

Ernest C. Migliazza

**The Integration of The Indigenous Peoples
of The Territory of Roraima, Brazil**

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THE INTEGRATION OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE TERRITORY OF
RORAIMA, BRAZIL

Copenhagen 1978

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Maps drawn by Jørgen Ulrich

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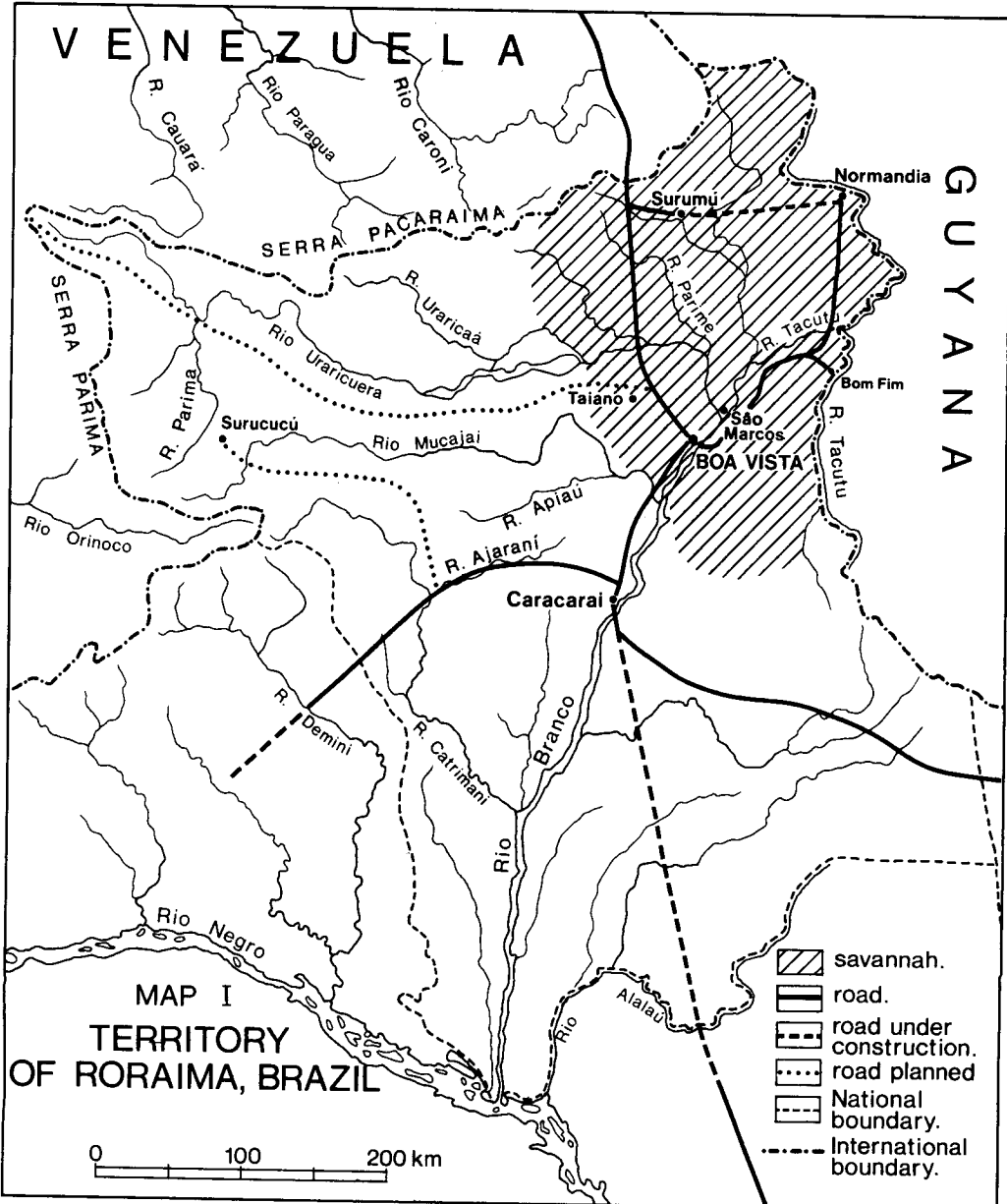
INTRODUCTION

In this report* we attempt to:

1. present a profile of the indigenous population of the Territory of Roraima (Brazil), and
2. delineate the most common processes of integration involving the indigenous peoples and their land.

