulate, made it possible for them to speak, in addition to their original languages, the languages of the groups with whom they have closer relations and, still, the languages of one or more border countries in the region.

Meira (2006, p. 160) explains that the *Karib* family has members in several countries in the Amazon region. In addition to Brazil and the countries already mentioned, there are languages of this family also in Colombia and Venezuela. According to the author, the *Karib* languages are mostly located in the north of the Amazon River, unlike the Tupi languages, which are found mainly in the south of Amazonas. The author also points out that before the America invasion, the *Karib* family also extended to the islands of the Caribbean. In this perspective, it can be said that the current distribution of the languages of this language family also reflects the historical evolution of the relations between the original populations and the European invaders.

It is also observed by Meira (2006) that the classification of this linguistic family presents several doubtful points, because "the experts still do not agree on the degree of kinship between the various languages, mainly because there are still many Caribbean languages practically with no reliable material" (MEIRA, 2006, p. 169). However, it shows a provisional classification, where the Waiwai Language is linked to the Parukotoano Group, from the Guyana branch of the *Karib* family.

7 Coivara is a traditional agricultural technique used in traditional communities such as quilombos, indigenous and riverside communities in Brazil.

In 1953, in his research with the indigenous peoples of the Trombetas basin, in northern Pará, Protásio Frikel made important records about the spatial distribution, based on linguistic-cultural and geographical proximity criteria, of the Waiwai peoples, which help to understand the *Karib* linguistic family in its network circle in the Brazilian Amazon, highlighting the peoples of the Parukuto-Charuma Complex.

The large displacements and circulation of indigenous peoples in the border territories allow new reflections on the polysemy of meaning of the term "frontier", because the moving frontiers are also spaces of many cultural flows. The table below shows a summary of the classification proposed by the author, from which he deduces that there are three cultural complexes affiliated with the *Karib* language family:

Table 1 - Linguistic-cultural criteria and geographical proximity of the Waiwai peoples

CULTURAL COMPLEX	LOCATION	MAIN PEOPLE
Parukuto-Charuma Complex	They occupy the northwestern part of the Trombetas River basin (including the Nhamundá River and the Jatapu River).	**Waiwai**, Hexkaryana, Xereu, Mawayana, Karapawyana, Tunayana, Parukoto, Katuena.
Warikyana (ou Arikiéna) Complex	They occupy the central part of the Trombetas river basin, on the banks of that river and its middle tributaries: Cachorro, Cachorrinho, Yaskuri and Kaspakuru rivers.	Katxuyana, Yaskuriyana, Kahuyana, Kahyana, Ingarüne, Ewarohyana.
Pianokoto-Tiriyó Complex	They occupy the eastern part of the Trombetas basin, in the interfluves of Panama-Marapi-Paru de Oeste-Paru de Leste.	Prouyana, Okomoyana, Aramagotó e Akuriyó.

Source: Frikel (1970).

In this classification, Frikel (1970) warns that the Mawayana people, speaking Mawayana, a language of the Aruak family, do not fit in the Karib linguistic family, since they inhabited an area located on the left bank of the upper Mapuera River. He makes a brief list of some differences between the languages observed in that historical time:

> The indigenous clearly distinguishes: "people of the same language and blood" and "different people". Thus, he empirically circumscribes the current position and extent of the tribal and linguistic group itself, although he is aware that the same blood is not always in his veins, that his language was not always the same of today (because the dialect of the ancestors is only vaguely known) and that there was a lot of miscegenation. The Kachúyana consider themselves to be a hybrid people resulting from the crossing of the ancient Waríkyana or Arikiêna with the indigenous who once lived on the Cachorro River and who probably belonged to the Charumá group (Tunayána?). And the Káh.yana of Kachpakúru, who today belongs to the same linguistic group as the Waríkyana, declared the same Kachúyana, that their ancestors were Parukotó. In this way, the identity of language and blood has meaning only for the present moment (FRIKEL, 1970, p. 130).

Frikel's linguistic and ethnological classification shows that the Trombetas drainage basin was (and still is) inhabited almost exclusively by Karib-speaking peoples. It can be seen in table 1 that the peoples classified in the Parukoto-Charúma Complex occupy the west and northwest part of the basin, which is, the Jatapu-Nhamundá-Mapuera-Turunu-Alto Trombetas interfluve. This group includes, among others, the Waiwai, Mawayana, Karapawyana, Xeréu, Tunayana and Katuena peoples. The peoples of the Waríkyana Complex, in turn, occupy the central part of the basin, with their territories on the banks of Trombetas, Cachorro, Cachorrinho, Yaskuri and Kaspakuru. The peoples of the Pianokoto-Tiriyó Complex occupy the eastern part of the Trombetas basin, in the interfluves of Panama-Marapi-Paru de Oeste-Paru de Leste.

The relationships networks and changes that have crossed these groups over time, have somehow contributed to the breaking of border lines. Somehow, it could delimit the identities of these peoples, hence the attempt to draw a picture of the spatial distribution, based on its linguistic and cultural aspects. This network contributes to the reflection on the linguistic marks of the indigenous peoples that can compose the Portuguese of the lower Amazon region, since the cities of that region were founded in places that were previously occupied by these peoples, or by indigenous people who descended from the headwaters of the rivers to found them (CAIXETA DE QUEIROZ, 2015, p. 107). However, even though many border lines were broken, paving the way for the re-signification of new, more comprehensive and collective identities, and mainly based on Christian principles, they continue to walk with the marks of their ancestry.

The Parukoto-Charúma Complex, composed of the people who occupied the Trombetas River drainage basin, reaching the Nhamundá River and the Jatapu River, was also formed by the joint of other subgroups, such as the "Charumá" and the "Parukoto". The latter, based on a "Tiriyó" classification, was formed by a set of other groups that extended from Mapuera to Nhamundá and Jatapu. As a collective, they were considered the living people of Mapuera and Nhamundá, with other names, such as "Katuêna" (FRIKEL, 1958, p. 127-128). It was then that Frikel decided to choose a comprehensive designation for people who did not have "dialects" so distant or distinct in a compound name. In this composition, the Farukotó, or Parukotó (where the Waiwai were included), would therefore be the 'People of the Paru', inhabitants of the Faru River, which today is the Mapuera".

It is necessary to consider this historical process in the reflections about the formation of the words of the Waiwai Language, but it is also necessary to draw attention to the situations of linguistic contact, to the social roles played in the relationship with the interlocutor, among other factors, in the dynamics of social interactions and cultural processes, mediated by language. Today the Waiwai language, spoken in Mapuera, carries all these marks, but also, lexical borrowing, from other non-indigenous languages, such as English and Portuguese, have been added to its lexicon.

In the Waiwai language spoken in Mapuera, on closer examination, it is possible to perceive a significant set of words of different origin, which refutes the idea of linguistic "purity". These lexical loans may have occurred for different reasons: the need for a word to designate something new within the culture; or by influence, by "borrowing" from one language to another, even though there is already a corresponding word in the target language. We observed that among them "loans" occurred to designate objects that did not exist in that context, at the time of contact with foreigners, such as the names for orange and papaya in Waiwai: oranci - mamaya, assimilated from the English language: orange - papaya. In this case, in fact, there was the sup-

pression of a sound segment within the words, a kind of assimilation of the sounds of different, non-indigenous languages, to form a new word.

When describing the phonological aspects of the Waiwai Language, Neil Hawkins made use of the phonetic alphabet that represented, at the time, the North American tradition, where the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) was less used in description works of language. Then, there are some differences in the most usual way of representing sounds by IPA. In this direction, Acácio (2011) made a detailed phonetic-phonological study of this language, considering that, the only researches on Waiwai phonology before it are those of Neil Hawkins (1952) and Robert Hawkins (1998).

When learning the Portuguese language, the Waiwai need to understand some differences that exist between the sounds of the two languages. In relation to Portuguese, they were taught to adapt the pronunciation of the word to the phonology rules of the Waiwai Language. This understanding and the necessary adaptations demand a greater effort from the indigenous speaker, often not very well accepted, since this situation of initial contact between the two languages has caused serious problems to them. Many times, the lack of these adaptations in the Waiwai's speeches is understood as an "error", an infraction of the orthographic conventions of the Portuguese language, and it makes them feel embarrassed, which can be evidenced in the speeches of the indigenous teachers Eduardo and Manasa:

> Our students have many problems. For example, in our language we have several sounds. We exchanged the P sound of the Portuguese language for the F sound, the L sound for the R. These exchanges make learning Portuguese very difficult [...] it is important to understand that not everyone likes or wants to learn Portuguese, there are students who also like math very much, and when the Portuguese teacher arrives, many of them are not interested. So whether or not, to like Portuguese is something individual, it depends on each one. (INTERVIEW with Professor Eduardo on 11/16/2016).

> [...] some sounds of Portuguese are different from the sounds of the Waiwai language. In Portuguese we have the sound of the L, but this sound, in our language, is replaced by the sound of the R (ra). There is no sound (there) in our language. There is also no sound of G in our language, so we substitute the sound of X (xi). So we have different sounds, and it brings a lot of difficulties to them until they understand it. They have a lot of difficulty in Portuguese language regarding the meaning of some words. For example, some terms have several meanings, such as the word "manga[8]". It can mean a shirt sleeve, the fruit; it also causes a lot of confusion and difficulties because the meaning varies (INTERVIEW with professor Manasa, on 11/22/2016).

Rhotacism is very common among indigenous people who speak Portuguese, that is, the exchange of consonant [l] by consonant [r] in words, such as: "bolacha"> "buracha", among others. This phonological process becomes a highly stigmatized phenomenon in cities by non-indigenous Portuguese speakers, being an undesirable linguistic behavior by non-indigenous Portuguese speakers and, therefore, they argue that it should be corrected immediately. Caused by the perception of a trait of a language considered as "minor", laughter is the first reaction to

8 In Brazilian Portuguese, "manga" means the mango fruit and can also mean sleeve. The word can have both meanings.

what is assessed as "carelessness" in teaching the standard norm to indigenous people, and this reaction is almost always associated with the stereotyped view that people have of the indigenous peoples.

Among the Waiwai of Mapuera Village, it can be said that the use of Portuguese is still very restricted. However, it is rare for a Waiwai to be monolingual. The elderly are generally multilingual, as they speak, in addition to the Waiwai language, other indigenous languages, such as Hixkaryana and Xereu, and the English language, since many of them came from Guyana (formerly English Guiana) to Brazil in 1940. Speakers Portuguese speaking are adults, those who arrived as children or young people in Mapuera Village, and started to travel to cities and have more frequent contacts with non-indigenous people, as is the case with current leaders and their families.

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In general, children and young people speak the mother tongue which is Waiwai, and very little Portuguese. But I realized that some children, usually boys in the age group of 8 years, already know some words of Portuguese, because many times they tried to talk to me using the following expressions: "how are you?", "Okay?", "What is your name?"[9], among others. However, those who better communicate in Portuguese are the children of indigenous leaders, which are, those whose parents have more opportunities to take them to the city. When communicating in Portuguese, it is also common to verify that they use a Waiwai word in the middle of the Portuguese speaking, which causes the alternation of codes. This usually happens when they forget a Portuguese term to designate something in the discursive process. The habit of switching the language they are speaking is quite common.

The lingua franca[10] in Mapuera is the Waiwai language, as it is the most widely spoken. They defend the use of the mother tongue as the same way they defend their territory. A variety of Portuguese is spoken in Mapuera, which is acquired in adverse conditions by mostly young people. Due to the limitations resulting from the fact that these indigenous people, when adults and seniors, no longer have access to the devices that facilitate the learning of Portuguese, it generates, in some of them, a potential cultural resistance to the Portuguese language, emphasized in the idea of maintaining their mother tongue.

During our stay in Mapuera we could see that the most recurrent language, including at school, is the Waiwai language. We also noted that the vast majority of them are bilingual or multilingual. The Portuguese language is far from being considered the second most spoken language in other social spaces. Further research on this issue, perhaps, would reveal that in Mapuera there are more English speakers (and other indigenous languages) than Portuguese

9 In portuguese: "como vai você?"; "tudo bem?"; "qual o seu nome?".

10 The term "língua franca" means is a language or dialect used in a systematic way, to make communication possible between groups of people who do not share a mother tongue or dialect.

speakers, due to their relationship with Guyana. Not knowing the language of the country in which they are inserted is a great challenge, as this situation contributes to accentuating the condition of being subordinated in the context of Portuguese speakers, and establishes what Mignolo (2003) called coloniality of power, because social and linguistic subordination does not allow them to enunciate in this space.

It is worth noting that the oral tradition is still very recurrent among them. In many conversations with the Waiwai about their culture and life in Mapuera, we could see that in the history of every place there is a myth. When talking with Cuusa about the ebb of the waters, the rock walls, and the thousands of giant rocks that are exposed in the river, he soon went on to narrate the legend of the "guariba stone", a submerged stone slab that stands right in front of Mapuera, and when the waters go down, its "lonely" top gets more exposed. By listening very carefully to this narrative, we were impressed to observe how he builds the scenes, which were full of digressions, but without losing the main topic, the continuity of the story. At that moment, among others, when we had the opportunity to listen to them, we could see how much orality is still prevalent in the transmission of knowledge between them.

The introduction of writing among the Waiwai people by evangelical missionaries has always been intended to teach the records of the Western culture, not that of the indigenous themselves. The Bible then became, for many years, the only genre read in the village, since reading was superimposed on writing, given the pretension of religious conversion. However, even if the ancestral memory was repressed by the new knowledge learned, it remained alive by the strength of storytelling, by the oral narration, which continues to bring the memory of various eras to the present.

SCHOOL SITUATION, BI/MULTILINGUALISM AND INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUES

The implantation of a school in indigenous territories has impacts of different orders, since there are also several reasons that mobilize this decision. Therefore, the indigenous appropriations of the school conflict with values, institutions and procedures that are distinct from those typical of their culture. Then, new configurations are built for this institution that starts to receive its own characteristics, resigned.

It is important to observe that the introduction of school education in Mapuera Village began in 1950 with the insertion of a foreign religious mission led by Desmond Derbyshire[11], from the Summer Institute of Linguistics. This moment marks a new phase in the life of the Waiwai people of Mapuera Village, because they initially systematized and described the Waiwai Language and later taught it to the indigenous people, so that American missionaries could disseminate their ideologies.

Convinced of the need to evangelize the Waiwai, the American missionaries were concerned with schooling the necessary knowledge among them so that the Westernized teaching strategies used, under the ideology and discourse of catechization, would no longer be marginalized and meaningless in that context. The process of teaching them to write and read in the Waiwai

11 Desmond Cyril Derbyshire was a linguist who specialized in Karib languages. He is best known for his work on the Hixkaryana language.

language was based on the principle of human perfection through the word of God. Thus, the discourse of order was about absolute obedience to the scriptures, which was done through a game of hegemonic struggles, forged to legitimize Western knowledge and to hide and reject indigenous knowledge.

This hierarchical relationship between knowledge served the multicultural logic of capitalism, which wished to neutralize and incorporate difference within a social order, aiming to reduce conflicts. Ignoring the place and knowledge of indigenous peoples was,

> A reflection of the asymmetry between the global and the local […], in which the global is associated with space, capital, history and human action, while the local, on the contrary, is linked to place, work and traditions, as it happens with women, minorities, the poor and could be added to local cultures (ESCOBAR, 2005, p. 8).

In the work in which he narrates the process of Christianization of the Waiwai, Homer Dowdy (1997) comments that when introducing Jesus Christ to that indigenous people, they did not care "to impose the harnesses of Western culture on the indigenous whose jungles, rivers and way of dressing, served their needs very well". In other words, even though they were aware of the ancestral knowledge of the indigenous people, they invested in deeply knowing these aspects of the culture in order to subvert it and impose other knowledge on them, using argumentative strategies of comparison between cultures, through evangelization. And this can be seen in this excerpt from Dowdy's narrative about how the gospel was preached among the Waiwai:

> Bam's teaching emphasized the contrasts of the spirit world. –Jesus died on the cross to destroy evil spirits. Jesus cut the bonds and canceled the power of taboos. If so, how could He live with the evil spirits within you? You have to choose between Jesus and the spirits (DOWDY, 1997, p. 169).

The time with the Waiwai allowed the missionaries to learn about their culture and, with this resource, the material and spiritual power of the foreigner seemed stronger than those of the ancestral Waiwai spirits. This process was not only a catechization project, but also a process of social transformation through an educational system initially "informal", but strategically elaborated.

The Evangelical Mission of the Amazon has documents and photographs (SOUZA, 2014) that record the tactics and strategies used in the cultural encounter between Protestant missionaries and the Waiwai of the northern Amazon, between 1948 and 1962. At the same time that missionary Robert Hawkins was collecting linguistic data with the shaman Ewká, for learning the Waiwai language, he also learned the indigenous language and translated it into writing, in the mold of Western culture. These were the first teaching practices among Waiwai mediated by foreigners, which, in the following years, would result in the complete translation of the Bible into the Waiwai Language.

After that, in order to convert indigenous people to the Christianity, the missionaries translated the Bible into the Waiwai Language; this work was done by the Hawkins brothers. Among others, some teaching of the missionaries can be found in the following excerpt:

> To forgive each other instead of practicing witchcraft; to be patient and merciful to others; to overcome the habit of lying and stealing; to have the appropriate

> sexual behavior. Indigenous with more than one wife were advised to release all but one. This strategy also aimed to promote new marriages, as the number of men available was greater than the number of women. Each lesson was repeated by the missionaries at other meetings of the week, and for several weeks, until the subject was well memorized by the Indigenous. At some point, the native leadership itself would have "discouraged" the performance of night dances, as they lead to the practice of sexual relations outside of marriage, and decided to start all the festive meetings in the village with a biblical teaching (DOWDY, 1997, p. 214).

As a criticism and form of resistance to these mechanisms to impose a power of knowledge, Walsh (2013) emphasizes the need for deconstruction, for the realization of a decolonial project that sheds light, that resumes the collective memory of indigenous people. This deconstruction, according to the author, should subvert the imposition of a rationality based on the binarism that ratifies the pattern of colonial power.

The new religion started to be guided by a book, therefore, learning to read became a tool of vital importance for the evangelization and teaching of Christian dogmas, used as a main element for the "consolidation" of a hybrid Western religious logic among them, since elements of Waiwai culture are easily perceived among them at religious events and meetings, when religious speech is invoked by indigenous pastors.

This new way of relating to biblical knowledge, through the support of writing, led some to certain "contempt" with the indigenous knowledge left apart by evangelical missionaries. Soon, the first readers became pastors and preachers of the words written there. This has led to huge gaps and interstices, seen here as crossing points between the fields of related knowledge, which Homi Bhabha (2013, p. 19-20) will designate as an "in between space":

> These "between-places" provide ground for the elaboration of subjectivation strategies – singular or collective – that introduced new signs of identity and innovative places of collaboration and contestation, in the act of defining the very idea of society. It is in the emergence of intervals – the overlapping of domains of difference – that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nation [nationness], community interest or cultural value are negotiated. How are subjects formed in the "in between spaces", in the surplus of the sum of the "parts" of the difference (usually expressed as race/class/gender etc.).

It was, therefore, in this articulation of cultural differences that school knowledge in Mapuera was constituted. With the new religion, not only did a new spiritual knowledge come, but also, according to the Protestant missionary practices that initially took place at any time or place, the written text was inserted. And in that inter-place the Waiwai began to reflect on their identity and also to give a certain authority to the speeches written in the sacred text. Thus, in the space of passing through non-schooled educational processes, although systematized, for schooling itself, the first school was built in Mapuera Village. Professor Tio Tio and Isaac help to clarify how this process took place:

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Therefore, the school knowledge in Mapuera was constituted in this articulation of cultural differences. According to the Protestant missionary practices that initially would take place at any time or place, with the new religion, not only did a new spiritual knowledge came, but also, the written text was inserted. And in that between spaces, the Waiwai began to reflect on their identity and also to give a certain authority to the speeches written in the sacred text. Thus, in the space of passing through non-schooled educational processes, although systematized, for schooling itself, the first school was built in Mapuera village. Professor Tio Tio and Isaac help to clarify how this process took place:

> Sister Irene came here in 1974 [...] She taught us to write the indigenous language, but Portuguese was Otávio and another teacher that I don't remember his name. It was with them that the others learned Portuguese. I already learned in the city, working on the farm. Sister Irene did not teach Portuguese, she had no autonomy for that. She taught us some things in that language, like bathing, hunting, fishing, and those things. She also couldn't teach us English, I don't know why. She only taught us Waiwai and very little Portuguese. It also helped to do some translation from Waiwai to Portuguese and from Portuguese to Waiwai. (INTERVIEW with Professor Tio Tio, on 11/24/2016).

> After all this, Dona Irene started teaching at school, but she only taught our Waiwai language. Even when I was about 30, I still studied only Waiwai. She didn't teach us English, her language. She said that she would teach only the indigenous language at school, that we should learn only Waiwai, and that we needed to learn only to read the Bible. But then, another chief said that we should learn at least two languages. Then everything changed again. Sister Irene said that she did not want to devalue our village. She was an anthropologist, which is why she didn't want to devalue us. (INTERVIEW with Isaac, on 11/25/2016).

In Mapuera, the Waiwai experienced this duality with the missionaries. On one hand, they did not want the indigenous to have contact with the Karaywa, the non-indigenous; on the other hand, that stability broke with the dynamics of the Waiwai culture, since one of the main characteristics of this people has always been trade, the network of relations with other peoples, hence the curiosity to know and transit through other cultures.

Initially it was the missionaries who taught Waiwai writing to the children in the village, and who trained some students to be monitors. But it was only in 1976 that missionary Irene Benson started teaching children to read and write at school. At that time, four monitors were appointed to work with her: Kaapen, Karahxana, Kaytorî and Tawxo, all Waiwai who already had a certain command of Waiwai reading and writing. The missionary then started a literacy process that led the children to read and study the Bible. This teaching process lasted until the 4th grade. When students arrived in this last grade, they kept repeating that grade in the following years. The Portuguese language was not yet studied at school.

The Waiwai were not satisfied with learning to read and write only the Waiwai Language. They felt prevented by the missionary to establish a dialogue with non-indigenous Portuguese speakers, who frequently visited the village due to the actions of state institutions. It was the demands of the *cacique*, the clashed between the indigenous and the missionary, and the desire to learn the Portuguese language that led to the establishment of a school in Mapuera. The linguistic imperialism of the English language was guiding the Christian project in the village; at the same time there were a people that envisioned communication without borders, breaking with the religious program that wished to control the movement of bodies and languages, based on a civilizing hierarchy.

In conversations with the teachers at the Waiwai Indigenous School, we were told that the school's first name was "Cumual Irene Benson School". However, when a new masonry building was built, it received the name "Raimundo Nobre". The new school was all surrounded by wood and covered with asbestos tiles. When the building was ready, three non-indigenous teachers from Oriximiná were hired, who worked in the new school for a short time, leaving it without functioning. In the following years, the State government, through SEDUC-PA, provided indigenous teachers in Mapuera with a teaching course, concluded in 2012, with the formation of the first teachers in the Waiwai Indigenous School Education.

In 2000, the then mayor of Oriximiná started the construction of a new school, this time all in masonry and covered with acrylic tile. The building had eleven classrooms, a school board, kitchen and male and female bathroom, and was called "Municipal School of Early Childhood Education and Indigenous Elementary Education Waiwai", a name that was already altered to "Municipal School of Primary Education Waiwai". As the construction of this school took about two years to complete, in response, the indigenous people decided to deactivate the previous building and moved all classes to the new building.

