

## 1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family:

Palikur, Pa'ikwaki, Arawak (Capiberibe)

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com):

Plu (Lewis)

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):

Latitude: 3.0degrees North – 3.45; Longitude: 51 degrees West (Dryer)

Occupy the Northern part of Brazil along the border with French Guiana, this is part of the Uaca Indigenous Area I and II (Capiberibe) and have a population of 500 inside of French Guiana (Lewis)

1.4 Brief history:

Large webbing of clans including about eighteen clans in all were present at the height of their population, seven or eight remain today. Each of the clans was said to have their own language; however, there was one overall language that would be seen in today's linguistically sense as the formal language for their family. This universal language was called the Kiaptunka which directly means in Pa'ikwene "the language of respect." In this time period, this language was mainly used by the village chiefs during ceremonies and meetings. (It is still being used today by shamans in certain song performances at dance and cashiri-drinking events). (\\) In early 16<sup>th</sup> century (early 1500s), is when the first contact is thought to have been made with the Palikur by Vicente Yanez Pinzon. He originally said he found the land of the "Paricura." (EVERYCULTURE.COM MAKE CITATION) They moved from the original surroundings at the mouth of the Amazon further into French Guiana but maintained the idea of their "home land" being the Aukwa, which encompassed the area between and around the Cassipore Rivers and the Urucaua. The Palikur started moving north because of the persecution mainly by the Portugese against all Indian tribes that were cavorting with other European groups other than themselves. Therefore, they moved away from the mouth of the Amazon river further into Guiana and completely moved there until the early 1900s when they returned to the Aukwa.

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:

One powerful neighbor that influenced their movement for almost 500 years were the Portugese. Most of the time the Palikur, continuing along with other Arawakan cultures, were not extremely warlike and normally were rather fair in their rule over the mouth of the Amazon. However that does not mean they did not engage in war with other tribes or with whites that were invading their land. They had an ongoing feud with the Galibi tribe that was located near them.

Schools – In 1942, the Brazilian Indian Protection Service attempted to integrate the Indians and tried to place schools into the villages. However, many of the chiefs refused schooling for their people because of the perceived fear of a form of slavery (Palikur People)

Missionaries – 1783, Father Fauque (Jesuit Priest) attempted to create a missionary among the Uaca Palikur but it failed

Governments – Portuguese government sent many raiding and conquest missions after the Palikur. The worst attack that was conducted was when the Portuguese burned all Indian villages in the contested territory between them and the French. Then carried off some of the inhabitants into the interior of Brazil (Palikur). Afterwards, the whereabouts/truth about what happened to the Palikur is obscured. Some sources, mainly everyculture.com and Levinson (the Encyclopedia of World Cultures) say that the Palikur disappeared into Brazil for the rest of the nineteenth century and were uncontacted for that time period. Other sources say they merely migrated into French Guiana. I believe that both of these must be true because actual statistics are present for the French Guiana and the fact there were so many different clans spread out of the Palikur, it would only make logical sense that some would prefer the jungle over more "white people."

Then in 1977 and 1981 the FUNAI were able to obtain a land plot of 4347 km<sup>2</sup> as reservation property to be shared by the Palikur, Karipuna and the Galibi (Palikur People). This roughly translates into about 1.2 million acres (1.07 million using a converter from the squared kilometers, if this number is correct from wiki).

1.6 Ecology:

Fish and manioc – horticulture is the historical ways of the palikur. Now they are also cultivating sweet potatoes, sugarcane, peppers, gourds and cotton.

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density

In 1998, there was a census taken that showed a total of 866 people of the Urukaua Palikur, a 365% increase from the 1925 population of 186 people (Capiberibe).

“By the middle of the seventeenth century, the indigenous population living between the Cassiporé and Maroni rivers (French Guiana) was estimated at 3,500 people, of which a total of around 1,200 were Palikur (including the Karipúna), with almost 400 bowmen. In 1730 it was estimated that there were 480 Palikur, distributed among 160 families or houses. In 1787 there were 484 Indians living on the lower Oiapoque (or Vicente Pinzón) and its environs, among them 141 Palikur. At the beginning of the twentieth century, when they migrated to French Guiana, the Palikur numbered between 200 and 300. In 1984 there were 572 Palikur on the Urucauá, occupying six villages, and a total of 405 Palikur were living in French Guiana” (Levinson).