The results of integration to date have been very unfortunate for the indigenous peoples of Roraima. It is not easy to find a positive solution. We feel that, given the present state of affairs only the joint cooperation of the indigenous peoples concerned, government agencies, corporations, applied anthropologists and missionaries working in the area could produce a more realistic plan of integration which will bring about a brighter future for all.

* Many people have contributed to the information contained in this data oriented report. Special thanks are due to John Saffirio for making his data available, in particular the report "Situação indígena na Prelazia". I am also grateful to V. Thorne and L. Greene for reading the manuscript and making useful comments.



VENEZUELA

GUYANA

SERRA PACARAIMA

SERRA PARIMA

R. Calafate

Rio Paragua

Rio Caroni

R. Uaricuaa

Rio Uaricuera

R. Parima

Rio Mucajai

Surucucú

Rio Orinoco

R. Aiplau

R. Ajarani

Caracarai

Rio Branco

R. Demini

R. Carriman

Rio Negro

Rio Alalaú

Surumu

Normandia

R. Parime







R. Tacutu

Bom Fim

São Marcos

BOA VISTA

R. Tacutu

-  savannah.
-  road.
-  road under construction.
-  road planned
-  National boundary.
-  International boundary.

0 100 200 km

MAP I
TERRITORY
OF RORAIMA, BRAZIL

THE POPULATION OF THE TERRITORY¹⁾

The Federal Territory of Roraima, which covers an area of 230,104 sq.km., has now an estimated population of about 63,200 people. Most of the Territory is covered with tropical rainforest but a small part (40,000 sq.km.) is a savannah or semi-savannah²⁾ area where 75% of the population live (see Map I). There are two main towns in the savannah: Boa Vista (population of 27,000) and Caracarai (5,000), plus other small communities and agricultural colonies. Cattle raising, agriculture, diamond mining and extracting forest products are the main traditional economic activities of most settlers in the Territory.

The indigenous population including tribal and integrated Indians, constitutes today about 19% of the total population. In 1943 when the Territory was separated from the State of Amazonas, the indigenous peoples made up 80% of the total population. Table I summarizes the population growth of the Territory from 1943 to 1977. The figures represent the most conservative and accurate estimate of the indigenous population and are the results of our survey and research "in loco" during the past twenty years. Publications and various reports of local government agencies and missions give a variety of estimates for the Territory, sometimes exaggerated or miscalculated, ranging from 1,000 to over 12,000 for the Makushi, 500 to 5,000 for the Wapishana, 100 to 2,000 for the Taurepang, 200 to 10,000 for the Yanomama, etc..

Linguistically the indigenous peoples of the Territory (see Map II) may be grouped together into three families: the Arawak, including the Wapishana and Atoraí; the Carib, including Makushi, Ingarikó, Taurepang-Jarecuna (Pemon), Mayongong (Mikiritare), Waimiri (also Atroarí); the Yanomama, including

TABLE I POPULATION OF THE FEDERAL TERRITORY OF RORAIMA

YEAR	TOTAL CENSUS	% of Total Non Indians	Savannah Boa Vista	Forest	TOTAL	INDIANS										OTHERS (Forest)
						Integrated (Savannah)	Yanomama (Forest)	Arwak (Savannah)	Total Carib	Makushi (savan.)	Ingarko (savan.)	Pemon (savan.)	Mayongog (Forest)	Waimiri (Forest)		
1943	19709	4009 20%	10209 3000	6500	15700	1000	4500	3000	7000	3900	1000	1300	300	500	200	
1950	25116	10016 40%	12484 5132	7500	15100	1600	4300	2800	6300	3500	800	1100	350	550	100	
1960	35069	20839 59%	15880 10180	9000	14230	2600	4200	2500	4900	3100	400	800	100	500	30	
1970	48440	34800 72%	19440 18000	11000	13640	3000	3850	2000	4770	3750	150	500	70	300	17	
1977	63200	50945 81%	20200 27000	16000	12255	3800	2800	1600	4045	3100	120	550	75	200	10	

