

1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family:

Wayana, Wayana (Upalai), Carib (Lewis)

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

Way (Lewis)

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):

Wayana live on five different rivers over Brazil, Suriname and French Guyana. In Brazil they live in the state of Para, along the banks of the Jari and Paru Rivers. In Suriname-French Guyana border the Wayana live along the Litani and Lawa rivers. Then in the interior of Suriname some Wayana continue to live along the Tapanahoni River (Kulepeman).

1.4 Brief history:

The first encounter with Europeans (thought of) is in the 18th century. This took place along the Paru and Jari Rivers in northern Brazil.

The Wayana disappeared, most likely fleeing from the Europeans further north spilling into French Guyana and Suriname, until the 19th century when they reappeared. By then they had joined with other indigenous people. The tribes being the Upului, Opagwana(i) and the Kuku(i)yana. The Kuku(i)yana are believed to be the original Wayana and are known as the Fire Fly People (Kulepeman). The Wayana have also had a long standing relation with the Aparai, Waiapi, Meiroko (ex-slaves) and other indigenous people. The Wayana and the Meiroko have had a long standing trade relation between one another that worked as intermediaries between the Europeans and the other indigenous groups. Sometimes these two would work together, but it (even today) would break out into skirmishes over who had which clientele. The Wayana and the other groups have fought, traded and conducted intermarriages that have created many other fissions and fusions between the groups (Barbosa).

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

When the Europeans showed up in the 18th century, the Wayana is said to have disappeared into the forest. When they reemerged, the culture of the Upului, Opagwana and the Kukuyana had all been thrown in together (Kulepeman). There are still some words used from the Upului, but only by the older shaman and these words are seen as very powerful (Boven). The Aparai and Wayana have been affiliated with one another for centuries, even though some Aparai have definitely been assimilated into the Wayana. These groups still remain distinct from one another, especially trying to keep their languages separate. Even though, both of these groups want to maintain their individuality, the Wayana have definitely integrated words from the Tupi (mainly amongst the Wayana people in Suriname), the Aparai and other groups over time (Barbosa).

Missionaries showed up in the Wayana during the 20th century, right around the time that European diseases were starting to take a serious toll. The missionaries are said to have spent a lot of time focusing on the language the Wayana spoke, in order to translate the Bible. They then taught the Wayana to read and attempted to teach them the scriptures of the Baptist God. However, in trade for these teachings the people were forced to give up their traditional rituals, as was the case in Suriname (Boven).

The governmental influence has mainly been taking place recently. The Wayana originally did not think of them as being in French Guyana, Suriname or Brazil but in "Wayana-country" (Boven). This did stretch between these nations; however, they did not view it as separate. However, as the times changed and governmental control increased, the Wayana have been forced to take notice and differentiate rights in Suriname versus French Guiana and Brazil, visa versa. The main problem lies in Suriname because they do not have any specific policies pertaining to the protection of indigenous people. However, in French Guyana the government stimulates and supports important issues such as education, development and cultural identity of indigenous people. Therefore, a great number of the Suriname Wayana have been and still are migrating to French Guyana instead (Hough p.98).

1.6 Ecology:

River and forest ecologies

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

Current: 400 people in Suriname; 150 people in Brazil and 200 people in French Guiana (Lewis)

*Some discrepancy was found within these statistics; however, I believe it diverges from the correlation between the Wayana and the Apalai(Aparai) people

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

Manioc flour (root crops), bread

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

Hunting: tapirs, deer, rodents (paca and cutia, for example), monkeys (cuatá and guariba among others), wild pigs (peccary and boar), birds (curassow, jacamim, toucan), alligator and lizards etc. (Barbosa)

Fishing: ucunaré, surubim, pacu and piranha (Barbosa)

Gathering: Insect larvae and turtle eggs (Barbosa)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:

Now: the Wayana (and mixed Aparai) use shotguns predominately that have been known to them for over a century; however, they still use bows and arrows, traps, poison (mainly for fishing – especially the timbó root (Barbosa)) and (especially for armadillos) their hands (Heemskerk)

2.4 Food storage:

N/A

2.5 Sexual division of production:

Men: Hunt, fish, clear gardens (including felling the trees, burning and cleaning), and make the new settlements (which include building the houses and producing all of the woven domestic utensils – fans, baskets/recipients, manioc squeezers, etc.) (Barbosa).