## **2. Economy**

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

Manioc – bitter and sweet. Bitter roasted manioc flour was the primary commercial surplus till the end of the nineteenth century. (Levinson)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

Fish (Levinson)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:

Bows, arrows, harpoons, cotton fishing lines with hooks (original use of timbo poison but falling into disuse) - for fishing; shotguns for hunting; horticulture – iron tools are used (Levinson)

2.4 Food storage:

(HAVENT FOUND YET)

2.5 Sexual division of production:

Men fish, hunt, and prepare the land for planting. They make wooden objects, baskets, and feather ornaments. Women make pottery, spin cotton, harvest the crops of the gardens, and prepare manioc flour and beer. Both sexes make reed mats. Formerly, only men paddled canoes, either with poles or paddles, an activity today also performed by women.

2.6 Land tenure:

“The territory originally occupied by the Palikur, located in the lower and central portion of the area drained by the Araguari, Amapá, Cunani, Calçoene and Cassiporé rivers (which flow into the Atlantic Ocean), was subject to continual variation because of the sedimentation laid down by the current of the Amazon River. The Palikur therefore lived scattered in several areas occupied by their clan units. A similar situation still obtains on the Rio Urucauá, where the villages are removed from each other, on tongues of land in the interior of swampy areas. Each family's claim to its houses and planted fields is respected by the others. Between 1977 and 1981 FUNAI identified and demarcated the boundaries of a common area for the Palikur, Uaçá Galibí (Galibí-Marawone), and Karipúna, with an area of 434,660 hectares, including the major portion of the Uaçá-Curipi-Urucauá Basin. The lands recognized and used by the Palikur have the Rio Urucauá as their axis and extend midway between the Uaçá and Curipi rivers” (Levinson and everyculture.com).

2.7 Ceramics:

Northern Amapá – Ariste ceramic culture (Mazières)

There are only a very few amount of women in the Palikur villages that still produce ceramics. One of the most eminent Palikur decorations is the representation of clan signs. A clear correlation between clan name and motif is recorded in Palikur oral tradition (Bel).

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

2.9 Food taboos:

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

Lots of canoes because of a constant movement between Northern Brazil and French Guiana, this movement has been present since historical time periods and (I believe) was even more widespread in the beginning when the Palikur had control of the mouth of the Amazon, therefore easier access to the great river.

### **3. Anthropometry**

#### 3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

Around 5'4 for males (COMPARATIVE ARAWAKAN H MAKE CITE)

#### 3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

### **4. Life History, mating, marriage**

#### 4.1 Age at menarche (f):

(NI)

#### 4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

(NI)

#### 4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

Now: Nuclear Family (depends on the family)

Before: Seemed to have practiced virilocality (

#### 4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

(NI)

#### 4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

(NI)

#### 4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

Divorce was frequent but because of new Pentecostal views, has majorly declined (Levinson)

#### 4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: \

I have not found any information that has even mildly hinted at any type of polygamy inside of the Palikur. They have always been monogamous (from what I have gathered).

#### 4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?:

There used to be a bride service that was paid to the future in-laws by the bridegroom-to-be (Levinson)

#### 4.9 Inheritance patterns:

“Upon the death of his wife, the widower generally keeps all her possessions. A widow keeps the dwelling, garden and other planted areas, domestic utensils, and agricultural tools. The most important valuables (including purchased items) do not accompany the man to his grave but generally go to the firstborn son or, in his absence, to his oldest brother. If the couple was separated, the division of goods varies from case to case; the male interest usually prevails, especially when a woman does not have relatives to support her claim” (Levinson)

#### 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

I did not find any specific stories or evidence pertaining to this; however, it was mentioned in an off-handed way in many of the resources I found saying that the children were precious to the Palikur. That even when the culture slowly changed to where the husband beating his wife as punishment was somewhat acceptable, a man did not beat his children.

#### 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

(NI)

#### 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

There patterns were mainly endogamous within the Palikur but exogamous from their immediate family and clan. “Marriages from the same clan are forbidden, but also those between close relatives who belong to different clans.” (Levinson)

#### 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?

There is no partible paternity, it is purely father-mother interaction with only one father

#### 4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)

(NI)

#### 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?

It does not seem to be that type of background because it is purely monogamous

#### 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape

(NI) Violence against women whenever the institution of bride service was dissolved; however, no real mention on the type of violence or sexual coercion at all

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)

Outside of close kin, preferable from a different clan.

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

I have not seen enough information to give evidence to support this but I believe they do not enjoy any sexual freedoms and are meant to only have sex with their husbands.

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

(NI)

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

(NI)

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females

(NI) – only information on this I found was a census taken in 1998 and it was not on only the reproductive people but everyone. This ratio was: 1.11 (456 males to 410 females)

4.22 Evidence for couvades

There was no evidence for couvades because of the monogamous relationships that the Palikur seem to subscribe to; however, they do divorce.