Among other issues, the water supply at the school takes place through an artesian well. The energy supply is supported by a generator and there is no destination for sewage. Therefore, the school operates under precarious physical conditions. The construction of a sports court was started by the city of Oriximiná about two years ago, but it remains unfinished until today. The school has a library room, but it does not have collections for consultation, it only has the few textbooks that are used by teachers. Therefore, this space does not receive students to do any research. When there is didactical material, it is produces by the teachers and does not include the sociolinguistic issues experienced in everyday life and at the school.

Among other problems experienced by the indigenous school, there is a lack of a pedagogical support room, such as the teachers' room and the multifunctional room. Teachers complain about SEMED's lack of attention in monitoring education in the village. They complain a lot about school meals. There are foods sent by SEMED that are not culturally consumed by them. Currently, there is only one non-indigenous teacher working at the school, Professor Cleber Renato Lima de Almeida, who has a degree in Mathematics and is a civil servant of the mayor's office for the indigenous area. The remaining teachers in the competition were returned by the indigenous leaders to SEMED due to the need and requirement of the leaders for the capacity of indigenous teachers. In 2016, the school had 15 indigenous teachers, all trained in teaching and students of the Indigenous Intercultural Teaching Degree course by UEPA.

In 2016, the Waiwai Indigenous School had a total of 273 students enrolled. Students are literate in the Waiwai language until the 5th year, from the 6th year onwards, the Portuguese

language is taught as a second language. SEMED in Oriximiná organizes elementary education in initial and final years, and the early years are organized in learning cycles, with students' progression through an evaluation of performance until the third phase. Upon entering the 4th year of elementary school, the student enters the serial teaching system, and continues until the end of the 9th year.

The definition of the school calendar is always an issue that generates conflicts, as SEMED tends to follow the calendars of urban schools, and sociocultural activities and other indigenous knowledge are often not taken into account. Often, when a sociocultural activity is in question and it represents a problem, the *cacique's* authority overrides the leadership of the school principal, or any SEMED agent, as it is shown in the following report:

> The non-indigenous teacher who lived in the teachers' house reported that in certain periods the indigenous people go to the fields to seek food or to hunt in the forest. So, when this happens, classes are suspended, since there is, in the village, a kind of agreement regarding these situations. However, in order to handle the classes, some non-indigenous teachers have scheduled classes during this period. When the *cacique* learned that some students had gone to the school to attend the classes scheduled by the teachers, he immediately ordered them to close the school and to close the classes, leaving the teachers with no room for negotiation. (FIELD DIARY, November 13, 2016).

The Waiwai Indigenous School of Mapuera Village also operates as a School Management Unit (URGE), to which is added 14 classrooms from the following villages: Tawanã, Kwanamari, Mapium, Takara, Inajá, Plaka, Tamyuru, Pomkuru, Bateria, Turuni, Kaspakuru, Ayaramã, Santidade and Chapéu, with a total of 34 teachers, including indigenous and non-indigenous, who teaches 39 classes, having a total of 784 students in 2016. URGE's administrative activities are carried out at the headquarters of the Waiwai Indigenous School.

From the point of view of indigenous schools and the sociolinguistic differences between them, it can be said, in general, that indigenous schools are classified into three categories: *monolingual*, *bilingual* and *multilingual*. Cavalcanti and Maher (2005) explain that in monolingual schools, students use only one language, which is Portuguese or the language of their ethnic group. However, it is important to rethink the "monolingual" character of schools in these conditions. As for authors, as in other schools in the country, indigenous schools also lack linguistic uniformity or homogeneity, that is, the students' language does not correspond to the (written) language of the school, considered, therefore, a "standard" variety of the Portuguese language. It is also important to consider the fact that although an indigenous people no longer communicate in their mother tongue, this embargoed indigenous language can remain in the imagination of its speakers, characterizing a situation of "symbolic bilingualism".

According to the authors, in bilingual studies students make effective use of two languages: in this case, an indigenous language and the Portuguese language. But it is important to pay attention to the fact that the degree of proficiency in different languages can vary from school to school and from student to student (CAVALCANTI; MAHER, 2005, p. 24). They observe that there are schools whose apprentices have a broad command of the language of their ancestors and demonstrate much less or little proficiency in Portuguese, as is the case with the Waiwai Indigenous School.

In a sociolinguistic sense, multilingual schools are very complex because, in addition to the indigenous language and the Portuguese language, there are also native speakers of other indigenous languages. In some communicative circumstances, this is the sociolinguistic situation of the people who live in the Mapuera village, as it is an indigenous territory located in a border region (Guyana) which requires, in some situations, the use of a foreign language.

By watching Professor Taniw's classes, for example, we could see that he teaches phrases to students in Portuguese, English and Waiwai. The dynamics of the Waiwai word translation teacher into Portuguese and English has become a recurring practice and is highly demanded by students. This articulation is due to the interest in learning new expressions and developing in students the same skills that their teachers have, increasingly distancing themselves from monolingualism. Monolingualism among the Waiwai is an objectionable linguistic situation. Speaking other languages is part of the culture and is a practice developed by them in their historical networks of relationships in the northern Amazon.

An example of how multilingualism operates in the internal power structures in Mapuera village can be seen in the following example:

> We currently use the Waiwai language, but first we used the ancient language. Then, when we came to Mapuera village, we speak a different language. Mawayana, Hixkaryana, Tiriyó, Xerew, Kiyana, among others, came here. Therefore, several ethnic groups lived here. But there was the Waiwai Language, and we started to learn this language (INTERVIEW with professor Irayki, 11/11/2016).
>
> Here we have several languages; we have the general language, which are Waiwai, Mawayana, Tunayana, Wapixana and Hixkaryana. There are several ethnic groups, and this is why there are several languages, but many languages are rarely spoken and others have even been lost (INTERVIEW with Samîrî, 11/21/2016).
>
> Several ethnic groups live here in Mapuera, and because of this, there are several languages, but only few speak the other languages. Almost everyone speaks only Waiwai. My grandfather is Mawayana, but almost everyone has forgotten that language. (INTERVIEW with Ary, 11/26/2016).

These statements show how the game of social forces in the use of languages had repercussions. When they speak of the "loss", "forgetfulness" of their original languages, they do so with some resentment, claiming that they could be more present in that context. This suggests that education practices in multilingual indigenous territories should be guided by the principles that everyone should have access to adequate language training, without ignoring other languages, or other ways of removing linguistic barriers in order to better live, work and communicate in the indigenous territory and in the country. If this issue was considered at school, multilingualism could become the intercultural dialogue possible, as it would help to reduce the risk of villages and people being limited to themselves, building a society less vulnerable to linguistic conflicts.

Grosjean (2008) clarifies that the concept of bi/multilingualism, in force until today, brought up the existence of a continuum that goes from monolingualism to multilingualism;, going through different intermediate states of processing and activating languages, instead of an exact stage from which someone becomes bilingual. This is evident in the statements of

the interviewed people, when dealing with the process of "loss" and affirmation of indigenous languages in that context.

The misinformation about bilingualism in different areas of society, and also by the agents of the education departments to which indigenous schools are linked, results in the lack of success of more effective language policies. The complexity of the bilingual phenomenon itself is a factor that contributes to linguistic prejudice, to the desire for linguistic substitution and, as a consequence, to the effect of deficient and stigmatizing language learning, especially by non-indigenous teachers, when teaching in Portuguese at indigenous territories.

From the perspective of teaching in indigenous territories, it must be recognized that this is an enormous challenge, "because the school we know is based on homogenization: in which it is taught to all, in which they are grouped by similar ages, they are equal and they discipline knowledge, ways of acting, synthesized in the homogenization of times and spaces" (BERGAMASCHI; GOMES, 2012, p. 51). In this way, we can say that bilingualism has become a necessity for indigenous territories as contacts and relations with the dominant society have intensified.

The interactionat school and the dialogue with indigenous teachers lead us to say that at school bilingualism is resistant, since, even with the limitations imposed by the lack of didactic material and bilingual texts of different genres, they manage to teach a variety of Portuguese, mainly based on experiences arising from interaction with non-indigenous people in the city. In the village, the school is a social space that allows more systematic contact with the Portuguese language, often considered a "foreign" language in that context.

School classes are taught in an indigenous language. When students do not understand something, the indigenous teacher (interpreter and translator of the Portuguese language) helps them translating from Portuguese to the indigenous language, since everyone speaks Waiwai. When developing the activities proposed in class, they always reiterate that students must also speak Portuguese. Some teachers resent having no specific training to deal with teaching Portuguese to speakers of other languages, such as indigenous languages, for example.

In this sense, in Mapuera the education is aimed at the indigenous people and the cultural framework happens to suffer an expressed conflict between teaching the Portuguese language/non-indigenous values and teaching the mother tongue. In this context, given the issues underlying the indigenous peoples' own interests and needs, it is often necessary to break with the dogmatic assumptions of academic culture. Considering the issues underlying the indigenous peoples' own interests and needs, in this context, it is often necessary to break with the dogmatic assumptions of academic culture and apprehend the knowledge, symbolic content and judgment criteria mobilized by the people. The latter are the result of "social constructions", interactions and interpretations negotiated between them, located in different positions, and usually carrying divergent approaches.

These conflicts are the result of the dominant influence of national values on education, which supposedly can lead to the devaluation of indigenous culture. The structure of the indigenous language is predominantly of oral competence, but the school has been systematized by the written competence. This implies the valorization of written culture in a territory where culture and history have always been passed on from generation to generation through orality.

The sociolinguistic reality experienced by the Waiwai peoples in the Nhamundá-Mapuera territory in relation to the Portuguese language differs greatly from village to village, due to the different cultures, peoples and languages and the history of each people. The predominant situation is one in which the student arrives at school knowing how to speak only the indigenous language. And Portuguese as a second language is introduced in the curriculum as a national language, but from a country that is seen by them as foreign.

In this relationship, it is important to be aware that, as stated by Maher (1994), Portuguese is the language of the dominator, that is, of those who have decision-making power in the country and, therefore, their learning is imposed. Therefore, for the author, it is up to the indigenous, today, to learn the language of the white and not vice versa. And he highlights that if this were not the case, indigenous bilingualism, like ours, "would be optional and not compulsory. In this point of view, the teaching of the Portuguese language can be another contributing factor for maintaining the subordinate position occupied by the Indigenous in national society" (MAHER, 1994, p. 4).

If speaking implies dialogue with an interlocutor, among the Waiwai it is through speech that the discourse is produced in the social context through negotiation, through a power relationship. Therefore, it should be observed, according to Amaral (2011), that learning to read and write is not the same thing as learning a language. This needs to be very clear to the bilingual educator, because he does not only have to deal with "difficulties in the literacy process, but also problems arising from an incomplete acquisition process". Thus, even if a bilingual child has lived and heard Portuguese in their community, but does not have it as a dominant language, they will have difficulties in the process of learning that language, due to the lack of exposure and acquisition of the latter (AMARAL, 2011, p. 22).

In this way, even if SEMED in Oriximiná is not prepared for bilingualism and interculturality at the Waiwai Indigenous School (if these concepts can be adopted to think about that reality), as far as possible, teachers develop a work in this perspective, supported by the knowledge of the experience and also in the dialogue with the teachers of the city, during the training promoted by SEMED of Oriximiná. It is noted that bilingualism and multilingualism between teachers and students are decisive factors for understanding the teaching and learning processes in the village school, since, to teach Portuguese and Waiwai, the teacher needs to know, at least, these two languages. And, in any case, the teaching of the mother tongue overlaps the second, even if it invariably occurs.

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CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION AND METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

THE DECOLONIAL OPTION AND THE COLONIALITY MATRIX

By its forms of discourse, the educational field reproduces the contradictions of society, the mode of production of the dominant ideologies, which often contribute to the depersonalization and the downgrading of the subjects. The mechanisms of power control and the ways of knowledge also help to define some of the domination devices that the West has installed in America, whose exercise of detachment is often arduous.

For Mignolo (2007, p. 29), who works with the concept of America's "invention", "America" was never a continent to be discovered, as it was instilled throughout our schooling, but an invention forged during the European colonial history and the consolidation and expansion of Western ideas and institutions. It is as if America never existed before, as if it had been born at the time of its invasion, which contributed to this continent "losing" its autonomous history. Concerning this issue, the author explains:

> From the beginning of the 16th century, the stories and languages of indigenous communities "became historic" at the moment they lost their history. In other words, they became museum cultures instead of living stories. [...] History – the official and canonical accounts of a chronological succession of events and their location in space – opened a similar gap between the history of Europe and that of its colonies, as if these were independent entities "dragged" by a triumphant march of European history, supposedly universal (MIGNOLO, 2007, p. 51).

For Mignolo, the "invention" of America was, therefore, one of the determining points that allowed creating the necessary conditions for the expansion of the Eurocentric standards of Western epistemology, and for the classification of the populations of the world according to those standards, in which the indigenous peoples of African origin did not fit. Thus, the exploitation of the territory and its natural resources were considered "fair and legitimate", since only Europe could have the light of the true knowledge of God. Thus, Europe, a geopolitical and cultural place, since the 16th century, has maintained a relationship of political-economic dominance and socio-cultural segregation over Latin America (DUSSEL, 1994).

Castro-Gomez and Grosfoguel (2007, p. 17) comment that throughout the 19th century it was thought that the end of this process of colonialism in America would occur, as a structure of domination and exploitation that manifests itself in the control of political authority, production and labor resources of a specific population (QUIJANO, 2007, p. 93). In America, the end of

the colonialism developed throughout the continent from north to south, through emancipatory political processes, until the beginning of the 20th century. This process had also been consolidated in Africa and Asia since the Second World War, through the independence and construction of national states. However, according to the same authors, even if incomplete, the first decolonization was initiated in the 19th century by the Spanish colonies and followed in the 20th by the English and French colonies, being limited to the legal-political independence of the peripheries. But it will be from the end of the twentieth century that we will begin to reflect on this unfinished process.

It is in this context that Postcolonial studies emerge, under the influence of Cultural Studies (CE), which has Stuart Hall as one of its inaugurators. However, Postcolonial studies, somehow, move away from CEs due to their object, namely, the colonial world. In the midst of its different perspectives, Post-colonialism shares the "discursive character of the social", the "decentralization of contemporary narratives and subjects", the "method of deconstructing essentialisms" and the "proposal of a critical epistemology to the concepts dominant factors of modernity" (COSTA, 2006, p. 83-84). The main object of investigation in Post-colonial Studies is literature written during and after the colonial occupation, and how the society is represented in it. According to Ballestrin (2013), "even if not linear, disciplined and articulated, the post-colonial argument in all its historical, temporal, geographical and disciplinary range perceived the colonial difference and interceded for the colonized", since, as Said pointed out (2011), "The struggle in the colonial world is complex, and involves much more than weapons and armies, it also involves ideas, forms, images and representations".

These political-emancipatory issues gain attention and would be broken down in the Subaltern Studies, which correspond to the articulation of anti-colonial projects from India, with an important Marxist influence, such as the case of Ranajit Guha, David Arnold, Partha Chatterjee, among others. In 1970, the South Asian Subaltern Studies Group was created, with the Indingeous Ranajit Guha, as an intervention in South Asian historiography, which helps to reinforce the Post-colonial argument. The term "subaltern" began to be used in the same year, in India, as a reference to the colonized people of the South Asian subcontinent, and enabled a new focus on the history of dominated places, portrayed from the point of view of the colonizers and their hegemonic power.

From the 1980s onwards, subordinate studies became known outside India, especially through the authors Partha Chatterjee, Dipesh Chakrabarty and Spivak. In that same decade, the Post-colonial debate was widespread in the field of literary criticism and Cultural Studies in England and the United States. The best known exponents in Brazil are Homi Bhabha (Indian), Stuart Hall (Jamaican) and Paul Gilroy (English). In 1990 the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group is created, which reflects on the struggle and the emancipation of the peoples who lived under colonial domain, but is still centered on European authors, since Latin America's trajectory of domination and resistance was still hidden in that debate.

Due to theoretical divergences, the Latin group was disaggregated in 1998, the same year in which the first meetings between the members that would later form the Modernity/Coloniality Group took place. Post-colonialism appears as a precursor to the development of the post-colonial argument that will be radicalized by the Modernity/Coloniality Group (M/C) (BALLESTRIN, 2013). It is from the breakdown of the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group and the formation of another group, the M/C, that Decolonial thinking emerges. It differs from theory/

project/Postcolonial Studies, when assumes a perspective of criticism of colonialism similar to post-colonial studies; however its reference point is from Latin America (DAMÁZIO, 2011, p. 67).

In order not to stablish boundaries, but to define the contours of decolonial thought more clearly, in view of similar theoretical discourses, Mota Neto (2016, p. 67), dialoguing with Castro Gómez (2014), explains that such differences must be defined around the names of theories and their disciplinary fields, "but by the strategic position in a field of forces; by the place assumed in a determined discursive battle". According to the author,

> when they associate, for example, with the term post-colonial studies, they make a thematic and epistemic distinction between the Anglo-Saxon postcolonial perspective (postcolonial studies) and the Latin American post-colonial studies, which Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel (2007) consider to be a decolonial perspective.

This approach that emerged in recent decades, was driven by the Latin American theorists who founded the Colonialidad-Modernidad Study Group (Mignolo, Madonado-Torres, Walsh, Grosfoguel, Castro-Gomez), a group that presented "Another" epistemic, theoretical and methodological proposal, to study and understand the power relations established by the West from the relations of power, being, knowledge and cosmogonic status. Thus, these intellectuals started from the premise that the forms of domination and the power relations could not be thought or rearticulated without thinking about the levels of knowledge production and the truth effects that sustain them.

The center of the group's critique of modernity consisted still and consists of emphasizing that Latin America is a geopolitical construction that emerges in the contexts of Spanish and Portuguese colonization in the 16th century, which makes the emergence of the modern world-system possible. This perspective of analyzing coloniality, like the other face of Western modernity, makes it possible to broaden the understanding of how the peripheries and the people who live there were subalterns, in the midst of all the ambivalences and contradictions imbricated in these power games.

The interest here is not justified by the search for origins or causalities, but it is important to analyze the processes, the power games that established truths, and also the indications of how these truths were and still are produced, as well as the fabrication of stigmas and stereotypes inscribed, by language, on the bodies of those left aside of centers of power. These considerations are important because language cannot be thought without being linked to the social and historical aspect, when subjects, system and discourse are confronted, since there is no discourse without subject, nor subject without ideology.

Therefore, it cannot be denied the existence of a set of attempts to produce critical knowledge to address the political and cultural dilemmas faced by the countries of Latin America, which claim the specificities of local experiences, in contrast to the general ones. Based on these principles, a group of academics from different locations and nationalities was willing to debate issues related to the geopolitical problems of Latin America, focusing on the forms of knowledge production, and directing criticisms of the epistemic constructions related to them.

However, As Ballestrin (2013) points out, post-colonial and even decolonial arguments were already present in the productions of Latin American intellectuals in the 19th century.

What differentiates previous and current thinking is the context in which they were elaborated and the possibilities of those contexts. In the context of Latin America, "decolonial" studies have been highlighted recently and assume a perspective of criticism of colonialism, similar to post-colonial studies. But its reference is from Latin America. It is, therefore, a frontier epistemology that, according to Mota Neto (2016, p. 62), questions the subordination of the "knowledge of the oppressed groups in our region and proposes a different logic of thinking, which considers and includes the dense historical and symbolic plot that is implicated in such subordinate knowledge".

In this work, following the guidelines of Walsh (2009, p. 15-16), I prefer to use the term "decolonial", suppressing the "s", to mark a distinction with the meaning of decolonizing, in its classic sense. The objective is to highlight that the intention is not to undo the colonial or to reverse it, that is, to overcome the colonial by the post-colonial moment. The intention is to provoke a continuous position of transgression and insurgency. Decolonial, therefore, involves continuous disputes and struggles. Frontier thinking arises precisely from these multiple encounters, from these frontier ways of thinking and rewriting languages and cosmologies, knowledge and philosophies, which were and continue to be demonized, from the hegemonic and dominant position of modern epistemology (GROSFOGUEL; MIGNOLO, 2008, p. 36-37). With this, there will be a "decolonial twist", from the English decolonial turn, which can mean either "change twists" or "twists", in the sense of making a twist, changing the point, changing the order. The decolonial option then means that the "decolonial shift" is an option (GROSFOGUEL; MIGNOLO, 2008, p. 33).

Among the authors who have different positions and theoretical orientations, and who have been working on the "decolonial" issue, I highlight the Argentine anthropologist and literary theorist Walter Mignolo, the Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano, the Argentine philosopher Enrique Dussel, the Colombian philosopher Santiago Castro-Gómez, Puerto Rican sociologist Ramón Grosfoguel, Colombian anthropologist Arturo Escobar, Venezuelan sociologist Edgardo Lander, Puerto Rican philosopher Nelson Maldonado Torres, American linguist Catherine Walsh, who works with indigenous movements in Ecuador, among others.

It is important to consider that these scholars think from their bodies, from their places, from colonial difference, and thus visualize "invisible" processes to European man. In summary, the Decolonial, discussed by them, seeks to establish itself as a political, ontological and epistemic insurgency and practice that articulates under the assumption that we still need to develop "a new language that will account for the complex processes of the capitalist/patriarchal and modern/colonial world system, without depending on the old language inherited from the social sciences of the 19th century" CASTRO-GOMEZ; GROSFOGUEL, 2007, p. 17).

Colonialism and post-colonialism, even though they seem to be simple nomenclatures that delimit a given historical period, refer to the transformations of certain colonized groups, reflected in their cultures, identities and, consequently, in their writings. In this movement, Western discourses were considered to be "universal" and therefore valid for the entire planet; differently from "other" knowledge (indigenous, oriental and African) that are treated as minor, local, incomplete, mythical, that is, inferior.

Under these reflections, Fanon (2003) also begins to denounce the impact of the "colonial domination" process, because, for him, not only the present of the colonized is impacted by colonialism, but the past is also expropriated and devalued. The issue of colonial violence is an

extremely important aspect of Fanon's works. He affirms that the "colonized" live in a world that continues the physical violence that dehumanizes them, and the psychological violence that oppresses and enslaves them, given that

> Colonialism is not content with imposing its law on the present and future of the dominated country. Colonialism is not content to squeeze the people between their networks, emptying the brain of the colonized in every way and content. Through a kind of logical perversion, it is oriented towards the past of the oppressed people, distorts it, disfigures it, and annihilates it (FANON, 2003, p. 192).

In contrast, the post-colonialist criticism, second pillar of these reflections, is highlighted in the current context as "an alternative approach to understanding imperialism and its influences, as a global phenomenon and, to a lesser extent, as a localized phenomenon" (BONNICI, 1998, p. 9). Although traditional colonialism may have come to an end, the authors of the Modernity-Coloniality group understand that power structures are still strongly present, as the end of political colonialism has not determined the end of social colonialism. In this way, it was necessary to formulate a criticism that did not omit "its tensions and contradictions" to help "clarify the spatiality of the relations of power and domination".

Colonialism is a term used here to refer to specific historical periods and places of imperial rule. In turn, coloniality is understood as a logical-cognitive structure of colonial domain that underlies the control of metropolises or empires. This latter concept was initially used by Quijano in 1991, making it an important contribution by Latin American authors for consolidation in the academic scope of frontier thinking.