Women: Fetch water, care for the fire, prepare the food, process the root crops (which includes producing the manioc flour, making bread and fermented beverages), weaving of cotton (hammocks, straps, etc.), and all ceramic production (pots, ovens for toasting manioc bread and manioc flour) (Barbosa).

Both sexes participate in gathering, planting and harvesting of the garden products and the fishing expedition during the dry season (Barbosa).

2.6 Land tenure:

Now: Because the Wayana have become subsistence oriented with all of their gardening, they do have a land tenure arrangement.

According to research conducted, within their territories the “Wayana arrange access to land around membership of a certain family or clan. The families operate autonomously in questions concerning land issuance. Only in the case that the land will be used for activities that affect the community, a meeting will be held on the issuance. Neither the land within a village or the hunting and fishing grounds and the timber areas outside of the village are divided per Indigenous families (Heemserk Transforming).”

2.7 Ceramics:

Ceramics are created; however, there was not a lot of information pertaining to the classification of the ceramics came up in research.

One reason is because the main potters were in the Aparai (who use the ceramics for cremation) (Barbosa).

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

N/A

2.9 Food taboos:

N/A

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

Canoes were present for transportation between the different sites in Brazil, Suriname and French Guyana (Kulepeman).

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

N/A

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

N/A

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f):

N/A

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

N/A

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

The married parents, their single sons and daughters, their married daughters, the daughters' husbands and grandchildren (at times, married sons and sons' wives) (Barbosa), anywhere from seven to thirty people.

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

N/A

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

N/A

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

N/A

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:

N/A

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

There was bride kidnap and bride raids that were conducted by the very warlike Wayana while they were still relatively nomadic before and somewhat into the 18th century (Boven). However, as the Europeans influenced other indigenous groups and supplied them with guns, the Wayana were at a serious disadvantage (Barbosa).

4.9 Inheritance patterns:

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

N/A

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): The Wayana was mainly endogamous within their own kin network, which normally made up the village they lived in, with the preference on a cross-cousin (Hurault). However, as time has continued they have become more exogamous and do not follow the same “kin” based social structure (Barbosa), instead they now conduct a lot of intermarriages as discussed previously.

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized? Yes, there does seem to be partible paternity within the Wayana; however, I did not find a large abundance of information pertaining to it. The role of the father's is to provide enough sperm for the formation of the fetus (Hrdy). There was not a lot of evidence that explicitly said the behavior patterns that the Wayana employ during this time period, therefore, the existence of couvades cannot be endorsed.

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

N/A

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

Yes, the semen is said to build up inside of the mother during the 10 months before birth (Hrdy).

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape

N/A

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

The Wayana prefer the young man to marry the mother's brother's daughter and the young woman to marry the father's sister's son (Barbosa).

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

N/A

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

It seems that the fathers give presents to any woman that they "help" to create the fetus with and to the children after birth (Hrdy).

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

N/A

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

N/A

4.22 Evidence for couvades

Even though the fathers do seem to be recognized and there is partible paternity, I did not find evidence for the couvades.

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

N/A

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

N/A

4.24 Joking relationships?

N/A

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

It seems that the Wayana track their lineage both patrilineally and matrilineally (Barbosa). However, the exact manner in which they do so was not explicitly explained.

4.26 Incest avoidance rules.

There are rules against marrying anyone with the kin classification equivalent to "sister," "mother," or "daughter" and visa versa with the females (Barbosa).

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?

There was a small amount of information found about the initiation rites being connected to marriage ceremonies, but there was no concrete evidence either way.

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

N/A

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

It was preferred within the community in traditional sense, but now with the decline in population there is a lot of intermarriages between groups. Even though, there is still a preference to stay within the Wayana and, even further, in the kin network.

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

N/A

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

N/A

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

N/A

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

N/A

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

Two enemies that were long standing and hard-hitting against the Wayana were the Wayapi and the Trio groups of Surinam. However, the Wayana were extremely warlike and would attack any tribe that they ran across while they were still nomadic, if they needed something (Hough). They would attack their trade partners if the contract was broken or clientele were not explicitly defined (Barbosa). They would also raid other groups for brides and other resources. The Wayana had been renowned for their great military strategies and their *japoto* 'military leader,' who traditionally was also their chief (Hough).