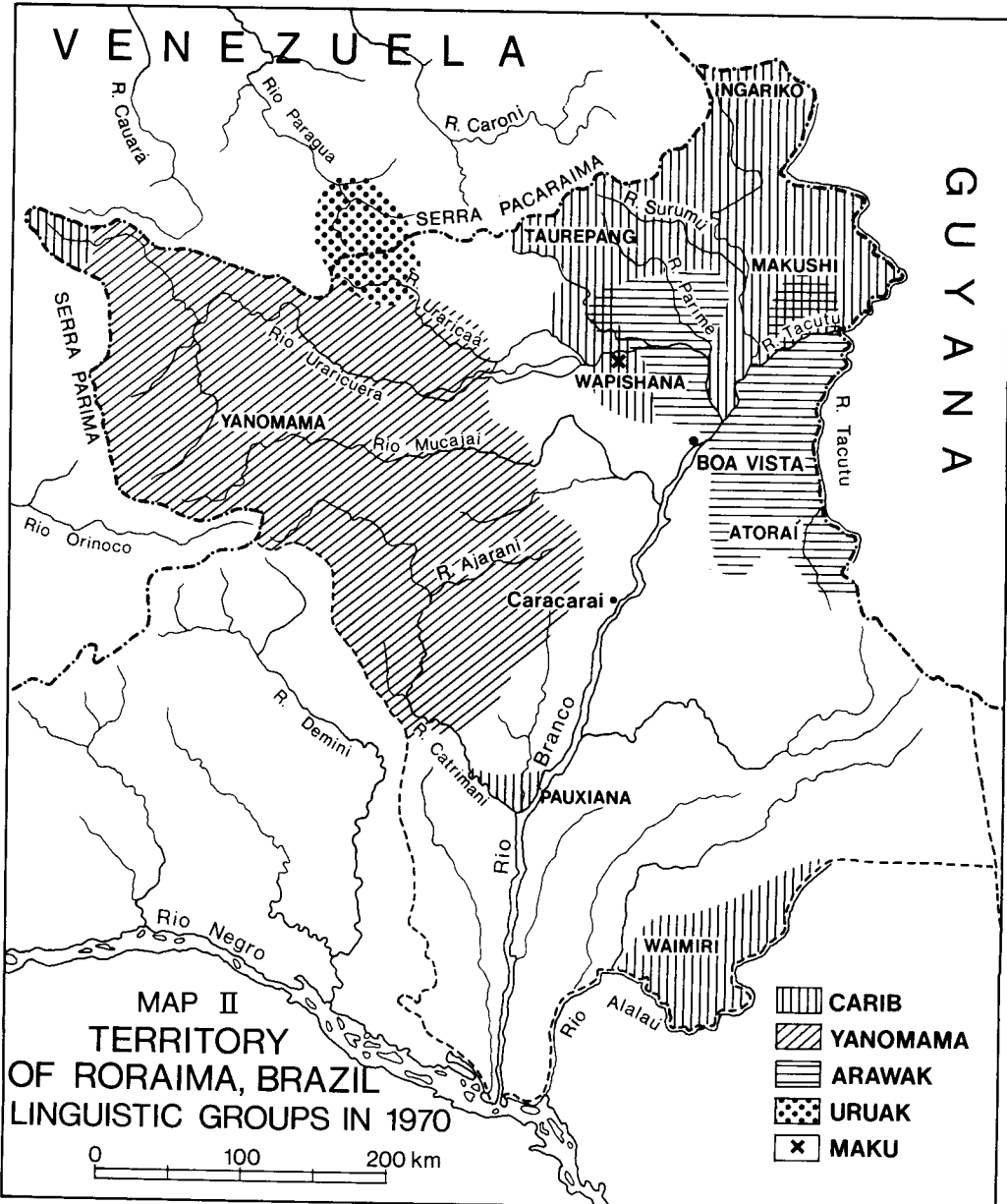
NOTE: People not included in the Census are the forest Indians and those in remote areas of the savannah.