The word coloniality (and not colonialism) is used to draw attention to the historical continuities between colonial times and the present and also to point out that colonial power relations are crossed by the epistemic dimension. Thus, Coloniality is a complex concept, as it operates on several levels. It is the face that explains the epistemic totalitarianism of modernity, this process that Boaventura de Souza Santos called "epistemicide", for having removed from all others, non-European-Westerners, the ability to think and, often, even the right to be.

Coloniality is related to histories, subjectivities, forms of life, multi-universal knowledge and colonized subjectivities, from which the decolonial responses emerge. If, on one hand, it is the invisible face of modernity, it is also, on the other hand, the energy that generates decoloniality (MIGNOLO, 2008, p. 9-10). Thus, when it comes to "decoloniality", we refer to the following triad of concepts: modernity-coloniality-decoloniality. This means that each category is constitutive of the other, that is, one cannot be thought without the other, as they arose in the same historical processes. The last concept of the triad, "decoloniality", means a type of activity (thinking, turning, option) to confront the rhetoric of modernity and the logic of coloniality (GROSFOGUEL; MIGNOLO, 2008, p. 34).

Thus, it should be observed that the present study is located within this type of reflection and has as its main theoretical foundation the post-colonial studies and, with greater emphasis, decolonial studies. The intention here is to dialogue with the assumptions and ideas developed in these studies and make use of some tools provided by them (concepts, reflections) to achieve the objectives outlined. It should be noted, however, that this is only an interpretation about the world, it is not the only one, nor the truest, but it is the reading that I defend in the study of

the acquisition of Portuguese language by the Waiwai of Mapuera village, from my epistemic intentions and policies.

Such theoretical movements dialogue with criticisms, increasingly growing in Brazil, directed at legislation and public policies for Indigenous School Education, such as those carried out in the studies of Gallois (1997) and Franchetto (1997), which reveal both the impasses and the contradictions of the institutionalization of bilingual intercultural education in the country, in terms of specific indigenous demands, in addition to the problems produced by relations with missionary models. It is reasonable, therefore, that this production of knowledge from the perspective of educational rights and the maintenance of the linguistic-cultural heritage should take place in a transdisciplinary perspective.

Thus, it is important to understand that decolonial studies use a wide number of sources. It is a heterogeneous perspective that prioritizes transdisciplinary studies, that is, those that make use of knowledge from various areas for a particular object analysis. Therefore, it means not excluding, but including different knowledge in each investigation. However,

> This does not mean that the work of this group only has interest to the supposedly universal social and human sciences, but that the group intends to intervene decisively in the discourses of modern science to create another space for the production of knowledge, a different way of thinking, "another paradigm", the very possibility of talking about "worlds and knowledge in another way" (ESCOBAR, 2005, p. 51).

As a result, the main guiding force of decolonial studies is a continued reflection on the Latin American cultural and political reality, decisively influenced by the philosophical and political thinking developed in this continent. That is how one begins to speak of "de-coloniality" as a way of being able to escape this linearity and the "chains" of the West. To this end, it little by little began to shape what the thinkers of this aspect called the *matrix of coloniality*, articulating itself as a structure that seeks to perpetuate and reproduce the relations of subordination developed by the western world through Coloniality-Modernity.

When it comes to coloniality, in any case, it also reflects on a constant relationship of subordination that is established as a relationship of Power, sustained under the forms of racial, ontological, epistemological and cosmogonic violence, in an arbitrary and unfair way, but that always sought to perpetuate itself. It is in this context that the Peruvian philosopher Aníbal Quijano presents the concept of *Coloniality of Power*, defined as the way in which the domination of the central powers, in relation to the peripheral ones, is structured, through an ethnic/racial/gender/class difference. This difference ranks the dominator in relation to the "dominated", with the objective of controlling work, resources and products for the benefit of capital and the world market.

Quijano (2006) defines the *Coloniality of Power* as the articulation of power that is unleashed through the elaboration of a discourse, with historical implications from the elaboration of the concept of race, and proposes an order given through classification and Social order. It is a political and economic domination that is justified through the concept of race, accompanied by an epistemic/philosophical/scientific/linguistic domination, which was born with the invasion of America and soon became global under the pattern of capitalist power.

First, this implied in the classifications of racial identities that were forged from the model of the so-called "European" dominant-superiors and the "Non-European" inferior-dominated ones. Then it was complemented with the development of external definitions, based on phenotypic differentiations that, at first, were given by the color of the skin, from the 19th and 20th century. Thus, the scale of "gradation between the 'white' of the 'white' race and each of the other 'colors' of the skin, was assumed as a gradation between the upper and the lower in the 'racial' social classification" (QUIJANO, 2007 , p. 120).

Building an idea of world-economy, the national and world distribution of labor was established, after the classification and racialization of colonial peripheries, being part of the logic of a modern/colonial Eurocentric capitalism. The needs of capital started to be articulated to the ideas of race, work, spaces and people, in a functional way, for the benefit of the so-called "superior" race. Within this logic, coloniality will support a more ontological matrix, based on the *Coloniality of Being*, and to another of a more epistemological character, through the *Coloniality of Knowledge*.

Strongly debated by Maldonado-Torres (2007), the *Coloniality of Being* is closely related to what was previously defined as the coloniality of power. However, the first corresponds to a questioning of the Being of a more ontological character; this subject who is a victim of inferiority, subordination and racial dehumanization in modernity, that is, a victim of the lack of humanity. The author explains that this thinking about the subject was built on the basis of the phenomenological tradition, which interest in thought, the configuration of Western reason and modern thought, finds bases to articulate the reflections on the experience lived by racialized and colonized subjects, in order to raise a decolonial thought.

This way of thinking about Being, is linked to the projects initiated in the 1970s with other Latin American groups, which built their initial bases on Liberation Theory, and saw other ways of achieving the intellectual decolonization that accounted for the process that was going on. The matter was, mainly, the metanarratives and the forms of the speeches. A clear example of this is in the old discussion of Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas during the 16th century, in the face of the abuse caused by the Spanish crown with slavery and the bad forms of work of the indigenous people. In his questioning texts, he asked himself if the indigenous was a person, if he had a soul, seeking answers and questioning how to seek legitimacy, moral legality for such exploration (LAS CASAS, 2008, p. 19). These dialogues are considered to be the founders of matters about slavery in America and promoters of indigenous rights.

The coloniality of Being presents itself, then, as a way or practice to naturalize slavery and serfdom, by legitimizing genocide in the name of progress and of God, through the trivialization of mechanisms of violence, and the perpetuation of relations of inequality and injustice. It started with the definition that they were "younger brothers", suitable for caring, educating and evangelizing. In this sense, Catherine Walsh (2007, p. 29) clarifies that "the coloniality of Being refers to non-existence and dehumanization, a negotiation of the status of the human being that began within the complicity systems of colonialism and slavery" (WALSH, 2007, p. 29). For the author Mota Neto (2016, p. 96), through racism, in the post-colonial system the function of maintaining an established order, "justify the horror of violence by the belief in the superiority of some against the inferiority of others".

For Maldonado-Torres (2007), in the perspective of a decolonial exercise, there is a claim for denied identities as a fundamental practice in the decolonization of being, because it is the

rediscovery of the meaning of the human being and of being in general, by those who in modern times were considered mere humans. It is the liberation of great arbitrary imaginary propagated by the relations of subordination left by the West.

By proposing an analysis of the colonial relations based on *Knowledge*, under geopolitics of knowledge that questions epistemic hegemony, *Coloniality of Knowledge*, according to Mignolo (2007), will be implemented through the imposition of a given knowledge to the "colonized", aiming to subordinate their cultures and their languages, which is configured as an epistemic violence, for invading and destroying the imaginary of the "other". This form of coloniality arises from the power to legitimize the world, establishing boundaries, arbitrarily deciding which knowledge and behavior are valid or not.

In this perspective, the *Coloniality of Knowledge* is characterized by the imposition of reason, knowledge and thought, as the ordering axis of the Eurocentric positioning, which discards and disqualifies existence and prevents other epistemic rationalities and knowledge other than that of Europeans "white" men. Such positioning rests on an idea, quite supported in the Middle Ages, that European man has all those attributes that God had one day (GROSFOGUEL, 2007). Mota Neto (2016, p. 93), explains that "it is in this modern/colonial context that the social sciences emerge, so that the interests that move them, although hidden by the discourse of neutrality, are marked by the regime of dominance of some on the others".

Castro-Gómez (2007) observes that, partly, the principle of colonialism is based on the supremacy of European knowledge, sustained by the political and economic domination of western man. This principle is discussed in the work of Edward Said, which, when inaugurating the post-colonial theory, shows the English imperial control legitimizing the imaginary that there are inferior people and cultures, as well as societies and knowledge, especially those of the peoples of the colonies. Even after the political independence of the colonies, this imaginary did not disappear, expanding through the social sciences in the academies, and through communication in the North and in the former colonies.

That is why it is said that the "construction" of the Third World did not happen only in the economic aspect, but also in the cultural and epistemic field. With this, the *Coloniality of Knowledge* became effective through the spread of modern thought and its power to subordinate the localized thought, ignoring subordinate knowledge to raise the reason, based on the western view of knowledge. Then, for Walsh (2008, p. 183), Eurocentrism was positioned "as the unique perspective of knowledge, which discards the existence and viability of other epistemic rationalities".

Regarding the linguistic issues involved in the *Coloniality of Knowledge*, Mignolo (2000) says that this form of colonization of knowledge was also possible through the establishment of a linguistic hierarchy between European languages and non-European languages. Communication, theoretical and knowledge production of Western reason were given a better status, subordinating the other as a producer of folklore or culture, but not of knowledge or theory.

Considering such theoretical orientations, to think and work from the decolonial option, observing local singularities and histories, means advancing in an exercise of detachment from the Eurocentric bases of knowledge. It also implies producing and rewriting knowledge that helps to clarify obscured areas and silences determined by a form of knowledge (GROSFOGUEL; MIGNOLO, 2008, p. 34). As a critical thought, decoloniality emerges from provocations from

the frontier and begins to create its own space, a space that has become invisible and silenced. This "other" knowledge is not always established in the ideas of linear time, progress, evolution, and is not intended to discover a single, universal truth. The decolonial paradigm strives to promote the dissemination of another interpretation.

Thus, considering the understanding of the coloniality matrix exposed here, it is possible to notice that it is established as a power relationship, sustained in forms of racial, ontological and epistemological violence, unfolding in socio-historical and political relations, through complex negotiations. In this sense, we can say that it will only be possible to create conditions of irruption around the production of already established hierarchical practices, if the difference is exalted and if we start to reflect on the ways in which they were produced.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC TYPE CASE STUDY

Taking into account its context and complexity, the necessity to understand a particular situation implied the choice of the Ethnographic Case Study as the type of study that better characterizes this work. It required a reading of theoretical foundation, since this choice is related to the nature of the problem and is closely related to research questions. The choice for this type of study followed the guidelines that, unlike classical methodologies, decolonial methodologies are pluralistic, since there is a need for the production of different knowledge and these must originate from different approaches and concepts.

It is important to clarify, according to André (2008, p. 23), that the Ethnographic Type Case Study emerged very recently in the educational literature with the following definition: it is an "adaptation of ethnography to the study of an educational case". In education, this type of study is concerned with the educational process and, due to differences in focus in relation to anthropology; it does not fulfill some requirements[12] of the ethnography practiced by this field of knowledge. However, according to the same author, for a study to be recognized as an Ethnographic Case Study, it is necessary, first of all, that it emphasize the knowledge of the singular. One of the characteristics of this type of study is that it "usually turns to a particular instance, whether it is a person, an institution, an innovative program, a social group" (ANDRÉ, 2008, p. 24).

In Education, study cases appear in manuals of research methodology from the 1960s and 1970s, in the perspective of describing a unit, weather it a school, a teacher, a group of students, a classroom. Before, the objective was the initial exploration of a research, that is, they were intended to raise information or hypotheses for future studies. These were specific studies, which were limited to portraying a given reality superficially. Thus, there was little exploitation of the data in terms of its relationship with the context and with the subjects involved. This type of study did not, meet the principles of qualitative approaches, which today constitute the foundations of the case study, consolidating itself in the area of education in the last thirty years (ANDRÉ, 2008, p. 14).

Regarding the Case Study, Stake (1994, p. 236), in particular, highlights that "what characterizes the case study is not a specific method, but a type of knowledge". Consequently, it is

12 It is, for example, the long stay of the researcher in the field, to account for the entire life of the observed population, and the use of broad social categories of analysis.

not a methodological choice, but the choice of the object to be studied. Then, knowledge derives from the case, or rather, what is learned by studying the case, as a particular form of study. In general, it is not the techniques that define this type of study, but the knowledge that comes from it.

Lüdke and André (1986, p. 18), define that "the case studies emphasize interpretation in context", which radiates towards a search to concisely portray the reality in question. This search, consequently, generates a variety of data and information sources, resulting from a direct involvement with the object of study. André (2008, p.35), observes that in education, the case study can contribute to the problems of educational practice. Its advantage is that the researcher does not start from a closed theoretical scheme, which limits his interpretations and prevents the discovery of new relationships, but forces new discoveries and adds new aspects to the problem.

Yin (2005, p. 23) states that the case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real life context, when the boundary between the phenomenon and the context is not clearly evident and where multiple sources of evidence are used. This definition helps, according to him, to understand and distinguish the case study method from other research strategies.

Ethnography, in turn, was originally developed by anthropology to describe the behavior and cultural patterns of a social group. Ethnographic research is characterized by the study of people's behavior in a given context of social interaction, with a focus on the cultural interpretation of that behavior (WATSON-GEGEO, 1988). Etymologically, ethnography means "cultural description". For anthropologists, this term has two meanings: it can mean a set of techniques to collect data about the values, habits, beliefs, practices and behaviors of a social group; or also a written report resulting from the use of these techniques (ANDRÉ, 2008, p. 25).

Therefore, in a systematic, intensive and detailed way, the ethnographer observes how people behave and how interactions are socially organized in the context, what are the social norms, cultural values and interactional expectations of the individuals with whom the researcher develops a certain personal relationship. It is the description of a system of cultural meanings for a given group, which in education would be teaching and learning in a broad context, relating what is determined inside and outside the school. Ethnography, therefore, goes far beyond simple description. It seeks to understand cultural meanings through the speeches and behaviors of the actors involved, thus describing the cultural meanings of the groups studied. In this sense, it is not only the reproduction of reality that is important, but mainly its understanding.

Another characteristic of ethnographic research is its exploratory nature. Unlike the positivist paradigm that operates with pre-established categories for the verification of hypotheses, ethnographic-based research is based on data, based on a theoretical foundation that guides the researcher's attention to certain aspects of situations and context, which can serve as evidence to answer the research questions rose at the beginning of the study and developed in the research field. However, it is important to understand that as the investigation proceeds, the decision on the aspects to be studied can be redefined, since ethnographic research seeks, in essence, to "examine the construction of social reality" (CAVALCANTI; MOITA LOPES, 1991 , p. 139).

In this sense, Clifford Geertz (2009) comments that these concerns occur

> Not only because no one knows exactly where all this is going to end, but also because as the language of social explanation, with its inflections and images,

> changes, so does our understanding of what constitutes this explanation, the reason why what we want it to be, and how it relates to a number of other things we value. It is not just the theory, or the methodology, or the problem that changes, but the very purpose of the enterprise (GEERTZ, 2009, p. 17).

The decision on whether or not to use the Ethnographic Type Case Study as a type of research depends, according to André (2008, p. 29), on what the researcher wants to know, that is, on his purpose, the problem formulated and the questions to be answered. It is a much more epistemological than methodological decision, according to the author, given that the objective is to understand a particular case taking into account the context and its complexity. In this study, what is in evidence is the uniqueness of the situation, that is, a unit was chosen because it represents in itself a very representative case to be studied for its uniqueness in the Brazilian Amazon, which is the acquisition of the Portuguese language by a population whose mother tongue is indigenous.

Therefore, it is increasingly necessary to investigate other spaces, those that have been relegated to the position of object of study and the reception of theories produced elsewhere, as well as the logic that underestimated the forms of registration and reflection of oral practices, often considered as an epistemological obstacle to the knowledge of the world. It is necessary to inquire with what meanings it circulates and in which conceptual and institutional networks we are led to rethink and problematize the practices of knowledge production today about the indigenous peoples of the Amazon region.

Historically, we have dealt with stable situations, with reference structures, with what remains the structure of the dynamics of social relations. The unstable situations, the moments, the short temporalities, the indefinite, the absence of visible and identifiable structures have always caused strangeness to scientific investigation. Instead, Clifford (1999) considered important to investigate geographic displacement, mixtures of cultures that create new cultures and practices, the study of cultures in settlements and fixed contexts. For him, it is an effort that concerns to overcome stereotypes, to recognize divergent histories and to strengthen "post-colonial" identities in contexts of domination and globalization. For this author, science

> He took refuge in the closed places of stable relationships, in the strongholds of institutions, in the niches of permanence, in the corners of regulated and controlled social changes [...]. It is necessary to innovate methodologically. It is necessary to create instruments for reconstitution and interpretation that overcome the limitations of the rooted and stable to face the challenges of the emerging and even fleeting, relationships known to be transitory, even in their daily repetition (FREHSE, 2011, p. 12).

Therefore, regarding the study with the Waiwai indigenous peoples, it is necessary to consider some characteristics of this indigenous people, mainly those related to their expeditions, networks of relations, exchanges and mergers, their aspect as travelers and passengers. The history of this population shows us a people of passerby condition, because they are subjects that even residing in certain territories – in this case the territories Trombetas-Mapuera and Nhamundá-Mapuera – the locus in question cannot be understood as a geographically delimited space, because the field is anywhere where the research subjects are, the relationships that we want to understand. Therefore, this study cannot be understood or restricted spatially, since it is

in the domain of intergroup processes that the Waiwai people manifest some of the richest and most revealing aspects of their social life, mediated by language and the use of languages.

Considering these premises, in this study, a set of techniques (interview, questionnaire, field diary, observation) is used to collect data on the values, habits, beliefs, practices and behaviors of a social group. These techniques allow to document what has not yet been documented, that is, unveiling the encounters and mismatches that permeate daily life, "describing the actions and representations of its social actors, reconstructing their language, their forms of communication and the meanings that are created and recreated in their daily activities" (ANDRÉ, 1995, p. 41). Ethnography, however, differs from other types of qualitative research due to the holistic way in which it treats the phenomenon, that is, it examines the phenomenon in relation to the culture and behavior of participants in the social context as a whole, instead of focusing on just one of its many aspects (ERICKSON, 1984).

André (2008, p. 25), when establishing a relationship between Ethnography and Education, highlights that there is a difference in focus between these two areas, which allows certain requirements of ethnography not to be, nor need to be, fulfilled by educational issues researchers:

> [...] the researcher's long term in the field, contact with other cultures and the use of broad social categories in data analysis are suitable for anthropological studies, but not necessarily for the area of education. What has been done, in fact, is an adaptation of ethnography to education, which leads me to conclude that we carry out studies of the ethnographic type and not ethnography in its strict sense (ANDRÉ, 2008, p. 25).

Therefore, what differentiates the Ethnographic Case Study with Education is the treatment given to the object. In Education, this means "an in-depth study of an educational phenomenon, with an emphasis on uniqueness and considering the principles of the method of ethnography" (ANDRÉ, 2008, p. 19). According to Novaes (1992), Anthropology and Education have a challenging relationship that is articulated by the unique projects they present. The first is for the "anthropological project of the knowledge of differences", and the second, for the "educational project of intervention in reality".

The choice for the type of research that guides the present study presupposes going beyond superficial descriptions, and is justified as a methodological option that accounts for the chosen outline, consistently assumed in the choice of authors for interlocution: essentially authors who help to think about education in the Decolonial and Post-colonial perspective, such as Walsh (2008), Mignolo (2007), Quijano (2007), Castro-Gómez (2007) and others; from the perspective of language as a place of interaction and language as a discourse, such as Charaudeau (2008), Schütz (2010), Oliveira (2014), Lucchesi (2015) and others, in conjunction with the culture category, to understand the school environment and the intersubjective relationships involved in this process.

With the definition of the type of research adopted for this study, and even if we do not want to accentuate the qualitative-quantitative dichotomy here, as quality and quantity are closely associated (ANDRÉ, 2008, p. 23), we chose, in this study, for the qualitative approach. Regarding qualitative research, Gamboa and Santos (2002, p. 43) say that in this approach the researcher tries to understand the meaning that the others give to their own situations; a task that is performed according to an understanding and interpretation of people, expressed in their

language, gestures, among others. They also remember that the researcher seeks to understand the nature of the activity in terms of the meaning that people gives to their action.

Lüdke (2001, p. 47) notes that the so-called qualitative research, to make itself known, depends entirely on the researcher's report. For the author, if it is not done well, all the knowledge of the research itself is compromised, even taking a lot of care with its development. The qualitative approach uses instruments and techniques that allow a dense description of a fact and the recovery of meaning, based on the manifestations of the phenomenon and the recovery of interpretation contexts. In this case, the quantitative data work as indicators that they are interpreted in the light of qualitative and intersubjective elements.

Cavalcanti and Moita Lopes (1991) point out as characteristics of qualitative research: a) to be an eminently exploratory research; b) do not require previous hypotheses or strict categories of analysis; c) allow the researcher to make decisions throughout the study; d) enable a theorization based on data; e) worry about the individual. It is important to mention that the plurality of methodological approaches makes it necessary to critically reanalyze the project all the time, especially when it comes to consider requirement for serious and thorough study.

Considering these questions, in order to carry out the field research it was necessary to establish a relationship of trust between the subjects involved, which was already manifested in our first interlocutions, when we were always willing to listen to them, in search of approximation with the context. Already in possession of the authorizations for our entry into the Nhamundá-Mapuera, by river, we started to talk to some indigenous leaders about the maintenance of the data that would be produced in Mapuera Village with teachers and other indigenous subjects. Before, I explained to Mr. Eliseu Way Way and Pedro Tio Tio that I knew the legislation that deals with this issue, and that the rights of children and adolescents involved in the study would be seriously safeguarded, in accordance with the Statute of the Child and Adolescent (ECA), Law No. 8.069 / 1990) and Article 79 of the Civil Code.

We have guaranteed the confidentiality of the subjects' privacy and the data involved in the research, through Free and Informed Consent Terms, as provided in Resolution No. 510, of April 7, 2016, which deals with ethical issues in the research in Human Sciences, more specifically, concerning the respect for human dignity and protection due to participants in scientific research, in order to avoid possible damage to participants; as well as the ethical principles contained in CNS Resolution No. 466, of December 12, 2012. In Mapuera village, when talking to *cacique* Eliseu Way Way about how to treat the research subjects in this study, he recommended us to use the name of the subjects to better identify them.

PROCEDURES, INSTRUMENTS AND ANALYSIS

When reflecting on the investigation methods, Gamboa and Santos (2002) observe that these "are not neutral, they carry implications and assumptions that condition their use, leading to certain results". Therefore, it is necessary to keep in mind, therefore, that there are no pre-established recipes or norms that can safely guide the researcher's work, since "decisions often need to be made very carefully, along the way, as each problem is presented" (GAMBOA; SANTOS, 2002, p. 78).

Any objective study of social reality, in addition to being guided by a theoretical foundation, should inform the choice of the object by the researcher and also all the theoretical and practical steps and results obtained with the research (Becker, 1994). But the starting point for a scientific investigation must be based on data collection. In this regard, Gamboa points out that the technical level is related to "sources, collecting techniques, organizing, systematizing and processing data and sources" (GAMBOA, 2007, p. 72).