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

The Wayana have, over many centuries, had several relationships with neighboring societies. They began their (documented) existence by combining with two other tribes of people to create the Wayana we see today (previously discussed under 1.4). The Wayana still retain some words and phrases from these other tribes, but mainly only from the Upului. However, the Upului language is mainly used now for ritualistic purposes by shamans et al. Other relations with neighboring societies encompass trade routes, movement/"voyages" to the other Wayana tribes in Brazil, Suriname and French Guyana, bride and resource exchange with the Aparai and mildly joint forces with the Meiroko (the Meiroko are indigenous people of African descent) (Hough).

4.18 Cannibalism?

There is no evidence of cannibalism within the actual people of the Wayana. However, there seem to be several myths of cannibalistic entities within their environment. The main fear of cannibalistic nature is that of the jaguar but the vulture is highly revered as close to a

deity of the sky (Meaning). Therefore, the people of the Wayana will give leftover meat to the vultures in order to keep them appeased (Barbosa). These cannibalistic animals (some real and some imaginary, for example the two-headed jaguar) are seen to be the biggest fear for the Wayana.

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:

About 200 people.

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

The Wayana originally were nomadic and would move around depending on the season. However, now they are stationary with their gardens, ceramic creations, etc.

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

“Wayana do not recognize a form of political organization and/or leadership that transcends the limits of the village. Each village is, in principle, politically autonomous, having its own chief, called pata esemy ('chief of the village'), tyatakemy ('the very chief of the village') or even by the term tuisa (or tamuxi in Wayana)” (Barbosa).

5.4 Post marital residence:

Uxorilocal

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

There are defined boundaries but mainly only in reference to what is reserved area for the Wayana and Apulai. There is a lot of conflict over this area however because it is a highly mineral rich area with anything from gold to oil. This brings about a bit of conflict with the gold miners (this depends on which Wayana village it is because some are working with the gold miners).

5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex):

N/A

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

N/A

5.8 Village and house organization:

A village is normally made up of about 7-30 people that are all kin to each other. It will be about four generations with the children staying with their parents after marriage (Barbosa).

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):

N/A

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

Sleep in hammocks (Guyon)

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

5.12 Trade:

The Wayana had a large network of trading. Not only do/did they trade with their dispersed tribes in Suriname, Brazil and French Guyana. But they also traded with the Meiroko, Aparai, Trio and other indigenous groups that were near them. With the Meiroko, also called Maroons, the Wayana created a large network of trade where they would give their traditional artifacts in trade for European goods. It is explained that the Wayana then would trade the goods with other indigenous people (Tiriyó, Waiãpi of the Oiapoque etc.) (Barbosa). In addition to this, to create a trade relationship with another indigenous group was extremely difficult. The trust that had to be built was rather high and if this trust was ever broken then war would break out as a result and would start a stream of deaths from curses.

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

No extreme social hierarchy, outside of the respect and reverence that came with being a *japoto*, war-leader (Boven and Barbosa).

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6 Time allocation to RCR:

N/A

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

Shaman, mainly pertaining to healing now, but before the installation of European ideas, it was for cursing as well (Barbosa).

6.2 Stimulants:

Tobacco

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

The Wayana still keep their initiation rite ceremony called the *maraké* or the “ant test” (Gray). The boys and girls are adorned with enormous bead necklaces and feather headdresses to dance for an entire night. Then a wicker adornment, decorated with plumes and hiding red ants and wasps, is placed on their body. The second test is a week-long fast, and the third is an archery challenge. After a *maraké*, a child becomes an adult. Their hair is cut to symbolize this transformation. Today, some youth don't want to be initiated and rebel against these traditions, which they find old-fashioned (Guyon).

6.4 Other rituals:

Wāko – festivals held between the harvesting seasons when the Wayana have more time for leisure that are spent dancing (which is the main differentiator between a meeting and a festival) then drinking as much manioc beer that they were able to produce for the event. It normally lasts for at least three days or until the alcohol runs out. These will also be conducted to induct a new member into their society. On the French Guiana side, there are reports of the youth creating a large amount of electronic music to present (this has been going on since the 80's). All of these festivals have a name that corresponds with a mythical being that they are representing during

that festival such as Tamok (do not remember how to celebrate but name of an enchanted being), Wasp (great festival) or Pililiwa (flute and enchanted being). From the influence of missionaries and government officials, the frequency of festivals has greatly decreased and the meaning to several that were traditionally held have been lost (Barbosa).