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)

Through reading it seems that the “normal” father is older than the wife

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

There is hierarchy and chief based society. There is a completely separate language that is used by chiefs and shamans that is the language of respect called Kiptunka.

4.24 Joking relationships?

(NI)

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations

Patrilineal

4.26 Incest avoidance rules

Extreme incest avoidance, marriage rules are immediately applied where people are not allowed to marry anyone that is a close relative even if that person was from another clan.

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?

There was hinting at dances that were used for marriage ceremonies but after attempting to dig deeper there was no further mention of a ceremonial dance.

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?

I did not find any information pertaining to procuring a first name; however, through colonization the Palikur obtained surnames. They obtained the surnames from the original names of the different clans (at least of the surviving six clans). Then you get one surname versus another depending on your father and which clan he technically belongs (Capiberibe).

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)

Within the Palikur but outside of close family, there was no evidence that I found saying there was a difference from male to female on this.

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?

It seems like certain marriages were arranged for keeping alliances during ceremonies between clans. Most likely, the father or chief would have made the arrangements (because it seems to be very patrilineal)

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

(NI)

## **Warfare/homicide**

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

(NI)

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

(NI)

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:

(NI)

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):

Galibi and Palikur were enemies but there was not an in-depth description on the reasons behind this feud or actual battles that took place. Depending on the resource used, the fighting went on for either one-hundred years or for centuries.

4.18 Cannibalism?

No

## **5. Socio-Political organization and interaction**

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:

Minimum of 10 people with a maximum of 80 people (there is one village of the Kumanu Palikur that have 511 inhabitants) (Capiberibe)

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

(NI)

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):

They have a system of six clans. The villages that house these clans have a chief (now) per village. (Capiberibe)

5.4 Post marital residence:

Historical – Virilocal; Now – more neolocal

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

There is evidence supporting the idea that the Palikur were in fact territorial by the fights they have had with the Galibí and the Portugese throughout history. The Portugese is at least documented as raiding the Palikur villages during the nineteenth century. However, there was no evidence that I found that explicitly said complete recollection of warfare or of their true defenses.

5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):

There is a division in ceremonies and social situations that call for planning or meeting in general. During this time women and young men rarely, if ever, speak. Only the elder men are allowed to speak (Passes).

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

(NI)

5.8 Village and house organization:

Nuclear family; village – depends on the size of the village. If the village has a large amount of inhabitants then there can be a vice-chief as well as a head chief.

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):

(NI)

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

(NI)

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:

Clans (six or eight depending on which ethnography you are reading), each one of the clans represent an animal. Moieties – now two moieties : Wavaldi and Kwapi residing on the lower bank and upper banks of the Urucaua, respectively (Passes)

Lineages – Mainly patrilineal = females are kept under the umbrella of being a part of her father's subgroup while her children are a part of her husband's subgroup

#### 5.12 Trade:

Beginning of eighteenth century, trade with Europeans intensified with exchange of products like tools, harpoons, glass beads, clothes for the Palikur's products from the rivers and the forest (Levinson).

#### 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

Chiefs; clans making the distinction between "true Palikur" or the original clans and the outer or peripheral clans (late comers); Chief was hereditary, it seems, until the Palikur became more colonized by the French (Passes)

### **6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)**

#### 6 Time allocation to RCR:

(NI)

#### 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

Shamans and sorcerers (better known as blowers) were seen before the majority joined the Pentecostal church (Levinson).

#### 6.2 Stimulants:

Tobacco (Levinson)

#### 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

There was a ceremony conducted after a year after a person's death in order to pay last respects to the person (Levinson)

#### 6.4 Other rituals:

Aramteme – Feast of the Ture: the aim is to pay respects to the benevolent spirits

Wasapina – Dance of the rattle

Mayapina – Dance of the club

These were the ceremonies that I found during research, however, not one is fully explained (Levinson).

#### 6.5 Myths (Creation):

Many of the oral traditions before the adoption of the Pentecostal church have been lost and the influence of the idea of the Christian God has destroyed a good portion of the Palikur's beginning culture. Now, the Palikur constantly see their ancestors as "foolish" or "superstitious" because they thought that spirits caused illness and that there were good spirits that were in everything. It seems that historically there were many different "Gods" or our conceptual view of a "creator" for the Palikur. There was a creator for howler monkeys, of the piracuru (giant fresh water fish), of the kunan (kind of bass). Each of these animals seemed to have been created from a figure called their "Father."