For the collection of information from this research, the following steps were adopted: there was an exploratory phase, a development stage of the field research and a stage of classification, organization and analysis of the data. In the exploratory phase, contact was made with indigenous Waiwai students (from the Nhamundá-Mapuera indigenous territory) who were studying high school in the city of Oriximiná, to collect initial information about the teaching of Portuguese in the indigenous school in the village.

In this phase, there was also contact with indigenous teachers who work at the Waiwai Indigenous School of Mapuera Village, during monthly meetings held by the Oriximiná Municipal Education Secretariat, to listen to their demands and carry out preliminary information survey. There was also the reading of the theoretical foundation on intellectuals working in the post-colonial and decolonial perspective, on the Indigenous School Education, and authors who discuss the social and educational perspective of the teaching-learning processes of indigenous languages, in addition to reading the theoretical foundation on the cultures and social organization of the Waiwai peoples of the northern Amazon.

Regarding the stage of development of the field research, it should be observed that, in general, the field research process lasted about ten months, being divided into two moments: in the first moment, there was the registration of information and data collection with the application of questionnaires and interviews to three indigenous teachers in the city of Oriximiná. To enter the Mapuera village, documents requesting authorization from the indigenous leaders were prepared, and Free and Informed Consent Terms for voluntary participation were also elaborated, addressed to the research subjects, the director of the Waiwai Indigenous School, the FUNAI representative in Oriximiná, and the cacique of Mapuera village.

In the second moment, at Mapuera Village, data were collected through questionnaires; recording information through a field diary; interviews with ten teachers and ten indigenous subjects; direct observation at the Waiwai Indigenous School; and monitoring of village activities that were related to the school. Considering that not all indigenous people have proficiency in Portuguese, this being their second language, it was necessary to redo some interviews, mainly with indigenous people who are not teachers, and to re-elaborate the script so that a better dialogue was guaranteed and it ensured better results.

Certainly, a more comprehensive sample would have a greater chance of catching the highlighted problem. However, some factors led us to choose the sample and the school with which the research subjects are related: the Waiwai Indigenous School, in which all the indigenous teachers surveyed work, concentrate the largest number of indigenous students in the Nhamundá-Mapuera, serves as a Regional School Management Unit (URGE), consisting of 14 attached classrooms, distributed in indigenous villages that bring together several peoples, located along the Mapuera River and the Cachorro River.

The Waiwai Indigenous School concentrates the largest number of indigenous teachers who speak Portuguese and receive monthly guidance from the Oriximiná Secretariat, in addition to in-service training, to work in the Indigenous School Education in the village. All of the teachers work at the school with Portuguese language teaching and have an Indigenous Intercultural Teaching Degree Course, offered by the State University of Pará (UEPA). Another important factor that led us in choosing this school was the previous dialogues in Portuguese and a certain relationship of proximity with the indigenous subjects in some social spaces, such as in the Municipal Education Secretariat of Oriximiná (SEMED), in the high school where he worked as a teacher of Portuguese Language, in the streets of commerce in Oriximiná, at the fairs and at Casa do Índio (CASAI).[13]

Still, regarding the development of field research, this study uses a sample consisting of ten indigenous teachers, speakers of the Waiwai language and Portuguese, the latter as a second language, working in elementary school classes at the Waiwai Indigenous School of Mapuera Village; and ten indigenous subjects (non-teachers), who also speak the indigenous language and Portuguese, who reside in Mapuera village under the generic name of Waiwai, as listed in the table below:

Table 2 – Data of the research subjects and applied instruments

Field Research: Indigenous Teachers at Mapuera Village Indigenous School					
Indigenous Name	**Used instruments**	**Ethnic**	**Occupation**	**Level of Education**	**Spoken Languages**
Wirki	Questionnaire and interview	Hixkaryana	Waiwai Indigenous School (Mapuera Village) – school vice-principal	Indigenous Intercultural Teaching Degree	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Hixkaryana** (speaks) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)
Neyten Mawayana	Questionnaire and interview	Mawayana	Waiwai Indigenous School (Mapuera Village)	Indigenous Intercultural Teaching Degree	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Mawayana** (speaks) **Hiskaryana** (speaks) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)
Taniw	Questionnaire and interview	Waiwai	Waiwai Indigenous School (Mapuera Village)	Indigenous Intercultural Teaching Degree	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **English** (speaks-reads-writes) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes) **Mawayana** (speaks) **Hixkaryana** (speaks)
Tio Tio	Questionnaire and interview	Hixkaryana	Waiwai Indigenous School (Mapuera Village)	Indigenous Intercultural Teaching Degree	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **English** (speaks-reads-writes) **Portuguese** speaks-reads-writes) **Hixkaryana** (speaks)

13 CASAI - *Casa de Apoio ao Índio*, in English, *Indigenous' House* is a center dedicated to give support and care to indigenous peoples.

Iiray	Questionnaire and interview	Waiwai	Waiwai Indigenous School (Mapuera Village)	Indigenous Intercultural Teaching Degree	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Tiryó** (speaks) **Hixkaryana** (speaks) **Kaxuyana** (speaks) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)
Manasa	Questionnaire and interview	Mixed: Mawayana - Xwyana	Waiwai Indigenous School (Mapuera Village)	Indigenous Intercultural Teaching Degree	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Tiryó** (speaks) **Hixkaryana** (speaks) **English** (speaks reads) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)
Eduardo	Questionnaire and interview	Hixkaryana	Waiwai Indigenous School (Mapuera Village) School's principal	Indigenous Intercultural Teaching Degree	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Hixkaryana** (speaks) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)
Irayki	Questionnaire and interview	Xerew	Waiwai Indigenous School (Mapuera Village) – Professor of Elementary and Middle School	Indigenous Intercultural Teaching Degree	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)
Cuusa	Questionnaire and interview	Mawayana	Waiwai Indigenous School (Mapuera village)	Indigenous Intercultural Teaching Degree	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Mawayana** (speaks) **Hixkaryana** (speaks) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)
Edson	Questionnaire and interview	Waiwai	Waiwai Indigenous School (Mapuera village) - Professor of Elementary and Middle School	Indigenous Intercultural Teaching Degree	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Hixkaryana** (speaks) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)

Field Research: Waiwai Indigenous					
Indigenous Name	**Used instruments**	**Ethnic**	**Occupation**	**Level of education**	**Spoken Languages**
Waytia	Questionnaire and interview	Mixed: Waiwai - Hixkaryana	Medicine Student	Graduated in Medicine	**Waiwai** (speaks - writes) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes) **English** (understands) **Spanish** (understands)
Wahta	Questionnaire and interview	Mixed: Tunayana - Xerew	Medicine Student	High School	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)
Ary	Questionnaire and interview	Waiwai	Middle School Teacher	High School	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Hixkaryana** (speaks) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)

Woxuna	Questionnaire and interview	Waiwai	Indigenous Health Agent	High School	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Mawayana** (speaks) **Hixkaryana** (speaks) **English** (speaks-reads-writes) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)
Xustim	Questionnaire and interview	Waiwai	Indigenous School Monitor	High School	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)
Pehci	Questionnaire and interview	Waiwai	Student	High School	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Hixkaryana** (speaks) **English** (speaks - reads) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)
Shoni	Questionnaire and interview	Waiwai	Housewife	Middle School (incomplete)	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **English** (speaks - reads) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)
Arisiya	Questionnaire and interview	Mixed: Wapixana -Mawayana	Housewife	Middle school (incomplete)	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Portuguese (**speaks - reads)
Semiri	Questionnaire and interview	Mixed: Hixkaryana -Mawayana	Indigenous Heath Agent	High School	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Hixkaryana** (speaks) **Mawayana** (speaks) **English** (speaks - reads) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)
Isaac	Questionnaire and interview	Waiwai	Middle School Teacher	High School	**Waiwai** (speaks-reads-writes) **Hixkaryana** (speaks) **English** (speaks - reads) **Portuguese** (speaks-reads-writes)

Source: Câncio (2020).

The information described in table 2 comes from questionnaires applied to all subjects involved in the research, and these allowed an overview of the multilingual and multicultural reality in which they are inserted. The formulation of the questionnaires was intended to produce personal and cultural considerations for each one, the languages they speak, since they are generically conceived as belonging to the Waiwai people, but in fact are from different ethnicities, an issue that will be addressed again in the next sections.

In order to have a greater detail of the studied sociolinguistic situation, each subject received a list of information that we wish to obtain in the interviews, and that could be expressed in the study in a more complete and in-depth way, if these were not reached in the interviews. This instrument served as an important resource because it helped to explain some of the respondents' answers, especially when there was difficulty in communication and understanding between

the researcher and the subjects, as they were speakers of different native languages: Waiwai/ Portuguese. This was also important for a better operationalization of the other data collection techniques, later applied.

In this study, the interview with teachers and indigenous subjects was a fundamental methodological tool for the investigation, as there was an interest in knowing what they had to reveal about how the Portuguese language is constituted in the village, the way in which Portuguese articulates with the indigenous language, the relations between the two languages in the formation of subjects, and about how they deal culturally with the learning of Portuguese.

Initially, the interviews were conducted with three indigenous teachers from the Waiwai Indigenous School, in the city of Oriximiná, who were undergoing in-service training. Then, the interviews were held at Mapuera Village with the other teachers and indigenous subjects, and were structured along the following thematic axes: life in the village and traditional indigenous knowledge; indigenous culture and acquisition of the Portuguese language; articulation between indigenous language and Portuguese language.

The interviews allow, in this study, to reveal the singular complexity of the knowledge, actions and reactions of the subjects in the context of the school and in the socialization spaces in Mapuera Village, through the discourse. The speeches were recorded on a digital recorder, and later transcribed, having a total of approximately 8 hours of recording, constituting the main essential sources for this Ethnographic Type Case Study. As stated by Fontana and Frey (2000, p. 663), the interview, in qualitative bias, is considered "a negotiated text" between the interviewee and the interviewer. In other words, it is an interactional space configured by the socio-historical context and by the participants.

In Mapuera Village, the interviews were carried out at different places, according to the time and availability of each subject. Much of it was held at the "teachers' house",[14] where the atmosphere was more conducive to conversation, due to the silence; at school, when teachers and students were not in the classroom; and at the subjects' own residence, when they chose this place. Before starting the interviews, he always spoke about the objectives of the work and about the care with the treatment of the material.

Considering that the word carries with it ambiguities and involves questions that concern the ethics, the self-image of the interviewee, the trust between the parties and the sensitivity and sensibility from the interviewer, it was necessary, initially, to reflect on more appropriate questions to the situation, that lead to the proposed objectives noted so that they could serve as a guide during the conduct of the others.

However, this was done without imposition, always giving room for the interviewee to feel free to discuss the proposed topic. Therefore, there is an atmosphere of reciprocal influence between those who ask and those who answer. According to Lüdke and André (1986), it is necessary to establish a friendly and trusting atmosphere between the interviewer and the interviewee, minimizing the hierarchical relations between the parties and showing respect for the culture and values of the interviewees.

The *observation*, another instrument that also supports this study, was carried out in a class of 6th grade of the middle school, at the Waiwai Indigenous School of Mapuera Village. In the

14 It is a house built in the village, by the Municipality of Oriximiná, to house non-indigenous teachers, sent by the municipality to teach classes.

classroom, the attention was payed to the moments of planning and exposure of the content by the teacher, and to the situations of interaction between teacher and student, with mainly to the dialogues established between them in the moments of articulation between the two languages: Waiwai - Portuguese. Barros and Lehfeld (1990, p. 77) highlight that the greatest advantage of using observation in research is related to the possibility of obtaining information in the spontaneous occurrence of the fact. With this strategy, we sought to analyze the speeches, positions and different practices. There were also convergent and divergent points between the practices and the discourses regarding the learning of Portuguese and Waiwai in the indigenous school.

The content of the observations includes, in this study, a more descriptive and a more reflective part. Regarding the descriptive observation, we tried to present, in summary, a record of what happened at school, such as the description of the subjects and the dialogues; school-related special events in the village. With regard to the most reflective part, we sought to note personal observations during data collection, issues arising in the relationship with the subjects, feelings and impressions, ideas and doubts that emerged during the observation process.

Some important events, which occurred during the stay in the field, and during the data collection for the research, were registered in a *Field Diary*, thus constituting a document of registration of the first articulations for entry and stay in Mapuera Village, until the return to the city. However, it is important to observe that the field work had been going on for a long time, in various meetings with teachers in the city of Oriximiná, but the records in the *Field Diary* are limited to the trip and stay in the village. During the whole trip to Mapuera Village, between one observation and another, and at the end of the interviews, I made detailed notes of the events of each day. Thus, the *Field Diary* accompanied me in daily activities. In this diary I tried to describe the facts, the situations, the moments of interaction, the aspects of the culture and the behavior of the participants in the various socialization spaces, in order to understand the object of study in its multiple dimensions (MACEDO, 2010, p. 133).

With regard to the classification, organization and analysis of the data, it is important to note that the data obtained during the field research were organized and analyzed in a way that followed the forwarding of possible responses to the problem raised. For the analysis procedure, it was necessary to organize the data in thematic axes, classification in categories and subcategories, in order to enable deeper levels of understanding of the phenomenon that I chose to investigate.

The thematic axes were constituted from the reading of the interviews carried out with the subjects, from the observation data and from the field diary. The categories were previously established based on the coloniality matrix proposed by the authors of the Modernity/Coloniality Group. The subcategories emerged from reading the data and were associated with the coloniality matrix adopted in the study: *coloniality of power*, *being and knowledge*. With this relationship, the subcategories enabled a more systematic deepening so that it was possible to apprehend the defined objectives. The table below shows the scheme of this relationship:

Table 3 – Data analysis and organization

Thematic axes	categories	subcategories
1-Life in the village and traditional indigenous knowledge; 2-Indigenous culture and acquisition of Portuguese language; 3-Articultation between Portuguese and Indigenous Language	Coloniality of Power	Discourse and power in maintenance and dispute of territory.
	Coloniality of Being	Catechization practices and discourse control.
	Coloniality of Knowledge	Transgressions and Tension between indigenous and non-indigenous knowledges.

Source: Câncio (2020).

Although there was a necessity to structure the analysis into categories and subcategories, with an emphasis on the coloniality matrix (coloniality of power, being and knowledge), we highlight that these categories cross all the work, helping to understand the historical process of introducing American Protestant missionaries among the Waiwai and their involvement in the indigenous culture of Mapuera Village, with emphasis on the acquisition of the Portuguese language.

It is from the analysis of the relationships between historical events and the most striking features of the culture of the Waiwai indigenous people that we seek to build the sense of the acquisition of the Portuguese language by them at Mapuera Village. This perspective was important and permeated all the data collection and analysis work. The interviews with a focus on culture, traditional indigenous knowledge and the acquisition of the Portuguese language were taken in light of the subjects' meanings, senses and experiences. From the survey of information it was possible to reorganize the theoretical foundation of the study in order to discuss what was raised in the light of the existing literature in the area, in the perspective of decolonial criticism and post-colonialism.

Throughout the text, in the course of the qualitative exploration of information, in the dialogue and interpretation of facts, we seek to formulate a critique of the unique episteme, rooted in a single logic, religious dogmatism and the project of alleged dominance, which denied or still denies knowledge seeking to impose a cultural and epistemological standard of beliefs, values and norms, with which coloniality is established. The structure of analysis, starting from the historical and cultural process, shows a clear example of how the Waiwai in their spaces of socialization, such as the School, (re) produce and transform knowledge, but also being, because in these spaces, as well as identities are formed and reframed, they can also be subverted in the game of social forces.

This scenario, in which the game of social forces occurs, is characterized in this study as an in-between space (BHABHA, 2013), that is, a space constituted from the recognition of difference, through which processes, borders are established and openings, margins, possibilities, becoming are promoted. Until then, there is no research in Mapuera Village, among the Waiwai peoples, on the acquisition of the Portuguese language, which in a way attributes a character of originality to this study, which was not carried out on indigenous subjects, but in the dialogue with them.

CHAPTER III

COLONIALITY/DECOLONIALITY, LANGUAGE LEARNING AND ACQUISITION IN THE FORMATION OF WAIWAI CULTURE

Writing and reading acquisition and language education in Mapuera Village

It was by reading the newspaper thrown on the floor that I learned Portuguese
(Woxuna)

The relationship between language and education in indigenous territories needs to be studied in the peculiarity, space and time of each people, considering the sociocultural and sociolinguistic aspects interlinked in the cultural dynamics and socialization process in each culture. In this sense, Alkmim (2001) says that native speech is the concrete manifestation of the human faculty of language and that it is through its exercise, through its use, that man builds the relationship with nature and with other men. Therefore, language and society cannot be conceived without one another. In this way, the whole worldview, ideology, value systems and socio-cultural practices of human communities are reflected in their lexicon, as the lexicon represents the privileged space of this process of production, accumulation, transformation and differentiation of these value systems. Lucchesi (2015, p. 47) observes that the more heterogeneous the collectivity, the deeper the conditions within it, "both on the social level and on the cultural and symbolic representation levels".

Language policies consist of a set of proposals by a group of people that consciously aims to establish relations between language and society, focusing on the places and ways of using the language (s) (CALVET, 2002, p. 146). Studies on modern language policies are largely applied to the concept and legal construction of National States. The Portuguese language, in a scenario of many conflicts and object of disputes in favor of nationalization, was named the official language of Brazil in the justification of reducing linguistic conflicts in the country and establishing international relations based on a common language. This idea of unity is linked to certain constructions (a language, a people, a nation) (RAJAGOPLAN, 2008) and to a political choice established in the selection of a language (that of the colonizer) at the expense of other national languages.

For Lucchesi (2015, p. 24), "the construction of the ideological representations of the language in Brazil is inserted in a broad organization that permeates the relations of material

production and symbolic reproduction, interacting with stereotypes that are at the basis of the construction of nationality". We can say, then, that the post-colonial state was born out of intolerance towards the different, and depended on intolerance policies for its affirmation. As a result, a uniform state of ethnocentric behavior in relation to subjects and their languages continued to be evidenced, thus moving away from the creation of spaces for democratic dialogue (LUCCHESI, 2015, p. 25). The idea of unifying values and behaviors, symbolized by the act of making the Portuguese Language official, radically excluded distinct social groups, whether ethnic, cultural or linguistic, that started to learn the Portuguese language from the margins to which they were subjected, since there was a speech that this society was uniformly monolingual. For Gilvan Müller de Oliveira (2014, p. 3), linguistic purism as racial purity is nothing more than a prejudiced distortion.

Since language, in its linguistic-discursive aspect, is capable to perform the most extreme and unlimited violence, and operate in the world, in life and in people, violence takes place in the discursive operation of making an institutionalized language a model totalizing differences, erasing or silencing singularities. Thus, when it comes to linguistic policy, according to Rajagopalan (2013), it is much more about considering political issues than actually linguistic ones. The excerpt of Woxuma's speech in the epigraph of this chapter, on how he appropriated the Portuguese language, in a situation of social inequality, reading the newspapers thrown on the city streets, is an example of how the linguistic issue (due to the lack of access to the main language) is also a political issue that affects people's lives.

In language policies there seems to be a political need to speak in the official language, that is, in the language that represents the nation. As there are no more tight linguistic boundaries, the exclusive use of the "national language" becomes an exclusion factor, similar to what in the ideology of monolinguism represents the use of minority languages other than the official language. Hence the relevance of including the discussion of linguistic and plurilingual education in the desired school and society model (OLIVEIRA, 2014, p. 3), considering that linguistic policies are one of the institutional instruments of State control. In this sense, Hamel (1993) notes that speakers of minority languages are often silenced because they cannot express themselves in public spaces, especially in administrative spheres. Sometimes, these speakers are silent for not using the dominant language or written code; other times, although they know the dominant language or the written code, they are silenced by the asymmetry of the types of verbal acts or by not mastering the patterns of interaction in the dominant language.

It cannot be said that the Waiwai language will gradually be suppressed by the Portuguese language, as happened with hundreds of other indigenous languages. To say this would be to disregard the ability of these indigenous people to resist, as has been shown throughout history. But it is certain that these linguistic and cultural clashes had negative effects on the self-esteem of these people and on their social inclusion process. Understanding the process of acquiring reading and writing of the Waiwai and Portuguese Language in the context of the Waiwai Indigenous School and the Mapuera Village can help to understand the indigenous peoples' own ways of learning, and other types of non-linguistic knowledge in indigenous territories.

Initially, it is necessary to understand that there is a distinction between Indigenous Education and Indigenous School Education when discussing the teaching-learning process in the indigenous context. The first is related to socializing practices in the territory itself, at different times and throughout life. It is the spontaneous learning of the values and mechanisms

of traditional education of each indigenous people, in which the child or young person, when interacting with other people and practicing everyday activities in the villages, learn their daily socio-cultural and sociolinguistic traditions.

Indigenous School Education is the education formally transmitted through the school (COLLET, 2006, p. 117). However, this way of educating also happens as something inherent to the way of being in the world, which implies a mutual transformation, resulting from living with the other, and also has an impact on culture. In the case of the school in indigenous territory, studies have shown that the individual learns to see the world through polished lenses by the majority society, and that he tends to keep his own specificity to himself. Indigenous School Education, therefore, could be thought out of Indigenous Education, according to the culture of each people. The experiences of older people, respect for traditions, indigenous cultural identity and the way to see the meaning of the world are aspects of Indigenous Education that agents of school education departments should not exclude from the curriculum.

To address the issue of acquiring and learning both Waiwai and Portuguese at the Waiwai Indigenous School and Mapuera village, it is necessary to establish the following definition: we understand that the process of language acquisition (SCHÜTZ, 2010) occurs, generally, in so-called natural, that is, non-instructional contexts, and in situations of using the language for purposes of communication, interaction with the other. Language learning, in turn, will be approached here as a conscious process of knowledge retention, which takes place in a given instructional environment, as in the school classroom, then, the learning is the result of an instructional process.

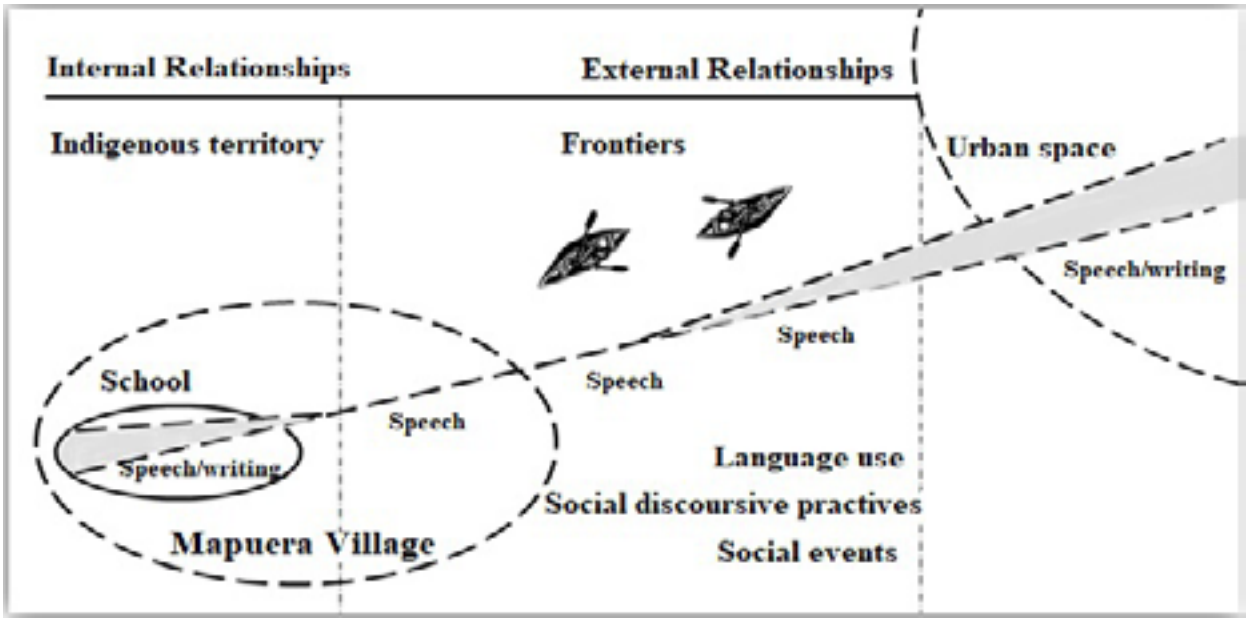
Thus, based on the perspective of Schütz (2010), language education will be understood here not as a predetermined didactic package, grammatically sequenced, based on translation or repetitive and mechanical oral exercises, nor as one that uses technological resources. But based on the dynamics of the Waiwai culture, which develops in a multicultural environment, and which explores the subjects' personal skills in building relationships, creating real communication situations, related to the interests of everyone involved in the educational process, with a language within reach understanding.