6.5 Myths (Creation):

There are several myths that are associated with creation inside of the Wayana. One is that the earth is conceived as a kind of round island, surrounded by water, which ends where the sun sets, in a place inhabited by several entities that hold up the sky on their backs. In the past, the sky and the earth were connected by a mountain or by a vine. The origin of all peoples within this myth is a certain place, to the north of the East Paru River, in the region near the Tumucumaque mountain. Between the headwaters of this river and the feeder rivers of the Parumo, a branch of the Tapanahoni River, Surinam exists a mountain that separates the two rivers and which corresponds to the mountain that connects the two skies. The two overlapping skies: the lower one, *kapumereru*, the region of the cirrus clouds, where the *gorokó* and the *kurumu* (vultures) dwell, residence of the creator hero Mopó; and the upper sky, *kapu*, dwelling of Ikujuri and other supernatural entities, where the stars, Sun and Moon are located. Beyond this sky, there is a plateau that is connected to the earth, inhabited by beings "that look like people", Aparai with dark Brown skin; below the earth, there is another layer where beings live who do not look like people, with skin that is like the Aparai, but with their bodies covered with fur. This world has its own sun. (Barbosa)

Another myth is of two great creator-heroes: Mopó and Kujuli. Both are responsible for the creation of the beings and elements of nature and for the present-day composition of the Cosmos. Once the creation of things was concluded and, tired of the disobedience of the beings they had created, these heroes go off to the upper sky, definitively losing touch with men (Barbosa).

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

The Wayana paint brightly colored animals on big tree-trunk slices then hang them from the tukusipan for protection against spirits.

They also use featherwork to make beautiful creations of luminous colors and create wicker baskets out of dyed and dried reeds.

Sometimes there are geometric shapes woven out of the reeds into shapes such as ants, squirrels or other wild life (Guyon).

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

There are several songs that are sung at these festivals called the *kalau* and *elemi*, a few different sources stated that they had never heard a woman singing any of these songs. Especially, any of the *kalau* is a chant that is sung during the initiation rites but only by the males (Boven).

6.8 Missionary effect:

They decreased the frequency of the *wako* and tried to destroy any spiritual ties connected to the festival.

6.9 RCR revival:

There does not seem to be any type of revival present, however, the elder Wayana try to maintain some of the culture.

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

N/A

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

N/A

6.12 Is there teknonymy?

No evidence for this naming structure.

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

There traditional religion was a combination of animism, magic, shamanism and ancestor worship. The Wayana believe that ancient languages that their ancestors spoke have more power than the language they speak now, such as the words that are still around from the Upului and the Kukuyana. They believe in nature and a great deal in animism, especially before the missionaries began to convert their religious beliefs toward Christianity.

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

"For festivals, they decorate themselves with body paint: designs are drawn with a stick dipped in *roucou*, a red plant dye that also has the property of repelling mosquitoes" (Guyon).

7.2 Piercings:

N/A

7.3 Haircut:

N/A

7.4 Scarification:

There was no evidence found that this was a portion of their belief patterns.

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

The Wayana wore beads and feathers for adornment during festivals and other rituals.

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

Beads and feathers

7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

None that was found

7.8 Missionary effect:

There is still body paint used, beads and feathers worn but the extent of such has been greatly reduced.

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

N/A

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

The Wayana make a distinction between their siblings but there was no evidence found of to what extent they traditionally did.

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

N/A

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

There are distinctions made for uncles, aunts and cousins. They mainly make this distinction for marriage purposes.

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

- The Wayana use a great deal of botanical means to heal, this website has a great list of the herb name and its uses, and who it was used by (including several different indigenous groups that are located within the Guianas): "Medicinal Plants of the Guianas (Guyana, Suriname, French Guiana)." Web. <<http://botany.si.edu/bdg/medicinal/MedPlantsGui3.pdf>>.
- Even more interesting is the artificial sexual dimorphism employed by the Wayana and Apalai to explain differences in plumage color between *A. Cholopectera* and *A. Macao*. Then also the application of sexual dimorphism to the Red-crowned parrot and the Also remarkable is the use of the suffix "ime." This particle does not necessarily imply the existence of a separate species; rather, it is a qualifier used by the cautious informant relying on photographic material or dead specimens for identification. In this case, it means "a kind of..." or "-like." The *Ara Macao*'s red feathers are used in headdresses for the Wayana that are used during initiation rituals. The Wayana classify a lot of animals based off of shamanistic curative practices and give different names to the various species (Meaning).

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