Sanuma, Yanomam (Waika), Ninam or Yanam (Shiriana, Shirishana and Jawari). Two other almost extinct languages are also represented: the Uruak, also referred to as Awake or Urutani, with six people³⁾ in Brazil, located in the Upper Uraricaa and ten in Venezuela on the Upper Paragua; the Maku with four descendants, but only two speakers, living near the farm Boa Esperança on the right bank of the Uraricuera River. The Arawak and most Carib groups (Makushi, Ingarikō and Pemon) mainly inhabit the savannah area of the Territory, while the Mayongong, Waimiri and Yanomama are forest people (see Map II).

Arawak are represented in the Territory by the Wapishana and Atorai. Sixty percent of the Wapishana are now considered "integrated"⁴⁾ and speak only Portuguese, while the others are bilingual and in permanent contact. Their location is northwest of the Rio Branco as well as near the town of Boa Vista. The Atorai, who are also called Wapishana by outsiders, are located east of the Rio Branco and mostly in Guyana; 90% of them are bilingual and 30% integrated. In the northern part of the Arawak area quite a few Wapishana are intermarried with the Makushi and Taurepang (Carib). The decline in the number of Arawak shown in Table I is mainly due to integration (1960 to 1977) and, to a lesser extent, to epidemics and migration to Guyana (1943-1960).






The Carib groups of the savannah owe their decline mostly to integration and migration due to religious movements, and, to a lesser extent, epidemics. Notable is the migration of the Ingarikō (their language is the same as the Patamona and Akawaio of Guyana) to Paramacatoi in Guyana, where the Pilgrim Holiness missionaries established their center of attraction which provided schools and jobs. There the Ingarikō are called Patamona.

The significant Taurepang (Pemon) migration to Venezuela in the 50's and 60's was originated by the Seventh Day Adventist Mission which propagated into Venezuela from



MAP II
 TERRITORY
 OF RORAIMA, BRAZIL
 LINGUISTIC GROUPS IN 1970

0 100 200 km

-  CARIB
-  YANOMAMA
-  ARAWAK
-  URUAK
-  MAKU

Guyana through their Pemon evangelists. Entire villages of converted Taurepang moved across the Venezuelan border. In the late 60's and in the 70's many Taurepang, while keeping their families and residence in Venezuela, came over to the Brazil side, attracted by road and construction jobs.

The Makushi also declined by integration as well as migration to the Pilgrim Holiness Mission center in Guyana (1943-1965). In 1968, however, due to the failure of a revolutionary movement in adjacent Guyana, over 600 Makushi (of Guyana) were compelled to escape to the Brazil side. In the 70's some returned to Guyana while others dispersed throughout the Territory and south into the State of Amazonas.

The Mayongong migrated to Venezuela in the Upper Caura and lower Paragua Rivers, because of conflicts with the Yanomama and also because of more accessible trade with the Venezuelan miners.

In the past, the Waimirí were a separate group from the Atratoí. Now they are one group and live in the area of the Alalaú River. No one knows their exact number since they have been isolated and inaccessible since 1885 because of their chronic warfare with outsiders. Aerial survey of their location in 1968 and 1970 found only nine housevillages, four of which were in the Territory of Roraima and five in the State of Amazonas. Since they keep moving back and forth over the borderline between the Roraima Territory and the State of Amazonas it is difficult to establish the exact number of Waimirí living in the Territory. Reliable estimates report there were no more than 500 Waimirí in 1943. Since then, fights, diseases and lately, the building of the Manaus-Boa Vista highway (BR 174) which crosses their land has contributed to diminish their number, we believe, to about 200. Some agencies put their number at 2,000 or more (possibly because of the trouble they have caused to outsiders through the years), but specialized air surveys and our knowledge of the average population per village in the past, does not support this figure.