Before going into the question of the acquisition and learning of both Waiwai and Portuguese, it is important to observe, in a broader perspective, the circumstances of the discourse and the characteristics of the discursive spaces where the Waiwai peoples interact. Charaudeau (2008, p. 32) understands the circumstances of the discourse as a "set of supposed knowledge that circulates among the protagonists of language, assumed knowledge about the world and assumed knowledge about the reciprocal points of view of the protagonists of the act of language" . This knowledge and imagery are put into action through social practices and materialized in discursive practices. With this, the subjects leave aspects of the socio-discursive memory imprinted, as the materialized practices reveal the way the subject sees and judges the world in which he acts.

To show how relationships, discursive social practices and social events take place in which the acquisition and learning of indigenous and Portuguese language occurs, we classify the social relationships that take place in that context into two types: internal relations and external relations. Internal relations are those that acquisition and learning of the indigenous language takes place in the indigenous territory, in the practices and social events circumscribed to Mapuera village and the Waiwai Indigenous School. In these relationships, two spaces prevail: the School space and the Village space. In the school space there is both the learning of the in-

digenous language (on a larger scale) and the learning of Portuguese. Although reduced, there are written social discursive practices, but those related to oral events prevail. In the Mapuera village space, the acquisition of the indigenous language (on a larger scale) prevails, the acquisition of the Portuguese language is quite reduced and the discursive social practices are predominantly oral. The following figure helps to understand this process:

Figure 4 – Characteristics and structure of the discursive spaces



Source: Câncio (2020)

The internal and external relations are overlapped by the uses of languages and by the discursive social practices in frontier spaces, between the school in the village and the urban space. Speeches and interactions through speech and writing, both in Waiwai and in Portuguese, take place more at school than in other socialization spaces in Mapuera village, where the spoken Waiwai language prevails. Outside the school environment, in the so-called interstitials here, or in the frontier spaces between the indigenous territory and the urban space, where oral events in the Waiwai Language prevail, this spoken language also predominates, but begins to "dispute" space with the Portuguese language spoken, as the subjects move towards urban spaces, in dialogues with Portuguese speakers. This relation of code alternation is very noticeable when traveling to villages, on boats, a space that is shared with Portuguese speakers, as well as with speakers of other indigenous languages, who also go to the city.

Although the characteristics of the discursive spaces where the Waiwai of Mapuera village circulate, towards the urban spaces, provide a brief representation of the social discursive practices, where dialogues between Waiwai and Portuguese speakers, these should never be understood as hegemonic, but as discontinuous discursive spaces, in constant movement, which is due to the performance of different functions, the existence (or not) of conflicts or exchanges of linguistic records in the spaces that each one occupies, and the possible expansion or restriction of these spaces, as well as the criteria that determine it.

This structure and characteristic of the discursive spaces where indigenous and non-indigenous subjects move and interact, mediated by language, also helps to understand the artic-

ulation between the indigenous language and the Portuguese language, both at school and in the indigenous territory. In this sense, to understand how Waiwai and Portuguese are acquired and learned in Mapuera village and in the Waiwai Indigenous School, we consider the place of Indigenous Education and Indigenous School Education in this process, as shown in the table below:

Table 4 – Acquisition and learning of Waiwai and Portuguese at Mapuera Villge and Waiwai Indigenous School

Indigenous Education: acquisition and learning of Waiwai Language	Indigenous School Education: acquisition and learning of Portuguese Language
It was along my experience that I learned [...] After I went to school and started to learn the subject; I had a dictionary, I was up to learn my own language ***(Wîrîkî)****.*	*I was already able to better communicate with whites. I learned from them, when they went to the village [...] And when he had already bought everything, then we went to the city. That's how I met Oriximiná. In time, I was already speaking Portuguese.* ***(Wîrîkî)****.*
My children know how to speak Waiwai, because their mother, relatives, and others in the village who live with them are always speaking very well in their mother tongue ***(Taniw)****.*	*[...] there were whites from FUNAI in the village. With them, children learned small things like "good morning", "Good!", "This is good!". It was with the whites from FUNAI that they learned Portuguese, because of the children's interest.* ***(Taniw)****.*
We learn the indigenous language on a daily basis [...] Sister Irene taught us to write in Waiwai [...] She only taught us Waiwai and very little Portuguese; she helped to translate Waiwai into Portuguese and from Portuguese to Waiwai ***(Tio Tio)****.*	*I learned to speak Portuguese when I was young [...] In the farm there was a non-indigenous person who talked to me a lot, he helped me a lot to learn the Portuguese language [...] That's how I learned Portuguese, at work with others people [...]* ***(Neytem Mawayana)****.*
I learned another language, the indigenous Hixkaryana language, and when I meet them I can speak Hixkaryana, we talk a lot[...] When they come here, to our village, we talk a lot, and that was how I learned. So we learn in contact, with dialogue. [...] I started to study with her [sister Irene], I studied at school, [...] she learned to speak our language too [...] ***(Manasa)****.*	*I started to learn to speak Portuguese when I went to Oriximiná, in 1978 or 1977, when Mineração Rio do Norte was just starting. [...] There was another boy who also taught me some things. But I pronounced everything in a wrong way, he always corrected me. [...] but I learned, like this, by guessing* ***(Tio Tio)****.*
It was she [Sister Irene] who taught us our language, produced and also helped to produce some written materials about our indigenous language. And it was this material that helped us to learn to read the Bible ***(Eduardo)****.*	*[...]I watched my relatives who spoke Portuguese well [...]. Then I thought like this, if I did not learn this language I would never develop, I would never go forward. Then I started to leave the village for the city. But at that time everything was very strict here in the village [...] then I started to learn Portuguese, it wasn't at school, it was on the street even with people, on a daily basis* ***(Eduardo)****.*

I learned my language in the village with my parents, with my relatives [...] I studied for a year at the village school [...] I just have some difficulty to write. My sisters did not have the same study that I did there, in indigenous language, because they came straight to the city. They learned neither to read nor to write in Waiwai, but they speak a little in our language ***(Waytia).***	*My father rented a house in the city and put me to live with a family. That's why I learned Portuguese quickly, because there was no other indigenous person for me to communicate with, and so I was forced to learn to speak another language. This helps me in a totally different way from other indigenous people, who did not have the same opportunity.* ***(Waytia)****.*
We learn from our parents, they told us many legends, they explained many things to us. So, with that, they told stories for us to learn and also tell those same stories to other people [...] So it was our culture, that's why until today we don't lose the stories of our culture ***(Woxuna)****.*	*When I arrived here at the age of 17, I didn't know anything about Portuguese. When I arrived here, the whites here did not understand the English language, they only spoke Portuguese. After a few months, in the coexistence, it was that I started talking to people, I started to learn something* ***(Woxuna)****.*

Source: Câncio (2020)

With regard to Indigenous Education, most of the interviewed subjects stated that the acquisition of the Waiwai language occurs in the relationship with their parents, since they were children, and in interactions with other relatives, in the daily life of the village. This acquisition is related to oral tradition, the strength of storytelling, the experiences lived in the indigenous territory and the socialization within social groups, characterizing a relationship interwoven in culture, identity, and the universe of Waiwai life, mediated by language.

Far from trying to differentiate speech and writing, in order to do not convey the false image that in that context we are facing a dichotomy, it is important to observe that the work with orality (learning) occupies a secondary place in the school. However, we observed that indigenous teachers are concerned with teaching students to use oral language when addressing older people and indigenous leaders, to whom they should address themselves with a more formal level of speech, in various situations. This question is evident in the statements of teachers Tio Tio and Manasa below:

> My mom and dad taught me that. They said it was not to play with the image of the elderly, because they must be respected [...] We never let go of our culture or our language, we speak Waiwai and try to speak the right words, we never leave ours abandoned tongue. (INTERVIEW with professor Tio Tio, on 11/24/2016).
>
> [...] I learned how to respect people from another culture. I learned that I could not speak bad words to our relatives, that we should talk to our parents with affection, and also that when we go to speak to the authorities we always have to respect them, just as we respect our indigenous leaders (INTERVIEW with teacher Manasa, on 11/22/2016).

It should be noted that learning the written Waiwai language was only observed in the indigenous school. This process was previously mediated by the missionaries, whose work focused on christianization, based on excerpts from the Bible, for the learning of the indigenous language. Currently, teaching Waiwai writing at school has become the exclusive work of the indigenous teacher, who speaks Portuguese and Waiwai, and is no longer related to the preaching of the gospel. We observed that during the process of translating from Portuguese into the in-

digenous language, some subjects showed a certain care with what they call "correct Waiwai", that is, something like writing the language according to its current usage, as there are terms and expressions which vary and are no longer used in that context.

The motivation for learning to write indigenous language in the indigenous school is related to the maintenance of indigenous culture. According to Bakhtin (1992, p. 279), "all spheres of human activity, no matter how varied they may be, are always related to the use of language". Such use is made in the form of statements (oral and written), reflecting the specific conditions and purposes of the social sphere to which they belong. These, in turn, "elaborate their relatively stable types of utterances", called discourse genres. During the stay at Mapuera village, we observed that outside the school environment there is the circulation of some written discursive genres, such as notes and letters, written in Waiwai, addressed to indigenous people who speak the same language, from other villages, or to relatives who study or live in cities. There is, also, the circulation of written genres very close to speech, due to the practicality of radio communication in the village, and according to the specific conditions and purposes.

With regard to the acquisition and learning of Portuguese at Mapuera Village and at Waiwai Indigenous School, with emphasis on Indigenous School Education, we began to observe that the majority of the interviewed subjects declared that the acquisition of the Portuguese language occurred in the city, or in circulation spaces with non-indigenous people, in coexistence, in dialogue, in circumstances of verbal communication mobilized by communicative needs, in proportion to their impacts on social life. Few indigenous subjects have the privilege of learning Portuguese in urban schools, and when they do, they encounter many obstacles ranging from the condition to remain in the city due to difficulties with the second language, as evidenced in the speeches of Edson, when he was interviewed in June 27th, 2016, saying "when I arrived in the city, I went to school and started studying there, but I found it very difficult to speak and present my work. Even so, I always tried to know the words I didn't know" and Waytia:

> I was so shy when I was studying in the city that even when the teacher called my name to be there, I was already embarrassed. I was and still am afraid of saying the wrong thing, of reversing the order of the sentences. Back in the village, most indigenous who learn Portuguese find it difficult to pronounce certain words [...] To this day, I still have difficulties. I can only speak correctly when I try several times. If I try to speak a sentence quickly, I just can't (INTERVIEW with Waytia, on 06/27/2016).

For four years we had the opportunity to live with Waytia in the city, a time when he was studying Medicine at the Federal University of Pará. This long period of daily living with him and his relatives, along without previous experiences teaching Portuguese Language for the high school in Oriximiná, also helped us to understand the obstacles experienced by the Waiwai in the acquisition and learning of Portuguese. There are many situations of linguistic prejudice and stigmatization at school and in urban spaces, which for many of them can act as a barrier to continue their studies. Waytia, for example, reported several situations of nervousness and anguish when he needed to present works of oral exposure in the academic sphere, in Portuguese.

This situation among the Waiwai is closely related to what they call speaking Portuguese correctly, that is, according to the prescriptions of the prestigious linguistic norm, often used as a condition for the "insertion" of the individual in literate society. Some characteristics of the

Portuguese spoken by the indigenous people of Mapuera, such as the rhotacism produced by the phonetic difference between Portuguese/Waiwai, and the common cases of absence of plural marking (Ex.: "We *drinks* a lot of water"), are understood as "errors", not as differences between varieties of the language, and related to the low level of education.

The lack of understanding of these peculiarities of "Portuguese Waiwai", can lead to the understanding that the indigenous people are less educated, without intellectual capacity; social factors that act in the language and that make the language in the urban environment a vehicle of prejudices and exclusions. Because, when pointing out the supposed "error" of the other's speech, social inequality is reinforced anyway, marking the variation used by him as a stereotype, a problem that must be solved in social relations and eradicated from school and more formal discourse contexts more formal.

The data in table 4, related to the acquisition and learning of the Portuguese language at school and in the village, show that a good part of the indigenous subjects learned to speak the Portuguese language outside the school with non-indigenous people, such as FUNAI agents in the village, or when working at farms and urban spaces. At school, most of them learned from teachers coming from the city, since this subject started to be taught by indigenous teachers in the last three years. The highlighted statements show that both the process of acquisition and language learning among the Waiwai of Mapuera Village occurs in a contiguous way, that is, both in natural environments and in instructional environments, such as the school. Thus, this process between them cannot be understood if it is not interchangeable.

In the case of the Waiwai language, the acquisition occurs naturally and emerges spontaneously when the subjects are involved in oral situations of interaction with their peers, still children, with a focus on attention and meanings. For this acquisition to take place, neither instruction nor intention to learn is needed, the knowledge spontaneously results in the processes of interaction. Waiwai's learning at the Waiwai Indigenous School (institutional) is a conscious process of obtaining knowledge of writing, and reading in the indigenous language, and is typically a process that has only occurred in the context of the school, different from the acquisition of speech that happens in other circulation spaces in the village.

In the case of the Portuguese language, it has an institutional and social role that has not yet been consolidated in the School and in the Indigenous Village where the subjects are inserted. It is recognized as a language of difficult communication between the subjects, and is seen as an instruction resource in the school for purposes of access and circulation among non-indigenous people, when they are in urban centers. This sense of perceiving the Portuguese language in that indigenous context may have been consolidated due to the acquisition process and learning of Portuguese taking place in an environment of little immersion in Portuguese as a second language, that is, in an environment in which exposure to this language is greatly reduced.

The dialogues with the Waiwai teachers and the observations at the school showed that the teaching and learning process at the school does not occur through the observation of a specific curriculum proposal for that indigenous people, which is not systematically monitored and their specificities are not considered in the Pedagogical Political Project built at SEMED for them. The current curriculum that guides the Waiwai Indigenous School was proposed by SEDUC-PA and is prepared based on the Unified Curriculum Structure for indigenous schools in Pará, for primary education from 1st to 8th grade, according to Resolution No. 505, of September 16, 2002, from the State Education Council of Pará (CEED). This resolution, which guides the or-

ganization of teaching in series or learning cycles, suggests that the curriculum meets "the sociolinguistic particularities" and indigenous socio-cultural practices, among other issues already guided by the current legislation on Indigenous School Education.

During the time that we observed the work of indigenous teachers, in some dialogues on sociolinguistic issues in that territory, they resented SEMED for not researching and producing didactic, instructional material, or considering the contents of subjects as: Waiwai orality, Waiwai writing and reading, Waiwai mathematics and other knowledge about these people. The Pedagogical Political Project (PPP) of the Indigenous School, which is also unified and encompasses all indigenous schools in the Nhamundá-Mapuera indigenous territory, disregards these same particularities.

There is, therefore, a "hidden" conflict in the indigenous school, and silenced in SEMED, about the learning logic established in the schools that are part of that territory. The lack of technical capacity to discuss and assume the demands of these indigenous people has often led the indigenous school to attempt to fit teaching in the models of non-indigenous institutional behaviors. There is no understanding that it is increasingly common in this territory for children to be exposed to a language at home, but also to others in between where discursive practices take place, and even those that are studied in the indigenous school. The proposed curriculum, therefore, falls short of the sociolinguistic dynamics of that indigenous territory.

By resisting these types of violence, indigenous peoples produce epistemic counter-hegemonies, since they are subjects who hold discursive practices in their indigenous language. About the teaching subsidies that circulate in the indigenous school, and the importance of content about the culture itself to overcome teaching centered on the urban school model, teachers Ary and Tio Tio declared:

> So it would be much better if we had our own textbooks to teach our mother tongue. It would be great if we had a textbook where the body parts were written in our first mothertongue. It would also be necessary for our legends to be there. In addition to textbooks, we also need teaching materials to facilitate our classes. It is important that these books bring stories, not exactly from the past, but stories from our reality. (INTERVIEW with Ary, 11/26/2016).

> Then we came to the conclusion that we should increasingly teach, seek better ways to teach, seek didactic material, because if we do not try to teach in the best way, they will continue to experience great difficulty. So I think that when the children are having difficulty the problem is also with the teacher [...] So, knowing how to speak Portuguese means being able to help my people to know another language and another culture. (INTERVIEW with Professor Tio Tio, on 11/24/2016).

Regarding the teaching of Portuguese in different realities from those of large urban centers, such as the case of indigenous territories, it can be said that working in different classrooms is not always a reality. Often the lack of didactic material production, translated and adapted to the indigenous languages spoken in the territories, results in a certain attachment and unregulated interference of the contents of the urban schools by the teachers, disregarding the indigenous ways of learning, teaching and participating. In this sense, the didactic material in Portuguese, adopted at school, is totally disconnected from the sociolinguistic reality of Waiwai students.

As a criticism of the idea of a static and predictable society, like the one in which the indigenous school was and still is thought, Cohn (2002) proposes a vision of society and socialization that is constituted from dynamism and change, concerning the processes of knowledge transmission between generations, based on orality. This premise gives room for themes such as the incompleteness of what is transmitted, something that is transmitted in a non-linear way in time and space, which is not complete, and has as its nature the multiplicity of points of view, that is, it includes in the process of transmission of knowledge the joint movement of its production.

This way of understanding social relations, in addition to cultural uniformity, even in the school space, is very present in the classes of the observed indigenous teachers. The reflexive nature of the teacher's speech, addressed to students during classes, helps to understand how the learning of Portuguese is linked to the indigenous language at school. Therefore, from the observations in the school, we describe Professor Taniw's class in three actions which show the flow of practices between teacher and students, during an Art class,[15] in which the teacher spoke about indigenous pottery to students, taking their interlocutors to codes alternation.

When translating Professor Taniw's class to describe how learning Portuguese is linked to the indigenous language at school, in a class of about 18 students, during the Art class, we highlighted the linguistic fluency of the teacher in the Waiwai Language, in Portuguese and English. When explaining the content in the indigenous language, Taniw mobilized examples that required knowledge, in addition to the indigenous language, the Portuguese language and the English language. In Action 1 we see that he starts the class in the Waiwai language and demonstrates an initial work to focus students' attention on the subject. With this action, we registered that the students listened carefully to the explanation, without making interventions or questions. At this time, the code alternation was more recurrent in the teacher, both in speech and in writing the words on the board.

In Action 2 we found that the teacher, who already had the attention from most of the students, switches the code more often and was already able to involve students much more. A great part of the class already asked questions, interacting with the teacher through the indigenous language, that is, here the students start to change the code in speech more frequently. Taniw, noting that the class was already flowing, explained to them the importance of learning the meaning of some words used during classes in the non-indigenous languages in question. In writing, the teacher showed some characteristics of the languages involved in this process, and asked the students to repeat the words in Portuguese and in English. The students asked questions in the Waiwai language.

In Action 3 it was possible to notice that this movement of alternating the code was more frequent on the part of the teacher and the students. Here, the latter asked the teacher more specific questions, and also showed a certain ease in the pronunciation of words in the English language. The end of the class was followed by an activity of questions (in Waiwai) on the content explained, in which I observed that there were no questions that suggested the alternation of the code, thus limiting this activity to oral events in the classroom.

At school, In Professor Taniw's class, we verified that the teaching of Portuguese is linked to the indigenous language in classes that are not restricted to language teaching, as in the

15 The option for an Art class to describe how learning Portuguese is linked to the indigenous language at school was because this class better characterizes this process, although this same relationship is almost always established in Portuguese and Indigenous language classes.

subjects Indigenous Language, Portuguese Language and English Language. But this articulation in teaching crosses almost all subjects and is mobilized individually by teachers, according to their degree of proficiency in the non-indigenous languages addressed. In addition, I could also see that some social, linguistic and pedagogical aspects involved in this process, which can vary in each teacher, also contribute to the dynamics of the classes, and can help in the process of building students' bi/multilingualism.

Although it should not be generalized with this example how the language teaching process at the Waiwai Indigenous School develops, this class is an indication of how the teacher helps to develop bi/multilingualism in students. In this process, became clear that students learn more of the Portuguese language at school when the teacher uses that language to carry out concrete activities and learn new content. Thus, the indigenous teacher is not only teaching new content, but creating opportunities for students to participate and speak this other language, in the perspective that they become more autonomous learners, associating precisely with resistance and domination.

In the classroom environment, for example, the teacher can develop his/her planning so that the student has to use the target language to ask for information that he/she doesn't really have, that needs to give an opinion on various subjects, make complaints and questions. The classes of indigenous teachers are almost always a simulation of the real. To do so, they work with the purpose of making the student use the resources that enable him to start, develop and end a situation of conversation, demonstrating his understanding and thus enabling a process very close to the real one. Then, between one explanation and another, the teacher establishes bridges, when teaching a given content, between the linguistic knowledge of the languages involved (Waiwai, Portuguese and English) and cultural differences.

According to Howard (1993), the knowing, gifts and beauty are considered ideal of the Waiwai ethos of serenity and sociability, since they always used these elements to get close to other peoples, who were always involved in the exchange of food, work and goods, and generally adopted the norms of a peaceful conduct. The Waiwai notion of education, therefore, should not be restricted to the transmission of ideas, knowledge, techniques and values, but recognizes that what is known is "incorporated", takes place in the ideal of the person desired in the processes of socialization, and in their bodies, and these must be properly produced to receive knowledge, as Howard noted.

Despite living in a world so linguistically and culturally heterogeneous, it is clear that there is still a lot of resistance from institutions to accept and bring into the classrooms, effectively, the different knowledge and conduct based on the ideals of each indigenous people. Linguistic education, based on the linguistic and cultural homogeneity of indigenous peoples, does not consider the difference that exists between them, it ignores the representations that reveal themselves in specific practices and generally disconnect the teaching of language practices from the subjects' daily life, which contributes for those learning difficulties to be accentuated.

COLONIALITY OF POWER: DISCOURSE AND POWER IN THE DISPUTE AND MAINTENANCE OF THE TERRITORY

Power is a form of social relationship. The mechanisms of control of the territory by power also occur through the use of language. One way of exercising power is through the manipulation of culture and language, as the discourse is also used to reproduce domination. In this way, language, speech and power are organically interconnected in modern society. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss the question of the ideological, political and oppressive language and discourse of the agents of capital, used to regulate the life and social relations of the Waiwai people, as a structure of domination aiming to discipline indigenous populations in their territories.