There is another myth that seems to have been created after the influence of the missionaries/Jesuits because it uses the term Uhokri which means God. The Palikur make the distinction between the ancient idea of gods or the present version of God saying that the Christian God is Father of all things, alone. However, this myth says that Uhokri created three kings. After trials testing the strength, compassion and leadership of the different kings was conducted, it was determined that the King of the Pa'ikwene was the strongest. However, he was too strong. Because of this incredible strength in not only physical means but also compassion and leadership, he was exiled. The King of the Pa'ikwene, and subsequently the Pa'ikwene people, were sent to Aukwa (or Arukwa) (Hill). They also now believe that there is a heaven and hell and a one central devil called Wapetpiye. There are three tiers of heaven called the Nikene, Ena and Inoliku, the last being the lowest level and the dwelling place of Uhokri. However, (not positive if this is still applicable) the Palikur believe(d) in another tier to heaven that was called Yonoklin and was for the Yumawali, the mythical shamans (Levinson).

#### 6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

Pottery was a big form of art that was used to illustrate not only clan affiliations and names but also of many cultural events including warfare (Bel). Another form of art for the Palikur seem to be song and dance (Levinson).

#### 6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

(NI)

#### 6.8 Missionary effect:

At first the Palikur were very against any type of missionaries that attempted to convert them. Even completely shutting down the idea of even schools to be placed within their villages until 1965 with the arrival of missionary linguists of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL): Harold and Diana Green. They settled in the village of the Palikur Kumene and stayed for approximately 11 years. It is said that two years after the arrival of the Greens that the Palikur took their first steps toward evangelizing (Capiberibe).

There has been a great effect after the fact, the Palikur have almost completely denounced their historical practices and ceremonies once they adopted the Pentecostal church. They ceased the ceremonies that they have conducted, denounced the knowledge/beliefs of their ancestors and have almost completely stopped doing dancing or singing rituals.

#### 6.9 RCR revival:

(NI)

#### 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

Both primary and secondary burials, the latter taking place in ceramic urns. According to Palikur tradition, people were buried facing east, with the exception of shamans, who were buried facing in the opposite direction to stop them from doing harm. A dead person's spirit was said to go to the upper world irrespective of his or her conduct on earth. Initially, however, the spirit remains in a kind of purgatory for the same amount of time as the person had spent on earth. After that it is free to enter into heaven. These, like the other beliefs previously mentioned, are being abandoned by the Palikur under the influence of Christian ideology (Levinson).

#### 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

(NI)

#### 6.12 Is there teknonymy?

#### 6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)

They believed that there was a father to all animals, these animals had spirits themselves (Passes). The clans are named after animals and are supposed to have the spirit of said animal. There is still slight ancestor worship because of oral tradition still being used; however, the focus on religion – no. They did believe that there were bad spirits that caused illness but still used remedies to try to cure said illnesses. They would use tobacco smoke as a purification tool (Levinson).

## 7. Adornment

### 7.1 Body paint:

From pictures that were taken of the Palikur doing their “traditional” dances in French Guiana, it seems that body paint would have been prominent in ancient times because they use a slight amount of it in order to actually portray the ancestors who would have done these dances. (Labonte)

### 7.2 Piercings:

(NI)

### 7.3 Haircut:

Bowlcut-like for boys, and long hair for females – I did not find a lot of information on this

### 7.4 Scarification:

(NI)

### 7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

No lip plates, beads were traded with the Europeans

### 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

Body paint and red clothing, beaded headdresses/headbands

### 7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

Dresses and skirts for women, only covering lower half with men (Labonte)

7.8 Missionary effect:

Influenced the perception the Palikur had on their identification with their historical culture and customs.

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

(NI)

## 8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

Even though there is extensive research that seems to have been conducted pertaining to the classification of genders: feminine, masculine and the neutral aspect but I did not find any information directly correlating with classification for siblings (Murdock). There was even information that pertained to the classification of family members in general but nothing for siblings (.

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

Neither seem to be practices within the Palikur, there was no information to suggest either.

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

(NI)

## 9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

Thought it was interesting in the idea of the Palikur being one of the first branches/directly descendents of the ancient Arawakan line with their view that had been past down.

Page 194, Comparative Arawakan Histories – as a pa'ikwene friend put it, “All Indians are Palikur. The Yanomami, Arawete, Wayapi, Emerillon, Wayana, Galibi are Palikur – but we Pa'ikwene are the most Palikur.”

The idea of Arukwa: that this place was there destined habitat/destination. But also that over time this became the safe haven for not only the Palikur but also for other Indians within the same area that were running from prosecution.

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