The Yanomama occupy the western forest area of the Territory and were till 1960 the most numerous tribe of the Territory as well as being monolinguals and isolated from the national society. Three of the four Yanomama languages are also spoken in the Territory (see Map III): Yanomam was spoken, in 1964, by 3,100 individuals in the Territory alone, from the Catrimani River to the Parima mountain range; Sanuma, by 350 speakers in the Upper Auaris River area near the Venezuelan border; Yanam or Ninam was spoken on the Ajaraní River (400 people), the Mucajai (120) and the Uraricaa⁵⁾ (100) Rivers. The noticeable decline in the number of Yanomama from 1965 to 1977 was primarily caused by epidemics and diseases contracted by contact with the miners on the Uraricaa, Uraricuera, Parima and Mucajai Rivers, as well as road workers and settlers on the Ajarani and Catrimani Rivers.

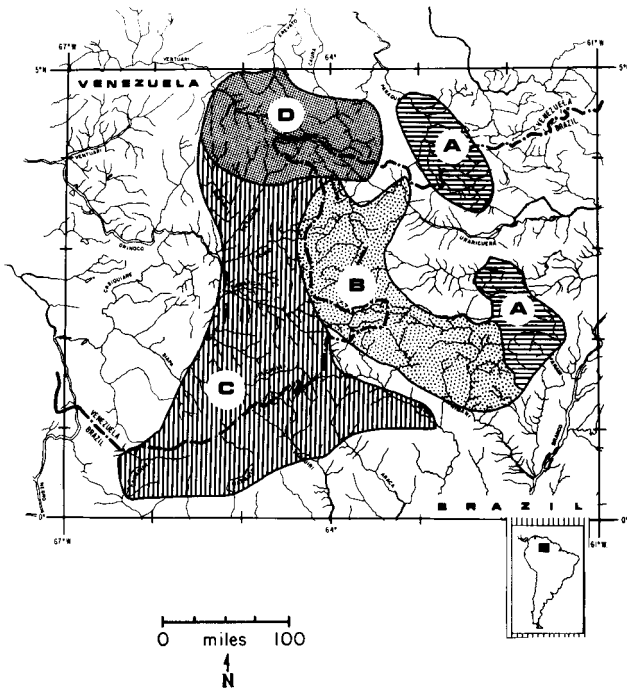
The category OTHERS in Table I, includes: the Uruak and Maku already mentioned above; some Paushana (Carib) of the lower Rio Branco, whose language became extinct in 1950 and whose members are now integrated; Saparã or Zaparã (Carib) near the community Buquerão in the Uraricuera River, whose language is also extinct.

The great increase of the Non-Indian population (Table I) can be seen in three stages:

1. the influx of federal employees, diamond and gold miners and ranchers during the first twenty years of the establishment of the Territory;
2. the military men (frontier Army and road engineers) who came to the Territory with their families after the "coup" of 1964 and the revolution of 1968 in Guyana; and
3. the road construction, which began in the mid 60's and continues today (see Map I), has attracted a good number of people from other parts of Brazil seeking work and land.

There are three main federal agencies in the Territory which are related to the protection of, and aid to the indigenous peoples during the process of their integration:

The four Yanomama languages:



- A Yanam
- B Yanomam
- C Yanomami
- D Sanima

1. The FUNAI (National Indian Foundation) which replaced (in the 60's) the Indian Protection Service. Their headquarters is located on their own farm, São Marcos, on the confluence of the Tacutu and the Uraricuera Rivers. One of the FUNAI Officer's duties is to help the Indians of the Territory in their problems and disputes with the pioneering national society. In 1976 the FUNAI began periodic visits to the interior population with a medical team.