The *Coloniality of Power* in this context is instituted through the manipulation of culture and language in the constitution of a Waiwai identity apart of its indigenous reality, and in the very existence of the State, as a fixed, centralizing political and legal figure, which tends to homogenize and subordinate indigenous peoples. This form of control, domination and subordination of the people is also based on the idea of race, a concept that articulates itself as a mechanism for the perpetuation of modern power. It is from this perspective that the Peruvian philosopher Aníbal Quijano elaborates the definition of the *Coloniality of Power* (QUIJANO, 2007), making reference to the articulation of power with the elaboration of a discourse, which imbrications are historical and proposes an order with a foundation in a social order classification.

If also observed as discontinuous practices, the discourses can reveal exclusionary, segregationist practices and ideologies that are articulated for the purpose of domination of territories and the alienation of the peoples who live there, based on a pattern of hegemonic power. It can be said, therefore, that "the *coloniality of power* implies international power relations and internal relations within countries, which in Latin America has been called historical-structural dependence" (QUIJANO, 2007, p. 121). The multiple meanings of the relationship between power, discourse, institutions and political practices, help to unveil the ideologies of those who, by forcing a political and ideological claim on indigenous territory, tried to silence the Waiwai peoples.

It should be noted that the relationship between discourse and power is complex. Therefore, it is important to clarify that the concept of power is explained here in terms of Van Dijk (2015, p. 17), who defends that social power is defined in terms of control, "that is, control of a group over others groups and their members". In this perspective, those who have an interest also seek control, through the abuse of power, of those considered "controlled". This act, according to the same author, is involved in communicative actions that occur through discourse. Thus, in a more specific way, it is necessary to talk about "control" over the speech of others, which, for the same author,

> [...] is one of the obvious ways in which speech and power are related: people are not free to speak or write when, where, for whom, about what or how they want, but are partially or totally controlled by other powerful ones such as the State, the police, the media or a company interested in suppressing freedom of writing and speech (typically critical). Or, instead, they have to speak or write as they are told to (VAN DIJK, 2015, p. 18).

This idea of subordination of the other to the strengthening of an expansive project, through a relationship of power, is also reflected in the vision that the indigenous started to build of themselves, given the discourses of inferiority that often circulate, when in contact with non-indigenous people. As an attitude against hegemony and resistance, this issue can be evidenced in the speech of the indigenous teacher Wîrîkî, by reflecting on the negative image that the hegemonic society has of the indigenous people when they are unable to communicate in the Portuguese Language:

> If I didn't know how to speak or write in Portuguese, everything would be much more difficult. It's like I don't know anything, like I'm an illiterate. My situation would be greatly affected, because if we do not know how to speak Portuguese, as well as the indigenous language, we will suffer more prejudices, because people think that we have no knowledge. It is as if I did not know how to write or to study, then people say: Oh, he is indigenous! He is from the forest, son of the forest (INTERVIEW with professor Wîrîkî, on 06/27/2016).

Wîrîkî's speech reveals historical mechanisms for maintaining hegemony. The implication of this was and still is the perception of systems of values, norms and rules of social conduct, used as a form of domination, in disagreement with the set of symbols shared "by the members of a certain social group and which allows them to give meaning to the world in which they live and their actions" (TASSINARI, 1995). It is, therefore, based on this premise that Professor Wîrîkî subverts the unfavorable and prejudiced treatment for not using the Portuguese language, criticizing and signaling a perspective of overcoming this linguistic domination.

The invention of the "inferior other", therefore, is an essential condition for the existence of modernity/coloniality. That is why, when talking about modernity, it also refers to its ever-present hidden face, the coloniality, that is, violence against the other, who, in this relationship, has already been produced as inferior. However, this epistemic, political and hegemonic scenario, even if it is intended, is not universal, because in many situations it brings out nonconformity, resistance.

As a way of resisting the State and fighting the regulation of life and social relations, the Waiwai have always invested in expeditions and created strategies to enter the non-indigenous world, seeking to break the borders of the social order instituted between them, as well as those who they exercised power and also articulated themselves to reach indigenous territory. In the following quote, Professor Wîrîkî recounts one of his endeavors to reach the city:

> He said he would have it checked to see if we were embarking for the city. And he said: you are leaving for the city without any authorization. Look what he said to us! Then we thought, man, what now!? But we told ourselves that we needed to go anyway. We couldn't go back. Imagine people coming from the village six days in a canoe to reach Cachoeira Porteira!? And to return, it would be more than a week! We thought about how we were going to do it now. Two of our friends then suggested us to return tomorrow. I didn't like it when they said that and I said: no, I'm not going back! (INTERVIEW with Professor Wîrîkî, on 06/27/2016).

The nonconformity motivated by the perception of the alleged isolation from the community can be analyzed as a strategy that Wîrîkî found to establish interaction with non-indigenous

people, in order to circulate through other social spaces. Due to the abuse of power, the non-indigenous to whom Wîrîkî refers, was not able to prevent him from going to the city. The attempt to control by the speech was not able to frustrate its objectives, generating in Wîrîkî a form of confrontation and resistance.

From a very young age, Wîrîkî was motivated to understand what non-indigenous who arrived in the village said. He also needed to understand how political and ideological relations took place in other social spaces, in addition to Mapuera village. In this sense, it is important to note that the social power of a group will always be related to access and certain specific material resources that other groups can provide. In the case of forms of coloniality, it is not only about capital or territory, material resources, but also symbolic resources, such as knowledge (VAN DIJK, 2015, p. 22).

The invasion of the territories and the violence against the indigenous peoples of the Brazilian Amazon, along with the practices of imprisonment by the Portuguese, has always affected the region since the ancestors of the Waiwai. Even though the American missionaries used missionary work among the indigenous people as a defense argument, there was always speculation among them that there was also an interest by the religious in the mineral wealth of the forest, a subject often silenced in the villages. In Mapuera, we can say that there was the construction of a racial and social hierarchy, established between the foreigner and the indigenous, mediated by the modes of appropriation of external material resources and within the territory.

Religious discourse was given for the establishment of social relations whose operating mode sought to favor, in that context and outside, both the constitution and the perpetuation of the existence of subordinated subjects, expressed through the coloniality of power, as an exercise of specifically modern domination (anchored in the notion of race) that links the idea of controlling indigenous peoples to access and the production of knowledge. In this sense, about the alleged superiority of western civilization and the self-determination of peoples, as Wallerstein points out:

> The concepts of democracy and human rights, the superiority of Western civilization and the free market economy are presented as universal values and invoked by the great powers, under the leadership of the United States, to legitimize and justify the right of intervention, which they evoke for themselves, and disrespect for the principles of sovereignty and self-determination of peoples (WALLERSTEIN, 1998, p. 14).

Thus, there is an exercise of tutelary power that must be thought in terms of invasion of territories. Attempts are made to integrate disciplinary elements from societies that hold greater political and economic power, with both strategic and tactical functions, making use of the performative power of words and enunciation modes, which are also determinants in this process. The compassion argument, of the others' understanding, starts to be used to insert it into the hegemonic society, because, this way, the problem of limits, belonging to the nation would be solved. The relationships of the agencies that promote forms of tutelage power are complex. In many situations, behaving as a guardian can be an indigenous strategy for acquiring knowledge, and a way of overcoming the guardianship itself by taking a position.

With regard to the process of guardianship of the Waiwai people, the interests of missionaries in interfering with these people were also political interests, as they acted consider-

ably in the form of organization and in the relations between indigenous groups. The "word" was preached based on some precepts that often contradicted the indigenous cultural tradition. This was characterized by the exercise of attempting a silent "domination", as if there were no hegemony, in a composition determined by the dissolution of the elements of persuasion, which were anchored in the arbitrary force of American superiority. It is a modern form of exploitation and domination that sought to annihilate the appearance of dissent or conflict between them.

In the most deepened dialogues with the Waiwai, it is possible to see very clearly how the negotiations with their non-indigenous interlocutors took and still take place. In the game of social forces within the indigenous territory, the positions that they always occupy show a location beyond the supposed hegemonic way of perceiving relations with non-indigenous people and a single way of thinking. This way of existing allows them to disconnect, in the particular sense of not commune with a thought that puts them in disadvantage, from the modes of operation of ideologies, since ideology was used as a resource to soften a social imposition of a group that was fighting among them for a stable upper position.

In that context, Americans find the moral justification for exercising their social forces, designed by the coloniality of power. These modes of operating ideologies acted to establish positions between subjects: periphery and center. But it is not possible to ignore the fact that this also aroused the desire to know the place (center) where those who did not belong to that territory came from. Professor Wîrîkî expressed this desire to know the place where came from those who tried to exclude him from the possibility of participating in centric social life, beyond the indigenous territory:

> In 1981 there was a firm; they arrived in the village because of that. Then I had an idea. Gosh, it would be interesting for me to know where they came from. But in my childhood there was a rule: *cacique* Ewká did not let young people go out to the city. There was a policy that was supported by missionaries in the village. It was very rare for someone to leave the village for the city. Among colleagues, I knew I needed to go to the city (INTERVIEW with professor Wîrîkî, on 06/27/2016).

In this speech, Wîrîkî makes evident how large corporations and financial conglomerates have used economic power to expand and incorporate new spaces in the capital accumulation circuits among the Waiwai. Thus, there was the production of a speech that tried to silence a specific reality, configuring itself as an important weapon to justify a supposed process of territorial expropriation, as a way to promote the subtraction of territorialized resources in the country, understood by them as peripheral.

> Wallerstein (1998, p. 19) observes that when the strongest nations are questioned about the peoples' right to interference, the interventions always resort to a moral justification: "natural law and Christianity in the 16th century, the civilizing mission in the 20th XIX and human rights and democracy at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century". Wîrîkî also began to question himself about the interventions and interdictions experienced by them, when the missionaries arrived at Mapuera village:
>
> At one point in our culture, there were several barriers, for example, when our contact with the missionaries occurred. They said that we had a culture, but that

> we had to put that aside, because there were many things that were sins. We had our shamans, our healers, and our strong spirits. But, at the time, with the arrival of the missionaries, it was said that all this was a sin and they tried to take away this culture, our traditions [...]. And there was a moment when they tried to take our leadership. But even so, we managed to maintain our culture and our tradition (INTERVIEW with professor Wîrîkî, on 06/27/2016).

The teacher, in a disobedient way, realized that the attempt to control the territory and the indigenous identities shared in that space resided, mainly, in the construction of an identity that was not like that of his, and that was forged in a "natural" appearance of the world. Thus, religious discourses, norms, rules, sought to define the position that the indigenous person should occupy (peripheral), as well as the conduct rules that should "shape" this new subject. Wîrîkî's reflexive and anti-conformist attitude made him insurgent the non-discursive reproduction of racism and prejudice against the rituals of his own people. These are issues related to the opposition of good/evil, health/illness, which are typical of the Western world, which, in certain way, had an impact on the delegitimisation of the indigenous knowledge.

During the field research, as we talked with the Waiwai, we realized the need to increasingly reflect on the intrinsically political nature of language and native speech, the power relations between the speeches and their political dimension, as well as the relations of power between languages and the political dimension of their use. As Fiorin (2009, p. 164) explained, "The circulation of discourses in the social space is also subject to the order of power. The linguistic uses can be the space of belonging, but also of exclusion, separation and even the elimination of the other". In the field diary, I recorded the question of the Waiwai's need to transit through other spaces for the circulation of speeches:

> Throughout the interviews, I observed that the dialogues with the indigenous people in other areas of the village, without an appointment, in a more relaxed way, were also very productive. In any case, the idea of an interview with a Portuguese teacher (they already knew me as a Portuguese teacher before) also establish in them a certain formality and an apparent concern to not be able to use the language in the "correct" form, as they say. They are extremely concerned with speaking the Portuguese language "correctly", and this ability, for them, is related to the power to master this language very well, which works as a symbol that they also have, in addition to the indigenous languages, the power of the "other". (FIELD DIARY, 11th November 2016).

When referring to Roland Barthes, Fiorin (2009) explains that the object in which power is inscribed "is its mandatory expression: language". And he adds that the power "resides in the language, because it is a classification and 'every classification is oppressive'" (FIORIN, 2009, p. 150). Thus, as a categorization of the world, language is "a way of seeing it", and this way of seeing it "forces us to represent reality with its categories", because, "one can only speak to them" (FIORIN, 2009, p. 150-151).

The mastery of the other's language among the Waiwai occurs in a power game mediated by disputes. In this process, languages could not have coexisted as neutral acquisitions, but as subversive conquests, crossed by political purposes, by power. This game of social forces is much more striking at the beginning of the religious conversion activities between them, which corresponds to the time of solidification of the missionary presence among the indigenous

groups of the northern Amazon. With clear objectives of indoctrination and pacification of the peoples of the Tarumã-Charumá Complex, which subtly combined the Christianizing mission with the task of observing the north of the country, foreigners began to take note of the paths, navigable rivers, flora, fauna, mineral wealth and inhabitants, and they continually sent photographs and written material about the place.

The Waiwai reported that the missionaries sent a lot of material to the United States. In Mapuera they had a very modern communication system for the time, which interconnected them with their higher bodies. This sense of intervention, of sequential change, which produced a new meaning for culture through the use of power, was already felt and is still very much questioned by the Waiwai:

> When I was young, in the village, I realized that no one else wanted to keep the traditions, they only thought about going to church. But even so, they still maintained some other dance, some tradition. Before there was no ban on anything! (INTERVIEW with Professor Wîrîkî, on 06/27/2016).
>
> She (Sister Irene) thought that things should not change; she said that there should be only indigenous culture (INTERVIEW with Isaac, on 11/25/2016).
>
> At the time of missionary Irene, she spoke Portuguese; I wanted to learn Portuguese to talk to people, to work (INTERVIEW with Xustim, on 11/23/2016).
>
> [...] in the past they didn't speak that language, but now we want to learn. We want to develop better, we want to speak! (INTERVIEW with Woxuna, on 11/23/2016).

This way of thinking and perceiving themselves critically was produced by the subjects through a decentralization of power, because, when questioning their place in the world, they mobilize the displacement of forms of production centered on outside knowledge, abroad, rearticulating themselves to life in the village, to the particular ways of producing values in that social context. In this way, the Waiwai began to refute the view of passively "losers", fed in the speeches of the agents of social intervention "for development". In this relationship, the need to acquire a new language started to confront the relations of power and intersubjectivities that feed the coercive forces and control of the territory.

Even if indirectly, the Waiwai's relationship with North American missionaries provoked an intercultural contact between them and Western culture. This contact was followed by a persistent educational conversion practice. Such process required efforts from both missionaries and indigenous people, since it required other knowledge and displacement from both. These cultural displacements, generated an in between space, constituting a kind of "contact zone" between them. To keep the indigenous in the new faith, even after he was "taught to live" along the lines proposed by the missionaries, there was still a fear that they would return to the old practices, distorting all the teaching given to them.

The missionaries realized that the Waiwai were also interested in their culture, in addition to religiosity, since the relationship with the religious could provide them with goods for exchange, consumption and new knowledge. This observation led the missionaries to think of ways to record the events in the village, during the conversion process, using a discourse of

power through writing and subjectivity that helped to disseminate their ideologies, and instructed (and still instructs) readers in the practices of religious conversion into indigenous societies.

In the following excerpt from the work *Christ's Witchdoctor*, Homer Dowdy (1997)[16], to cover up this idea, he says that "the wonderful story of the transformation of uai-uais is not entirely due to the consecrated efforts of the missionaries, nor to Ewká and his people, but to God himself, who would redeem some [...] of every tribe, language, people and nation". Due to the efforts invested in the production of the work of conversion, this journalist feels "authorized" to speak for the Waiwai on his feelings about this process, which is supposedly conferred by the power of use and dominance of a non-indigenous language and its resources:

> Today uai-uais are a happy and determined people. How they find this new path is the story that I had to put aside, marveling, to just say: it was the work of God. And if, in these pages, I was successful in capturing this story with the help of the people mentioned and others, that is also why God was responsible (DOWDY, 1997, p. 12-13).

When Dowdy seeks to mask the conversion process, attributing this responsibility to God, he tries to lighten the weight of the process of ideological overlap that occurred in Mapuera Village, articulated in the idea of race, in the spaces, between people and their spiritualties, in a functional way, meeting the ethnocentric needs for the benefit of a race that conceives its culture as superior, even if it is in another space where representations of the world deny its own. As Fiorin (2009, p. 148) noted about the relationship between language and power, "Everywhere, there are authorized voices, leaders, churches, dogmas, excommunications, high priests, small dictators, oppressors".

The idea of christianization to indigenous peoples can be related to the thought of Fanon (2003, p. 35-36), when he establishes a relationship between the colonizer's thought to justify his attitudes towards the colonized. For Fanon, the colonial world is configured as a Manichaean world. For it is not enough for the colonizer to physically limit the colonized with his police and his armies, surrounding his space. To justify and illustrate the totalitarian character of colonial exploitation, the colonizer conceives the world of the indigenous as a world without values, as a society impervious to ethics and, in this sense, represents an absolute evil (FANON, 2003, p. 36). This violent and traumatic uprooting translates into an experience of violence that implies "no less massive and radical destruction of previous subjectivity, the previous experience of society, of power, of the universe, of the previous experience of the networks of primary and societal relations" (QUIJANO, 2005, p. 17).

It is also important to highlight that well before the end of the 19th century, when the process of Christianization of the Waiwai peoples, these indigenous peoples were already experiencing other forms of coloniality of power, registered since the 18th century, due to the pressure from the north, through the Dutch , who sought slave labor in exchange for manufactured goods. As an example, in the second half of the 19th century, several persecution expeditions were recorded, triggered by National Guard soldiers, to capture fugitive slaves, such as the famous "Quilombo Maravilha" invasion in 1855 (CAIXETA DE QUEIROZ, 2015, p. 112).

16 Dowdy is a journalist who visited the villages in Guyana, around 1960, and wrote the work *Christ's Witchdoctor*, where he narrates the conversion of the Waiwai to evangelical Christianity. This work was published in 1963 and its main thread is the trajectory of Ewká, the first indigenous to "accept" the teachings of the missionaries and the first to become a pastor.

Together with the population of African origin from Alto Trombetas, the indigenous population also took refuge in places furthest from the rivers.

This process of constant denial, threat and deterritorialization is marked by highly centralized and authoritarian political control, since the justification for the territory's progress and "civilizing" policy are reconfigured as a reorganization in the distribution of natural resources that ignores, marginalizes and oppresses native peoples. In this sense, it is necessary and urgent to read other of these realities, in the perspective of deconstructing a power and an oppressive discourse of the agents of capital. This implies reflecting from other categories of thought that were not included in the foundation of Western thought, which gives visibility to the insurgent memories, which claim territory, place, once we tried to silence.

COLONIALITY OF BEING: CATECHIZING PRACTICES AND DISCOURSE CONTROL

As a conceptualization strongly developed by Maldonado-Torres (2007), the *Coloniality of Being* is also related to the support of what was previously defined as the coloniality of power. However, the first corresponds to a question of a more ontological character (of Being) in the exercise of downgrading. It is a matter of reflecting on the racial subordination and dehumanization of peoples in modernity, that is, on the discourse of the lack of humanity in colonized subjects that distances them from modernity, reason and cognitive faculties.

The theme of violence is fundamental to understand Decolonial thinking, since it is the one which opens space for reflections around the decolonization process. For this reason, it is essential to understand its impacts and changes in terms of social relations. In this sense, when referring to violence, Fanon (2003, p. 54) argues that colonialism ignored the mode of reflection as a way of thinking endowed with reason. Therefore, it is violence in a state of nature and, then, it cannot be inclined, if not, before an even greater violence. Consequently, racism, as a form of violence, is one of the problems that still deeply mark the relations between social groups.

It is, therefore, from the reflections of the consequences of the coloniality of power in different social spheres that the concept of *Coloniality of Being* emerges. Maldonado-Torres (2007) explains that "the coloniality of being refers, then, to the lived experience of colonization and its impact on language" (MALDONADO-TORRES, 2007, 130). From these initial relationships, Mignolo (2006) observes that science cannot be separated from language,

> [...] languages are not just cultural phenomena in which people find their identity; they are also the place where knowledge is inscribed. And, given that languages are not something that human beings have, but something that human beings are, the coloniality of power and the coloniality of knowledge engender the coloniality of being (MIGNOLO, 2006, p. 633).

It is, therefore, based on the behaviors of downgrading of Being, which among the Waiwai peoples occurred through the practices of christianization, the control of discourse and the denial of existence, that the Coloniality of Being will be approached here, in search of paths for reflection on policies and strategies thought from the displacement of the place of speech, to highlight ethnocentric and excluding attitudes in indigenous territory.

Based on the assumption that every communicative act is an intentional and subjective act, made from the linguistic-discursive choices of the producer in accordance with social and cultural aspects, and that these communicative acts are responsible for the construction of identities, the "social identities issues must be understood [...] as a bundle of identity traits that coexist, sometimes in a contradictory way, in the construction of the differences that we are made of" (MOITA LOPES, 2003, p. 28). Thus, the constitution of the subject currently undergoes processes of fragmentation, displacement and change. Highlighting the constitutive nature of the discourse in the construction of identities, Hall (2008) warns that:

> It is precisely because identities are built inside and not outside the discourse that we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional locations, within specific discursive formations and practices, through specific strategies and initiatives (HALL, 2008, p. 109).

Coracini (2003, p.13) shows that there is a "moment of uncertainty and doubts, even regarding our identity (s) – individual, sexual, social, ethnic, national – whose limits are fluid and fugitives [...]". Thus, in the study of discourse in the construction of identities, it is necessary to consider the socio-historical and ideological context of the language user, the locus of enunciation. The focus of interest in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)[17], for example, is the changes that occur in social life, its implication with language and the social relations of power. In this way, Meurer (2005, p. 81) observes that researchers cannot be interested "only in the texts themselves, but in social issues that include ways of representing 'reality', manifestation of identities and power relations in the contemporary world".

This form of cognitive coloniality that occurs through the negation of Being is often responsible for causing the oppressed to project on himself the negative view that the oppressor has of him, of being ignorant and incapable, something that happened among the Waiwai in their relationship with missionaries, considering that from this confrontation the indigenous people also created representations of non-indigenous people that are not always positive. Between them, there were and there are, still, several obstacles, one of which refers to the language barrier, but it was far from the most difficult to face. There were many untranslatable silences that separated them, but today they need to be "heard".

If it is through discursive practices that people build others and are also built, to understand the formation of a Waiwai subject, from the discourse on the other, the following table shows how the interviewed Waiwai subjects perceive themselves and the non-indigenous from the instances of discourse, current social relations, actions and interactions, people and material world, built on the historical confrontation:

17 Although the theoretical aspect Critical Discourse Analysis (ACD) considers that language is not separated from society, its analytical categories (FAIRCLOUGH, 2008, p. 103) will not be followed in this approach, but showed paths for the reflections rose in this subsection.

Table 5 – Indigenous and non-indigenous ways of *being* for the Waiwai

Indigenous ways of *being* for the Waiwai	Non-indigenous way of *being* for the Waiwai
The first thing I started to play with was the bow and arrow, which for us was not just a toy, but actually a weapon. ***(Wîrîkî)****.*	*If they leave the village for the city, they will see that the city has alcohol and other bad things; but there are also those who think about good things, want to go to the city to study and not only think about bad things.* ***(Wîrîkî)****.*
I say that you must not burn forests, that you cannot pollute rivers, that we must preserve nature. Much less abandon our language and our culture. ***(Taniw)****.*	*But when they listen to music or watch television, they start to sing and dance like white people.* ***(Taniw)****.*
Tattoo cannot be done, only indigenous painting can. Indigenous painting has no disease. ***(Arisiya)****.*	*I don't want to marry white man because white man hurts the woman, he leaves and goes away.* ***(Arisiya)****.*
[...] the cacique does not want fights between relatives, so our children feel intimidated, as they do not want to be punished by the chief, they need to follow the rules. ***(Neytem Mawayana)****.*	*Today we live in the village in constant communication with each other; there are not so many conflicts because the current chief never allowed the entry of alcoholic beverages. Whoever comes from the city to the village cannot take any type of alcoholic drink, because it results in punishment.* ***(Neytem Mawayana)****.*
[...] we were going to fetch timbó and beat the timbó in the water to kill the fish to eat roasts by the river. So, our games were very good [...] when we played, we played with the elements of our own culture. ***(Tio Tio)****.*	*[...] even so, we never try to imitate the dances of the whites, especially some dances, such as forró and others.* ***(Tio Tio)****.*
So, at the time of these parties, we paint ourselves, we get excited, but it's not like that on other days, when we want to have other parties. They don't like it very much. Gradually, I was trying to insert another traditional party and also trying to create some parties on traditional dates. ***(Manasa)****.*	*I learned that I could not swear with our relatives, that we should talk to our parents with affection, and also that when we go to speak to the authorities we always have to respect [...].* ***(Manasa)****.*
As we live day by day on the river bank, just like today, at that time the water was not yet polluted. So we bathed, jumped in the water, played a lot on the river. ***(Eduardo)****.*	*Only after I started to learn Portuguese that I start to understand what they were talking about me. I faced a lot of things like that. They talked about me with prejudice [...]* ***(Eduardo)****.*
At that time there were only bows and arrows, there was no shotgun. There were those bows with a very sharp point and it was the Indigenous themselves who made them to kill the big animals, like tapir and paca. ***(Irayki)****.*	*[...] as people now use rifles and shotguns, it is likely that we will stop making arrows, they are little used. Today they use more shotguns, but it also carries risks.* ***(Irayki)****.*
It draws my attention in children who learn Portuguese the ability they have to help those who do not know, who did not had the opportunity to study, especially the older ones. There is always a younger one accompanying an older one. ***(Waytia)****.*	*I think that every time you learn any language, the first things they teach us are things that are no good [...] But I think they don't want to be white, they want to know, as in my case.* ***(Waytia)****.*

...] if there is a celebration, we have to paint ourselves, the cacique advises to be like this. And that is how we have known our culture since childhood, through observation. ***(Ary)***.	*We need to write our own story [...]. For example, I don't care when Pedro* Álvares *Cabral arrived here. What matters is to know our reality today.* ***(Ary)***.

Source: Câncio (2020)

On the one hand, the ways of *Being* indigenous to the Waiwai are still strongly linked to aspects of ancestral culture, in a form of cultural resistance, which is expressed in the management of the bow and arrow taught by parents, since childhood, as an instrument defending the territory and fighting for survival; the preservation of nature and the non-pollution of rivers appear as traces of indigenous education, as well as respect for the guidelines of the *cacique* and the elders so that they grow in mutual respect and thus live better; the elements of the culture itself always seek to be highlighted and valued as a Waiwai identification mark; on the other hand, some non-indigenous manners were not appreciated by them, as they are conceived as harmful, and would distort them and put at risk the main traits of their culture. Among the aspects often criticized by the Waiwai are the use of alcoholic beverages, the bad words used in interpersonal relationships, some non-indigenous dances that they dislike (perhaps due to the greater eroticization of bodies), the use of firearms and, in a higher scale, the prejudice.

From this relationship, it can be observed that some facts are imposed on the subjects. Local contexts are influenced and delineated by decisions produced in other social spheres, as is the case in situations where decisions are made at meetings in the big house, Umana, with the indigenous people and their leaders. The orientations shared between them constitute one of the components of the context that influences behaviors and discourses, when in situations of contact with non-indigenous people.

Concerning the understanding about the formation of the Waiwai subject, there are other equally important components. Among them, I highlight the vision and the way the Waiwai position themselves against the power of the other (often denying it) and how they carry out discursive empowerment strategies. The social identities shared here were built no longer on singularities, but on the borders of different realities. It is, therefore, in between spaces, understood as a thought built in the gaps, on the edges, from the relations established with non-indigenous people, historically.

The expression "he wants to be white" is widely used among them when there is assimilation of behavior that manifests itself against the principles shared between them. In the municipality of Oriximiná, for example, since the city streets do not have signs or constant traffic checks, the rate of motorcycle accidents is very high. As a result, a young Waiwai died in a motorcycle accident. This fact is always recurrent in the Waiwai's speeches to remember what can happen to the indigenous people who go to the city (and "forget" their knowledge), wanting to "be white", or better, wanting to behave as non-indigenous.

In his reflections on the role of language and discourse in the construction of representations, relationships, roles and identities in different socio-cultural contexts, Fairclough (2008, p. 209) concluded that "the ways in which societies categorize and construct identities for their members are a fundamental aspect of the way they work; how power relations are imposed and exercised; how societies are reproduced and modified".

That is why it is said that the construction of social identities occurs in negotiation and can therefore be transgressed. This transgression, however, does not establish new models; it causes ruptures in a given way of Being and of perceiving itself in the world. And, as a borderline mechanism in power relations, it does not establish, but simulates a new order; it does not erase, but disturbs, interferes with the current rule. Transgression is, therefore, an investment in the horizon of meanings of the same discursive order. In this way, Waiwai culture cannot be understood as something fixed and immutable, but as a fluid system and open to reinterpretation.

Thus, the discourse involves not only linguistic issues, but also social, cultural, ideological, historical aspects, among others. In addition to mirroring social relations, ideologies, dogmas and social hierarchies, the discourse also constructs reality and social identities. Fanon (2003, p. 36) draws attention to the importance of the Church in consolidating the colonial project, which creation and development began with the invasion of America. He questions the role of the Church and the place that this institution occupied in this colonial power structure, being also responsible for legitimizing the idea of race and the naturalization of the hierarchies systems of the colonizers in relation to the colonized.

Through religious discourse, for example, the Church sought to maintain its dominion not only through strength or economic power, but also exercising moral and intellectual leadership and making concessions, within certain limits of interests, often leading individuals to think and see the world from a view that placed them in a position of subordination. It is a persuasive influence that, among the Waiwai people, worked as a kind of "moral achievement" for the Americans, since coloniality begins when the "other" is classified by the power holder as inferior.

Based on these considerations, the elaboration and imposition of a religious discourse that significantly underestimated the cultural identity of the Waiwai indigenous people is questioned. In other words, they avoided recognizing the indigenous people as fully human beings, which happened through a Christian intellectual discourse in a tone of conviction, certainty and wisdom, present in the religious discourse. Under such a condition, the indigenous person was declared impervious to ethics and values. It was also related to absolute evil, for being conceived as a corrosive subject, as a deforming element of aesthetics and morals adopted as a pattern of Being by American missionaries. The *Coloniality of Being* is expressed, therefore, in the downgrading forms of the indigenous populations, bringing them closer or further away from a cultural, economic, social and behavioral model dictated by the hegemonic power.

In the opening pages of Homer Dowdy's work, which uses a religious and indoctrinating discourse to narrate the introduction (in a pacifying tone) of new foreign religious moral rules among the Waiwai, it is possible to see how this insertion was planned and what was the missionary expectation of conversion of the indigenous:

> [...] the missionaries concluded that if they wanted to win over the people, they would have to start by reaching out to men and, through them, women and children. The proof of being right, this different approach, came many times in the following months, starting with the conversion of the most unlikely man in the tribe [Ewká]. This and other interventions – some recognized only belatedly with God's guidance – came through prayer (DOWDY, 1997, p. 10).

Knowing that there would be no possibility of conversion to the new rules of conduct proposed by the missionaries, they soon imagined that there would be no conversion if the whole group did not convert. Then they started to invest in an individual conversion plan (contrary to what happened with many indigenous peoples), starting with Ewká, the shaman and main leader of the Waiwai. Gradually, Ewká also started to use a blackboard that he had obtained from the missionaries to teach the indigenous people. Many of them came to the shaman, and he taught them the alphabet and about the role of God, always starting classes with prayer (DOWDY, 1997, p. 171-216).

This form of coloniality calls into question the quality of Being. However, the discourses that constitute it are arbitrary. With regard to the Waiwai, these speeches are generally presented in the form of classification of the Being, as for example, from the definition that they are smaller brothers, proper to care, educate and evangelize under the precepts of those who judge them, attitude that can be evidenced in Homer Dowdy's (1997) description of the process of converting the Waiwai to Christianity:

> The Waiwai themselves could not believe as Ewká believed; the Waiwai reacted very differently to the new teaching. Only one practice of the new faith was shared by almost all people: attending regular Sunday lessons in Canaxen. With different degrees of attention and interest, the Waiwai began to sing hymns in their own language. Some closed their eyes during prayers – although many felt safer to keep them open when heaven was being invoked (DOWDY, 1997, p. 168).

Although this process was permeated with mistrust by the indigenous people, the missionaries saw them as younger brothers who needed to be helped and saved from sin. In this sense, Catherine Walsh (2007, p. 29) is quite categorical when she says that "the coloniality of Being refers to non-existence and dehumanization, a negotiation of the status of the human being that began within the complicity systems of colonialism and slavery".

When reporting in his work the discursive strategies of Bam, Robert Hawkins, to convince and introduce Christianity among the Waiwai, through teaching, Dowdy presents a dual spiritual world in nature (indigenous - Christian), seeking to introject a unilateral view into the subject of contact with the Western God. It would place the indigenous as the subject of history and the direction of his process of freedom and progress, when choosing Jesus, since the indigenous people were seen as prisoners of the spirits (Kworokyam), as observed in the following excerpt:

> The Role of God was like a new spell ... Bam's teaching emphasized the contrasts of the spirit world. — Jesus died and rose again to destroy evil spirits - he said. — He sacrificed himself to free the captives, prisoners of evil spirits. Jesus cut the bonds and canceled the power of taboos. If so, how could He live with the evil spirits within you? You have to choose between Jesus or the spirits. If He enters, the evil one has to leave (DOWDY, 1997, p. 167).

Therefore, based on human reason and Christianity as the instrument of true knowledge, as a discovery, missionaries already demonstrated among the Waiwai the power of the Americans over the indigenous people. In 1984, the complete New Testament came into the hands of the Waiwai (DOWDY, 1997, p. 276), and in 2002 the linguistic missionary Robert Hawkins gave them the complete Bible (SOUZA, 2014, p. 86).

It is also important to note that allopathic remedies were a fundamental part of the missionary strategy, as they were constantly associated with the Christian God. They saw that the missionaries used "white, soft balls and the liquid that squirted through a shiny thorn" (DOWDY, 1997, p. 96) in the treatment of the diseases that punished so much the indigenous people. Thus, medicines started to gain much importance due to the cures provided, now competing with the interest in machetes and axes.

Souza (2014, p. 39) explains that "missionaries administered the necessary doses always followed by prayer, so that, for indigenous representations, the cure, even caused by the remedies, was attributed to the Christian God". Therefore, the missionary representations realized that all knowledge is, first of all, knowledge of God Himself, so that, for missionaries, associating allopathy with divine action was in full agreement (DOWDY, 1997, p. 123).

In the perspective of a decolonial exercise, Maldonado-Torres (2007) considers that the emergence of the claim of denied identities must be a fundamental practice in the decolonization of being, since it is about rediscovering the meaning of the human being, and of being in general, by a part of those who were considered in modern times as mere humans. It is the release of great imaginary to the arbitrary; it is the responsible action towards the other. This claim of historically denied identity is manifested in the speech of professors Wîrîkî and Tio Tio, when narrating their insertion in indigenous movements and the importance of communication in indigenous language and in Portuguese in order to be able to dialogue, due to the conflicts experienced by their people:

> I remember that when I participated in indigenous movements, where I also saw other indigenous peoples, I was concerned because I needed to express myself. I kept wondering what was going on. The whites and the authorities perceive when someone speaks well and correctly. This person no longer speaks only his indigenous language, he has already learned Portuguese. That is not why we cannot say that he is no longer an indigenous person. Of course, they are indigenous, but they also learned another language, the language of the white (INTERVIEW with Professor Wîrîkî, on 06/27/2016).

> After I learned to speak Portuguese, I can say that there were some changes in my life. I was the first interpreter among the leaders, traveling to Belém, to São Paulo, to Manaus. Every time I was called to this job, to meetings (INTERVIEW with Professor Tio Tio, on 11/24/2016).

The awareness of Wîrîkî and Uncle Tio that they need to study shows the possibility found by them to displace the subject, sensitizing him, as a response to those who are still imprisoned in positions of subordination, when not claiming their rights. In this sense, Van Dijk (2015, p. 117), when speaking of power as control, observed that groups have greater or lesser power if they are able to exercise (greater or lesser) control over the acts and minds of the members of others groups. However, it points out that groups can exercise control over other groups or only control them in specific situations or domains.

Opposing the idea that there was no resistance to missionary speeches, even though in the village context they assumed the role of interpreters of the sacred text, the Waiwai also expressed resistance to missionary strategies, as described by Dowdy:

> The uai-uais found no difficulty in understanding that God was a spirit. Evil spirits lived among the people and governed them; so it would be with the Spirit of God, if they preferred. In fact, Jesus became just another spirit for everyone, added to the unlimited number of spirits that normally lived around them (DOWDY, 1997, p. 168).

Souza (2014) comments that according to the reports recorded by the missionaries, "the first trip did not reach the desired objective, in the sense that the Christianity of UFM missionaries did not have the power to modify Waiwai practices and representations". Then, there was no acceptance of the Waiwai "in their stomach", that is, to the norms of Protestant Christianity, to thoughts, perceptions and actions. The author explains that the expression "in his stomach" has the same idea as "holding Jesus" (*ahsî pînkakî*) for the Waiwai, which among evangelicals has the meaning of "accepting Jesus into your heart". In this way, the Waiwai expression *ahsî pînkakî* is used "in the imperative, as it is written, giving the idea of not letting go in any way, that is, "hold tight and don't let go anymore"; it gives the idea of conversion to Christianity in the Waiwai language" (SOUZA, 2014, p. 39).

For that, several linguistic strategies were mobilized for the Waiwai to be evangelized. The idea of the alleged lack of indigenous capacity for learning was denied with every attack by American missionaries. Dowdy (1997) describes a moment of deconstruction of this idea in the course of literacy work, using the English language teaching methods, to learn the Waiwai Language in Mapuera village:

> Ewká lived a lot with the missionaries. He was also an informant for the study of the uai-uai language and for the translation of the Scriptures. The missionaries were a kind of Paul, and he was Timothy. But, going to the missionaries' home and seeing the tools of the white man, Ewká developed an appetite for the things they had [...] Ewká read and read again to memorize the stories and verses that Bam and he translated from the role of God [...] From his desk he sent letters to the uai-uais who knew how to read, to the missionaries in Canaxen, and even to Achi, who was on vacation in the United States (DOWDY, 1997, p. 171-172).

Dowdy describes very clearly that Ewká was considered an informant for missionaries to appropriate the Waiwai Language with the intention of converting them to Christianity. However, this positive response also denied him the ethnocentric perception of indigenous intellectual incapacity, since the shaman increasingly deepened his linguistic knowledge for written communication in the indigenous language, with reference to the English language.

Howard (1993) considers that the conversion of the Waiwai to the evangelical creed led them to a radical change. However, he also argues that the indigenous people were not entirely submissive to the missionaries. According to the researcher, the missionaries took advantage of the Waiwai's ability to visit other groups in order to attract them in order to talk. The Waiwai, in turn, used the exchange goods, medicines, writing, new spiritual powers provided by the missionaries to dominate other indigenous peoples.

This question can be confirmed in Professor Taniw's speech, when he demonstrates and defends the importance of knowing the reality of the non-indigenous to claim their rights, when plundered by them:

> We are getting to know the reality of white people, something that was unknown to us for a long time, because when we came to the city we were very afraid. Today that fear no longer exists; we already know how to talk, when we need something we look for authorities, when we need to go back to the village we look for someone else to help on our trip (INTERVIEW with professor Taniw, on 06/27/2016).

Thereby, for the Waiwai, mastering the speech and writing of those who can put their rights in risk, constitutes a strategy of deconstructing power under the forces of language, considering that in hegemonic societies the institutions communicate through closed signs and by convincing speeches. Then, persuasive speech is always the expression of an institutional speech. And to Taniw, its appropriation presupposes to have access to the speech act of a command outside his culture, but which also gives him social power in this other context. The language, therefore, is not only used to transmit information, but assumes the meaning of fulfilling goals determined in the community or negotiated in this same space by its interlocutors. Among the many goals behind the strategies of a communicative process is the intention to communicate to the interlocutor the position that the indigenous person believes to occupy in different social contexts.

In this way, it can be said that the relationship between the Waiwai and the missionaries was a relationship established in the conflict, but also in the sharing in the same space, no matter how much they refused each other. In this relationship, the two modes of enunciation were related in the same discourse, the religious one. Such speech gave the missionaries an image of a man who had another god, arousing the curiosity of the indigenous people. The tone of certainty, of wisdom, combined with teaching practices for reading the Bible, present in the speeches of the missionaries reveal the strategies of *Coloniality of Being,* but it also shed a light on the indigenous people. When observing these persuasive strategies, the linguistic resources engendered in this process, the Waiwai incorporated some precepts that were used in their persuasive speeches to convince and also to be able to perform certain influence in the contact with other indigenous peoples of the region.

COLONIALITY OF KNOWLEDGE: *TRANSGRESSIONS AND TENSION*

The *Coloniality of Knowledge* is related to hegemonic forms of knowledge and imposes itself in the configurations of epistemic, political and historiographic hegemony. This type of coloniality uses forms of knowledge production as a locus of cultural legitimation, discarding other forms, subjects and places of conceiving and disseminating it. Regarding the Waiwai peoples, the construction of this logic occurred and still occurs between transgressions and tension in the confrontation between indigenous and non-indigenous knowledge.

To the repression of other forms of non-European knowledge production, Quijano will designate *Coloniality of Knowledge*. Here, the intellectual and historical legacy of Indigenous and African peoples is denied, for example, because they are considered primitive and irrational because they are from “another race”, different from what was established as a standard and, because of that, they have no reference. Mignolo (2003) observes that the Spaniards judged and hierarchized the intelligence and civilization of peoples based on criteria related to the development of alphabetic writing.

Among the Waiwai of the northern Amazon, the conditions and power devices used in the conversion by North American missionaries, show that these indigenous peoples have experienced a long period of emerging problems related to Human Rights. As previously seen, it happened due to the occurrence of maintenance of inequality, racialization, subordination and downgrading of beings, as well as their rationale logic, among them; for the indigenous language was described and taught from the perspective of the dominator.

Quijano (2005) and Mignolo (2003) explain that the mechanisms of genocide and silencing of indigenous speakers and their knowledge are the result of the colonial process started with a new maritime route, the Atlantic circuit, which brought some countries from Europe to Latin America, beginning the colonization process. This process described by Quijano (2005) has four stages that acted in the contact between colonizer and colonized: 1) there is a classification and reclassification of subjects; 2) there is the creation of institutional structures that articulate and manage this classification; 3) spaces are created in which this classification is institutionalized; 4) and from this process emerges the formulation of epistemological perspectives that channel a new power matrix – the new production of knowledge (QUIJANO, 2005).

It is in this "superposition" of Western epistemology that, in its universality, neutrality and objectivity, bodies located in specific historical contexts and the epistemologies that indigenous peoples produce are denied (MIGNOLO, 2006). It is from this in-between space and silencing of indigenous epistemologies that will result, for example, the transition narratives that hierarchize the societies between modern and traditional (MIGNOLO, 2003) as the basis for the construction of discourses based on scientific concepts that devalue practices of meaning different from those in Europe, such as concepts about writing.

The subordination of knowledge will occur, then, from the *Coloniality of Knowledge*, conceptualized by Quijano (2005) as "coloniality of power/knowledge". In this relationship, there is the creation of an otherness, the indigenous is seen as another, marked by what he lacks: science is lacking, civility is lacking, humanity is lacking. According to Clifford (1998), other legitimate scientific discourses are now constituted in the sciences, such as Linguistics and Anthropology, which create truths about indigenous societies, framing them and immobilizing peoples and languages. Therefore, the *Coloniality of Knowledge* is a perspective of critical analysis of the production of hegemony and the consolidation of concepts about language, which tell the speaker more how to speak, about what to speak and with whom he can speak, than describe his discursive practices.

In the case of the 20th century, the issue of indigenous languages in Brazil passed through the hands of missionary institutions such as SIL, and later by linguists and anthropologists trained in the North American scientific model, following "the phonetic fetish" (SOUZA, 2007, 152-153). The uses of alphabetic writing and fundamental elements for the concepts of identity were constructions that were not part of the experiences of indigenous peoples. Thus, it is not possible to consider the concept of language in Brazil without analyzing the coloniality of power/knowledge, the agents and policies involved in the processes, as they are also a constituent part of the concepts of language and native speech.

When it comes to school education for indigenous peoples, understanding the ideologies of salvation, civilization and subordination, which are contained in the concepts, and their actions for the linguistic practices of indigenous groups, is fundamental. The critical perspective on the processes of exclusion and stigmatization of these peoples, from which knowledge logics

are always built for the school, which do not fit and challenge the Western models, is considered a decolonial and transgressive practice, since such thinking has a possession that it is not based on western molds of knowledge production and validation, but t re-emerges in decolonial thinking and doing.

Among the mechanisms of silence of the indigenous people pointed out by Quijano (2005), we highlight the political/scientific discourse used by North American missionaries to mark the difference between them and the Waiwai as belonging to different hierarchically societies. This is evident in many excerpts from Homer Dowdy's (1997) work on the story of "how Ewká and his people exchanged fear for faith in Christ":

> The people did seem to have been prepared by God for the work that the He was about to do in him and through him. This became evident, as the degradation and decay in his previous life became known. Since no man survives in a void, the uai-uais were being prepared to receive the most profound change that was offered to them (DOWDY, 1997, p. 9).

By impersonalizing the speech, Dowdy attributes to God the work of converting the Waiwai to the evangelical creed, seeking to "protect the face" of the missionaries before this invasion project and an attempt to overlap the knowledge of the other, giving the idea that they were "authorized" to this onslaught by a superior being, God. This is most evident when he seeks to evade the missionaries from direct contact with the indigenous people, founding a direct contact of the Waiwai with God, which is clear when he says "the work that the Lord was about to do in him and through him". Political/scientific discourse is a resource used by Dowdy to show that such an onslaught was necessary because the Waiwai lived in degradation and decay, in a vacuum. The idea of emptiness is related to the disqualification of indigenous knowledge from that of the Americans, and it is a hierarchical resource to legitimize this latter knowledge.

However, in order to be able to enter the indigenous territory and establish Western knowledge among the Waiwai, it was necessary that they be linked to an institutional structure, in this case the Church, as a maintenance entity, and to the Evangelical Mission of the Amazon. Therefore, the word of God is used as a weapon. Moral behavior and the Western Being model are placed as a reference in an order of classification that diminishes and demonizes indigenous people. It is through religious discourse that this classification is articulated and managed, as can be seen in Dowdy's account of the beginning of the catechization plan in 1948:

> [...] three brothers knew that ahead of them there was still a violent battle to be fought, with a clear and defined objective – the invasion of a great territory still totally dominated by Satan, using the Word of God as a weapon. The Hawkins brothers – Nilo, 33, Rader 30 and Roberto 26, all tall, tough, with bright eyes and compassionate hearts, had a way for such an adventure. They grew up in a home in Texas, with their father as a living example of traditional biblical standards, where the doctrines of sin and salvation were rightly valued (DOWDY, 1997, p. 49).