2. The Division of Education which maintains about 130 elementary schools in the interior, of which, 55 are near Indian villages. Each school has a teacher, a few books for the students and food for the morning break.

3. The Division of Health and Welfare which maintains teams composed of doctors, dentists and nurses making periodic visits to the accessible interior.

MECHANISM OF INTEGRATION

The strategies sketched below are not new. They are part of our inheritance of the colonial system of expansion, in which the pioneers saw themselves as the bearers of "civilization" to the savages and their pagan societies. Most of the people and institutions involved in the integration of the Territory of Roraima, honestly believe that, apart from some selfish gains and motivations they are also pioneering a worthy cause which will bring about progress and a better life for the aboriginal people. Unfortunately, past experience has shown that the "better life" was mostly for the pioneers and rarely for the aborigine. Indeed the results of "integration" were, for most indigenous peoples, exploitation and ethnocide.

There are five processes of integration observed in the Territory of Roraima: land development, protective agency,

manipulation of local customs and population displacement.

1. Land Development

a) Savannah area

There is a settler strategy which has been repeatedly used in the "pioneer days". The "civilized" farmer or potential farmer, supported by the government's integration philosophy, begins by proclaiming to the local Indians that progress and development are irreversible and predetermined processes for the good of the people. To show his good intentions, he introduces some cattle into the area and with their help builds a corral and a fence. The next thing the Indians know (usually after a few months or a year) is that the land surrounding their village is part of a cattle farm duly registered at the INCRA (National Institute of Colonization and Agricultural Reformation) a government agency regulating land and property titles.

As a result of this strategy, the Carib and Arawak Indians of the savannah have lost most of their land to cattle farmers. A consequence of this colonization is the perennial friction and fights between the land owners and local Indians who have their village and agricultural fields invaded by cattle. The Indians do not have the money to buy barbed wire and posts to build a protective fence and they do not understand why they have to divide their land with a fence.

In an effort to prevent these problems, General Rondon of the Brazilian Army demarcated in 1917 a triangular portion of the savannah area from the confluence of the Uraricuera and Tacutu Rivers up to the Venezuelan border, to be a reserve set aside for the Makushi, Jarekuna and

Taurepang Indians. This reserve is now the land that contains the best farms of the Territory, all owned by non-Indians.

The government agency called, first the Indian Protection Service, now FUNAI (National Indian Foundation), established for the protection of Indians' interests and their land, was unable to stop this progressive exploitation. A recent example is in a region called Taiano, where there are 266 Wapishana Indians and 74 "civilized" people. The land belonging to the Wapishana village is considered the best for planting and has recently been marked off in lots by the government agency INCRA and given to people who recently came from the North-East part of Brazil. The Indians in this village were given about two acres for each family. With a slash-and-burn type of horticulture two acres is hardly enough to sustain a family. Now, even their allotment of two acres per family has been claimed by a nearby farmer. The Indians went to the FUNAI for protection but, the FUNAI's lawyer was also the lawyer for the farmer and for INCRA. The case was solved by reprimanding the Indians for causing trouble and delaying development. Today these Indians have no more land and have to work as cheap labor for their "civilized" neighbors.

Another case is that of a farmer whose farm includes a Makushi Indian village and their reservation land. The Indians protested, but in time they became occasional workers for the farmer, maintaining his corral for the cattle.

Many of these same instances have been repeated in the savannah area for the last fifty years, during which time the "settlers" have taken over the Indian land for development.