The idea that the Waiwai were a people who lived in a world of shadows and sin was supported by a hegemonic concept of knowledge, built by the difference between societies, in a subordinating process that considers and imposes this difference as a dependency that indigenous societies must have towards the non-indigenous. Thus, the Waiwai should reach the ex-

periences of the Americans, who would represent the greatest degree of evolution. The result of this was the restriction of the Portuguese language, and the restriction with other non-indigenous people in that territory for a long period.

This perception of reality also occurred from the hierarchical demarcation of spaces. Under the argument that the Word of God was carried out through a "cross-cultural ministry" and that, for that, it was necessary to have conditions for them to reach the Waiwai people, the American missionaries went to Georgetown, capital of Guyana, seeking permission to enter the indigenous territory.

The permission to reach Waiwai territory required the elaboration of strategies and a strong State apparatus, that is, the influence of the "ministers of the gospel" with the local authorities. These resources, which objective is integration, work as a mechanism to protect the disparities that arose in the middle of the world system and as an ideological mask to justify the maintenance of such disparities by the imposition of knowledge. After all, the march towards the world economy tends to reduce the economic and social distances between the different areas, aiming at the progress and in the direct interest of those who now impose dominion (WALLERSTEIN, 2007, p. 114).

It was believed that the differences between the missionaries and the Waiwai would create a dependency outside the indigenous territory, linked to the North American space. But the natives manipulated their stay in their own territory until their interests were also consummated. This brief recapture helps to understand how the process of formulating Western epistemological perspectives is established among the Waiwai, which occurs through the exercise of moral and intellectual leadership, making concessions, within certain limits of the joint interests of North American missionaries.

The first shock between them occurred when foreigners began to use the language as a mechanism of privation and isolation, and with the introduction of writing for the purpose of questioning indigenous culture with the foundations in Western culture; while the Waiwai were interested in these resources to dialogue with other peoples and transit through other alternative knowledge spaces. The language for missionaries was an instrument of assimilation and cultural (de) characterization. While for the indigenous people, the language has an organic relationship that nourishes not only the body of good things, but also the soul, through wisdom, acquired with maturity. The Waiwai's conception of language followed the utilitarian perspective of the missionaries, supported by an asymmetric power relationship. During this period the Portuguese language was embargoed by the missionaries in the indigenous territory.

When trying to understand the Waiwai's relationship with the words of the language, Catherine Howard (1990, p. 21) explains that for them there are peaceful words, that is, those that enter the ear and go to the belly, to the parts of the body where the soul, emotions and wisdom live. When words reach this place, then, they educate, soothe people and make the soul more "tough", firm to the body, that's when the person becomes mature, wise, socialized. This state of maturity and wisdom is achieved only by those who have the "toughest" souls, such as the ancient shamans and, today, the shepherds. Through their peaceful and "hardening" words, they are able to shape and firm souls in people's bodies, that is, they are able to "mature" others (CAIXETA DE QUEIROZ, 1999, p. 275; HOWARD, 1990, p. 21).

Munduruku (2009) explains that silencing practices, which start with the imposition of the colonizer's language, implement a logic that tried to demote indigenous bodies to a condition of less human. For Jacupé (2002) it happens from the lack of understanding that

> We are woven from the fabric that weaves the Mother herself and everything we create comes from this same weave. This plot is an ancestral law, it is an immemorial law. Indigenous peoples know this law. Civilized science seems to have forgotten. I would like to remind everyone that it is not indigenous peoples who are at risk of extinction, nor animals, nor plants. For they live according to the law (JACUPÉ, 2002, p. 94).

The relationship between nature, language and knowledge, pointed out by Munduruku and Jacupé, as well as conceived by the Waiwai, corresponds to being in a group and producing an epistemology of their own, since speaking a language, for them, also implies learning the language, it means to learn the meanings of this culture, of the subjects who are in this group, in their inner contact, but also with the outside world and with nature, in a relationship crossed by meaning.

For the Waiwai, both the Waiwai language and the Portuguese language often have the same functions, the same meanings, but both are distanced by use, which shows different values in them. The Waiwai Language is seen as fundamental and more important than Portuguese, not only because it represents an identity trait that the non-indigenous demands through an institutional code, but because only this language is able to represent the Waiwai's discursive practices, materialize the culture and translate the knowledge that these indigenous people built in relation to nature and with the other indigenous peoples, which is evident in the following statements:

> It is easier for us to communicate in our language because it is easier to tell our experiences, our whole life in it (INTERVIEW with Arisiya, on 11/26/2016).

> [...] from the moment we are here in the village, we return to speak our own language and live our own culture. So I think that it is not the Portuguese language that will end our culture. We speak much more of our mother tongue than the Portuguese language (INTERVIEW with Ary, 11/26/2016).

Both Arisiya and Ary establish a relationship between the indigenous language and cultural knowledge. They make it clear that only through the use of the mother tongue is it possible to continue the indigenous culture; the language is related to the production of the Waiwai identity, which can only be understood through the contextualization of the identity and the use of the language in their stories of life. The indigenous people are very interested in learning other languages, obtaining other knowledge, but they resent the objectifications that institutions, such as the Church and the school, can make of them, the control so that teachers of other languages can be themselves, so that it would be necessary to manage the violence of the practices of destruction of its peoples by processes such as the imposition of other knowledge, through the teaching of languages.

Considering that, based on the foundations of the interactions of indigenous and non-indigenous epistemologies and the resistance of indigenous societies, we now say that among the Waiwai many truth effects are subverted by discourses that they do not recognize as differences between cultures. The attempt to restrict the indigenous peoples from other knowledge, such as those of the national society, as well as the acquisition of Portuguese and English, was seen as

impediments and clashed with a passerby dynamic of these people. This form of knowledge regulation has always been questioned by them and their confrontational arguments almost always go back to the history of contact with the missionaries, as noted in the statements below

> I remember very well when I was a child, I had suffered a lot at the time because we had no direct contact with white people; our chief never authorized us to go to the city. (INTERVIEW with Professor Neytem Mawayana, on 06/27/2016).

> [...] If we are isolated, without speaking Portuguese, it will be difficult to communicate with the people of the city. You need to learn to speak and understand the Portuguese language to be able to talk, to be able to communicate, and yet to be able to eat, to buy food and other things. So it is necessary, it is good for the indigenous to learn other languages, such as Portuguese, Spanish. But if we don't learn Portuguese, or another language, everything will be more difficult. (INTERVIEW with Professor Tio Tio, on 11/24/2016).

The sense of learning another language, of knowing another culture, for the Waiwai, is inscribed in the lack of dialogue and interaction, as principles that mediate dialogue with non-indigenous people. Not having a dialogue means causing isolation, lack of interaction, circulation and guarantee of access to other cultural assets. The acquisition of other knowledge for the Waiwai has always been a resource for resisting the invader's violence and suffering. Waytia, for example, questions the view on the acquisition of a new language that insists on avoiding the contradictions, tensions and conflicts that have always been present in social relations between the Waiwai:

> It is important to have this knowledge. What motivated me to learn the Portuguese language was the desire to study and the need to facilitate my communication with other people who motivated me to learn the Portuguese language [...] in my view, this person lives only in his world, he gets isolated, he does not read another language and have other knowledge. If I didn't know how to speak indigenous or Portuguese, I certainly wouldn't be able to study thrive (INTERVIEW with Waytia, on 06/27/2016).

For Waytia, if an indigenous subject closes himself in his culture, he avoids dialoguing with the outside world, he fails to observe the conditions of the present and he does not know how to analyze the differences, contexts, circumstances that put him at a disadvantage in different situations. This idea of reading and seeking other knowledge goes beyond the formalism of the mere addition of elements from subordinate cultures by hegemonic cultures. And with this thought, he recognizes the internal differences in each culture and the possibilities of overcoming them by learning languages.

This way of conceiving reality was also evidenced in Waytia's speech, as he understood that learning Portuguese is a political necessity and, therefore, a guarantee of rights. In this sense, Waytia points out to the issue of localized thinking, which could feed the idea of disarticulation, contributing to the perception of the unique perspective of knowledge. Thereby, the Waiwai contest the lack of experience with other peoples, especially with non-indigenous people:

> We also have to learn Portuguese. With that language it was possible to get to know other places, other people, and to know what white people think. (INTERVIEW with Professor Tio Tio, on 11/24/2016).

> Our relatives Tiriyó, when they come here, to our village, they talk to us in their language. We don't know their language. But if we don't talk to them, we won't learn. We learn only by talking, asking the names of things, objects. [...] we need to talk to them in person. So it happens the same way with Portuguese (INTERVIEW with Professor Manasa, on 11/22/2016).

The idea of isolation and disjointed thinking is not supported by Waiwai's relationship with knowledge. For them, the acquisition of a language and the knowledge that can be acquired with it is always a construction based on the experience, the dialogue, the experience with other peoples, in other social spaces. All of this is constituted in a practical way in the experience, hence the need to enter other spaces of socialization, beyond where they are, and experience other discursive practices, which are still beyond the limitation of the epistemological horizon.

To illustrate this issue, Eduardo, recognizing the differences of thought within his culture, observes that the vision that some leaders previously had, given the influence of the missionaries, began to be modified. Waytia also notes that a way of seeing indigenous girls has already started to be destabilized, that is, the Waiwai culture has a dynamic that is beyond being recognized only as a passive culture, of witness, of passivity, according to the narratives below:

> Chief Ewká wouldn't let anyone go to the city because he thought we were going to get involved with the non-indigenous, that we were going to get mixed up because we were going to meet other women and have children. This was worrying because it threatened to end our indigenous culture. That was his thought. He did not let the youth go out. And even today, some think so [...] but, after that, I started to go out to the city. (INTERVIEW with Professor Eduardo on 11/16/2016).

> They encourage both boys and girls. But there are only a few girls who want to pursue an academic career. However, there are many indigenous studying in Santarém. I was even surprised, because before I had the impression that the indigenous were afraid to face, to live alone in Santarém. I thought that they were ashamed, that they were very shy. But now there are many there, those that were from my time, or even before (INTERVIEW with Waytia, on 06/27/2016).

The principles that determine Eduardo and Waytia's thinking are that equality does not take place in separation, because with separation there would be no equality, considering that equal access to knowledge will only be possible if there is the possibility of this knowledge being related between itself. In this sense, the relationship between cultures, for the Waiwai, should not be understood from an epistemic point of view that orders dominant values as the basis for social relations, which does not allow reality to be apprehended from a specific way of thinking, centered on a given culture and on certain hegemonic ways of thinking.

Undoubtedly, the introduction of writing by missionaries caused a break with the tradition of these peoples. The intention of the literacy process with school education was to assimilate the indigenous people and make them "civilized Christians". The indigenous people, in turn, did not always see this process in this way, that is, while the missionaries and the surrounding

society wanted (and still want) to dominate them through writing, they wanted (and still want) to dominate writing precisely to avoid being dominated.

This question was evident in the dialogues with the study subjects, when they justify the interest of Waiwai students to learn the Portuguese language:

> [...] indigenous children who are not yet in the indigenous school show interest in learning Portuguese there, especially now that they want to study and go to college, as they receive incentives from parents, both girls and boys. They say that if children and young people do not know Portuguese, they will not be able to attend either high school or college (INTERVIEW with Waytia, on 06/27/2016).

> Some say they want to be nurses, others a teacher, after they graduate. But, for that, they need to know; they need to study more to have a better dialogue. Sometimes, in the classroom, they say that they want to be doctors, as if they were kidding, but this can be done in the future, when they enter the university (INTERVIEW with Professor Wîrîkî, on 06/27/2016).

In this way, we can say that the thinking that guides the order of social relations among indigenous people, especially regarding the learning of the Portuguese language, is not fully informed by scientific knowledge, as a hegemonic way of thinking, instead, they were built in movements to fight this hegemony, represented in the desire to acquire other languages, but also in maintaining and strengthening their own indigenous language in Mapuera Village.

The literacy of the Waiwai, contrary to what many think, did not happen in the national language, Brazilian Portuguese, but in the native language, learned, transcribed and taught by the North American missionaries. With regard to the relationship between education and conversion, Christian morality, in its fundamentalist evangelical version, begins to rule, with reservations on the part of the indigenous people, certain behaviors. It is these relationships, confronted with the Christian ideology that will permeate the process of literacy in the indigenous language. The mission was to explain the world based on Christianity, subverting and repressing other forms of knowledge production that took place in that context. But this relationship was conflicting, as they always had their internal policies in the village. Professor Wîrîkî observes:

> In any case, it may happen that a young person who goes to the city does not want to think like that anymore. After all, he was once a victim of prejudice as far as his relatives are now. It can happen too. Look, the main barrier is to maintain our tradition, we have to maintain that. There are always impediments, but we also have our internal policies here in the Village. At a certain point in our culture, there were several barriers, for example, when our contact with the missionaries occurred (INTERVIEW with Professor Wîrîkî, on 06/27/2016).

The Waiwai, therefore, did not accept gently the knowledge prescribed. This knowledge was negotiated so that coexistence in the village was possible. Thus, their customs, norms, laws, provided supported so that a balance was established for their existences in that context. As a result, conversion practices were intensified. In this game of social forces, they adopted some arguments, such as replacing "worldly pleasures" with "Christian amusements", which was later applied as a tactic for the religious conversion of the Waiwai (OLIVEIRA, 2010, p. 35).

Based on these relationships, the work *Christ's Witchdoctor*, by author Homer Dowdy, reports the "missionary success" in the Waiwai villages and it soon spread throughout North America. Such work represents a way of producing knowledge from the disciplinary hegemonic discourse, to condense or suppress divided rival positions, whose main characteristic is that it privileges a standard of Western thought, but also because it conveys an image of the indigenous as an object, not as a subject that produces knowledge, allowing him, therefore, to claim the false neutrality announced in the work. The Waiwai are approached as subjects who seek redemption from their sins, and foreigners as the men who brought salvation.

However, the presence of American missionaries with their goods, writing and stories about God aroused curiosity among the indigenous people, who, in order to understand the non-indigenous world, demonstrated interest and attention. Attempts to downgrade the indigenous by their knowledge were conditions for the imposition of power. However, the mechanisms of naturalization of knowledge practiced by North American missionaries among the Waiwai will clash with the concepts of language, articulated with nature and with indigenous bodies, and these will live in conflict until today. The continuity of this process starts to happen in other ways in the current school education practices guided by government agencies.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In order to make possible to understand the history of the Waiwai peoples of the Brazilian Amazon, especially of the Nhamundá-Mapuera indigenous territory, its extensive native network of exchanges, cosmogony and cultural tradition, it was necessary to go deeper in the historical sources available on this indigenous people, complementing with information from local interviews with the subjects. In this sense, these first conclusions constitute a possible interpretation of the exposed data, which may reveal new possibilities of interpretation.

The study of the social organization and sociolinguistic aspects of the Waiwai in Mapuera showed that the processes produced in the articulation of cultural differences, through complex negotiations with non-indigenous people, had repercussions on the current social organization and the forces that act on languages (Waiwai-Portuguese) in that context. The changes established based on the relations and tensions between them and foreigners enabled new sociocultural and sociolinguistic processes, which generated new social practices through the use of new languages, in addition to the Waiwai Indigenous Language. The new religious experiences spread by evangelical missionaries "demanded" that they set themselves as an example of behavior and conduct to be followed by the indigenous people. And these new adaptations and changes should not only occur in the sphere of religion, but also in social discursive and educational practices.

In this process, among the Waiwai of Mapuera Village there were transformations and reinterpretations of social and discursive practices, generating new social structures and other practices, mediated by economic and communicational exchanges with other indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, due to the "benefits" of modernity. Therefore, among the Waiwai of Mapuera it is not possible to speak of identity as a set of fixed features. It is not possible to speak in a Waiwai territory without associating it with power relations, which presupposes cultural clashes. However, it is important to point that the power here is not only associated with the power of the State, but with the power that the indigenous peoples themselves have from their different appropriations in and over their own territories, and the way they understand their territorialities.

We found that their experiences of contact with each other and with the other inhabitants of the countries where they circulate, made it possible for them to speak, in addition to their original languages, the languages of the groups with which they have closer relations. Even though many border lines have broken, paving the way for the re-signification of new, more comprehensive and collective identities, and mainly based on Christian principles, the Waiwai continue to walk with the marks of their ancestry.

With regard to the acquisition and learning of the Portuguese language among the Waiwai, in the context of the reality of Mapuera Village Indigenous School, especially in relation to the way in which the acquisition and learning of the Portuguese language constitutes their training in the indigenous territory, we note that these indigenous peoples are not satisfied with just learning to read and write the Waiwai language, remembering that in the past they were embargoed by the evangelical missionary to establish dialogue with non-indigenous Portuguese speakers. It was

this rupture and the desire to learn the Portuguese language that led to the establishment of an indigenous school in Mapuera and the breach with the prescriptions dictated by the missionaries.

In the conversion process, the discourse of order was absolute obedience to the scriptures, which was done through a game of hegemonic struggles, forged to legitimize Western knowledge and to hide and reject indigenous knowledge. The indigenous language learned by the missionaries was not only used as a vehicle for transmitting information, but, above all, as an instrument of power. Through this form of *Coloniality of Knowledge,* the Bible became, for many years, the only written text read in the village, since reading was superimposed on writing. However, even if the ancestral memory was repressed by the new knowledge learned, it remained alive by the strength of the practice of storytelling, by oral tradition, which continues to add the memory of various eras to the present.

In this space between knowledge, there is a counter-hegemonic relationship, that is, of counter-power, configured by the Waiwai's questioning about the education they are taught at school. At the Waiwai Indigenous School, we observed that teachers promote a teaching practice that seeks to integrate knowledge, with real attention and interest in what the other has to say about their culture and the culture of the "other", making a intercultural education based on the respect for difference, very evident in the desire to learn the language of the non-indigenous, but with many reservations in absorbing their cultural values.

It was evident in the speeches of the interviewed subjects and in the observation made at the school that the acquisition of the Waiwai language occurs through the relationship with their parents, since they were children, and through their living with the other relatives, in the daily life of the village. This acquisition is related to the oral tradition, the strength of storytelling, the experiences lived in the indigenous territory and the socialization within social groups, characterizing a relationship interwoven in culture, identity, and the universe of Waiwai life, mediated by language.

With regard to the learning of Portuguese and its articulation with the indigenous language at the Waiwai Indigenous School, the observation at the school showed that the dynamics used by the Waiwai word translation teacher into Portuguese and English is a very recurrent practice by teachers and much required by students. This articulation is due to the intense interest in knowing new expressions and the desire of many students to develop the same translation skills that their teachers have, which lead them, more and more, to distance themselves from monolingualism. Among the Waiwai, the monolingualism is a reprehensible linguistic situation, as speaking other languages is part of the culture and is a practice developed by them in their historical networks of relations in the northern Amazon.

Learning Portuguese is linked to the indigenous language, for the most part, due to the need for communication, in view of new forms of sociability with non-indigenous people. This question reiterates the strong characteristic of the Waiwai people to connect with other people, to interact from the reflection on their own knowledge, which allows them to intervene on the other dimensions of life. It is through this communicational possibility that new possibilities and the meaning of relationships are woven, as new ways of perceiving themselves in the world and regulating behaviors, necessary to articulate the daily changes of interest.

The acquisition and learning of the indigenous language takes place in the indigenous territory in the practices and social events limited to Mapuera Village and the Waiwai Indigenous

School. In the school space there is both the learning of the indigenous language (on a larger scale) and the learning of Portuguese. The teacher establishes dialogues between the linguistic knowledge of the languages involved (Waiwai-Portuguese) and between cultural differences, when teaching a given content. Although reduced, there are written social discursive practices, but those related to oral events prevail. In the Mapuera Village space, the acquisition of the indigenous language (on a larger scale) prevails. The acquisition of the Portuguese language is quite reduced and the social discursive practices are predominantly oral.

The internal and external relations are overlapped by the uses of languages and by the discursive social practices in frontier spaces, between the school in the village and the urban space. Speeches and interactions through discourse and writing, both in Waiwai and in Portuguese, take place more at school than in other socialization spaces in Mapuera Village, where the spoken Waiwai language prevails. Outside the school environment, in the so-called interstitials, frontier spaces between the indigenous territory and the urban space, oral events in the Waiwai Language prevail, but it begins to "dispute" space with the spoken Portuguese Language, as the subjects move towards urban spaces, in dialogues with Portuguese speakers. Both the process of acquisition and language learning among the Waiwai of Mapuera Village occurs in a contiguous way, that is, both in natural environments and in instructional environments, such as the school.

The articulation of cultural differences, contributed to verify whether the relationship between the Portuguese language and the Waiwai language results in the formation of a particular subject. This issue can be observed when studying the introduction of evangelical missionaries among them. The new religion brought not only a new spiritual knowledge, but also, through it, the written text was inserted. Guided by the Bible, the new religion made reading a vitally important tool for the evangelization and teaching of Christian dogmas, used as the main element for the "consolidation" of a hybrid Western religious logic among them.

This particular subject, Waiwai, constituted in interaction, in the game of social forces, understands that contact with other experiences and interactions can promote human enrichment and nurture greater openness of spirit, which are fundamental conditions for the construction of a multilingual and intercultural competence that leads to understanding and acceptance of other ways of thinking, facing reality and acting. Awareness and respect for different knowledge is a defense argument against single thinking and a possibility of greater social insertion in the fight for assuring rights and professional insertion.

From these considerations, we can say that the meaning of the acquisition of the Portuguese language among the Waiwai of Mapuera Village is inscribed in the reason of learning that other language to know other cultures and to dialogue with other knowledge. Because, for them, to avoid the dialogue means to provoke isolation, lack of interactions, circulation and guaranteed access to other cultural assets. For the Waiwai, the search for knowledge has always been a resource for resisting the invader's violence and suffering. Thus, the need to speak the Portuguese language is justified, initially, by the awareness of the importance of dialogue with non-indigenous people.

In the case of the Portuguese language, that language has an institutional role and is still not well consolidated in the School and in the Indigenous Village where the subjects are inserted. It is recognized as a language of hard access. The acquisition of the Portuguese language among the research subjects, on a larger scale, showed that this acquisition still occurs in the city or in the circulation spaces with the indigenous people, in the coexistence, in the dialogue, in the

verbal communication entity mobilized by the communicative needs, in proportion impacts on social life.

The Waiwai sense of education, therefore, should not be restricted to the transmission of ideas, knowledge, techniques and values; it must be understood in terms of what is known to be "incorporated", takes place in the ideal of the person desired in the processes of socialization, and in their bodies, and these must be included to receive knowledge. In the game of social panels within the indigenous territory, as positions that they always occupy, they show a location beyond the supposed hegemonic way of perceiving relations with non-indigenous people and a single way of thinking.

In other words, the questions raised here will explain that the acquisition of the Portuguese language, historically claimed by the indigenous Waiwai of Mapuera Village, although it occurred in a way that tried to deny their cultures and subject them politically and epistemologically, produced (and still produces) practices of resistance and confrontations. And it is this mode of existence that allows them to disconnect, in the particular sense of not commune with thoughts that they disadvantage, in the modes of operation of their ideologies.

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