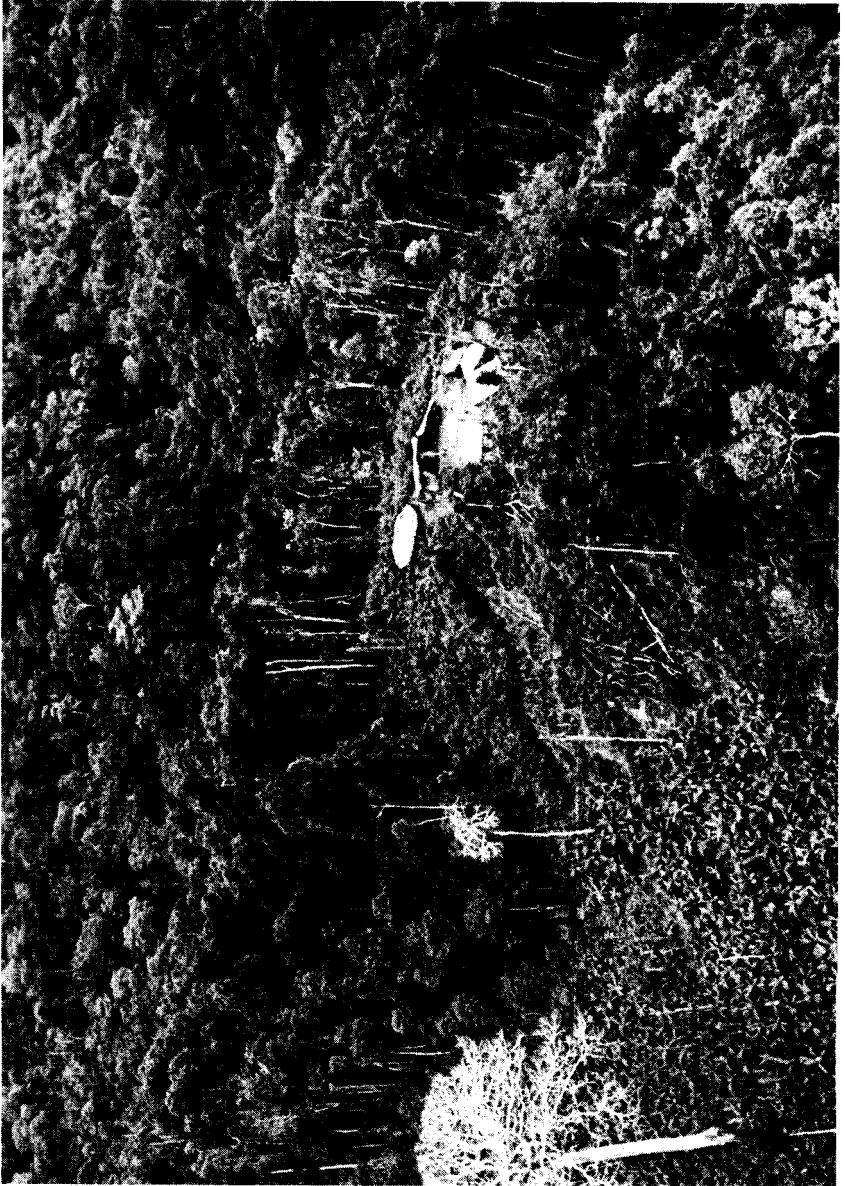
b) Forest area

Roads and highways built in the savannah have been beneficial to the interior population. Apart from a faster way of transportation they have made it possible for the medical team of the Health Department to make periodic visits to the indigenous people.

At the end of the 1960's the government started to build roads through the forest area of the Territory (see Map I). Some, like the Boa Vista-Manaus road (BR-174) served to connect two towns as well as opening up the "interior" for development. Others, like the "Perimetral", (BR-210), have not been completed because of lack of funds, although their immediate purpose is to facilitate the population of the "interior".

These roads go through Indian territory. The BR-174 was completed in 1976 and goes through the land of the Waimirí Indians. The Waimirí are monolingual Carib classified as isolated as to the type of contact; no study of their language and culture has been done to date. They have been opposing the construction of the road since 1968, when the road first reached the vicinity of their village. Twenty four "civilized" people have been killed by the Waimirí since then. There is no record of how many Waimirí have been killed nor of how many have died of diseases, only that their population has declined by half.

The East-West road (BR-210) goes through the Yanomama territory, a projected Reservation. In 1973 the road reached the Ajaraní River, crossing it twice and settlers started to colonize the land. In less than three years almost all of the 400 Yanomama of the Ajaraní area (see Map II) had died. Of the original twelve villages only one remains with about 40 survivors from the other now extinct villages. In 1974 the same road reached the Catrimani River where there were over 400 Yanomama; at first only a few died, but at the end of



1. Yanomama village and garden, Ajarani River Basin (1963)
In the 1970's the Ajarani Yanomama population died: of
400 people in about 10 villages only 40 are left.

1976 a new epidemic spread in the area and in less than five months almost half of them died. In 1977 there were only 268 people left. In both cases the major causes were epidemics, including influenza, measles, malaria, hepatitis and tuberculosis.

The project for a Yanomama reserve (Catrimani Area) which could have probably saved some Yanomama, was initiated on December 6, 1968 by Kenneth Taylor and Alcida Ramos, University of Brazilia anthropologists. In 1968, it was published by the FUNAI. Later in the same year a bigger reserve for the Yanomama including the Parima area was proposed. Time passed and what seemed to be an accepted proposal by the official agencies, was forgotten. When inquiries were made, the FUNAI replied that the proposal could not be found. In 1976 the anthropologists had to resign⁶).

Mining in the savannah has been going on for more than forty years, in the forest however, it began only in 1963. The aborigines affected are the Yanomama. Brazilian diamond miners reached the Upper Paragua River in Venezuela by first flying to the mission post in the Upper Uraricaã and then walking over the mountains for three days. Two years later, the Upper Uraricaã was also being explored. During the dry season little mining villages appeared not far from the Ninam (Yanomama) houses. Trading, frictions and epidemics soon developed. Venereal diseases also became common. Fortunately, the Ninam have been in intermittent contact with the outsiders of the savannah, for years, and a few of the Ninam have also been vaccinated at the mission post. Thus the various epidemics were not so severe for them (Malaria, influenza, measles) and in 15 years their population diminished only one fourth, i.e., from just over two hundred to 140.

The Upper Parima Yanomama were not so fortunate as the

Ninam. In the immediate area around the Surucucú mountain there were about 300 Indians and a mission station. In 1975 many miners, unauthorized by FUNAI, but allowed by some local authorities, started, by plane, pouring into the area and exploring for cassiterite. Only a year later, after many instances of miners abusing the local Yanomama women were reported, the FUNAI was able to stop them. In less than two years of this sudden and "careless" contact, the mission reported that half of the Yanomama of that area had died of one disease or another, and many contracted venereal diseases; the mission post had to be moved farther west on the Parima River. There are now rumors that some mining company obtained the rights from the government to work in the same area prospecting both for cassiterite and uranium. This will eventually entail the building of a road connecting that area with the outside world. The Parima mountains are at the center of the most populated Yanomama area. Uranium prospecting, unless very carefully planned, will be a major contribution to the rapid extinction of the Yanomama people.

2. Protective Agency Manipulation

Protective agencies have often manipulated the Indians with a paternalistic attitude, treating them as children and as though they do not understand what is good for them. The Indians have been scolded for their protests and resistance to "civilization and progress", the general message being that the agency is trying to help them and that the Indians need to have faith.

A particular case in the Territory of Roraima is the FUNAI model cattle farm called São Marcos. The land is good for raising cattle but very few Indians are living and working on the farm, and any economic gain goes to the FUNAI.



2. Yanomama and Uruak women living together in the Upper Uraricaa River, Roraina

The farm serves as an answer to the national or international concern for the Indians not having land. It is also used as an answer to Indians complaining that they have no more land to make a living. The Indians are told that they should come and live within the farm reservation. Yet the land of this farm is unsuitable and much too small to sustain all the Makushi and Pemon Indians of the Territory either for their agricultural or hunting needs.

A recent example is the constant friction between a farmer, whose land was taken from the Indian Reservation, and the Makushi of the village Araí. The Indian village is within the farm, and in 1976 the farmer accused the Indians of killing a steer. They denied the accusations but the FUNAI and Police took the side of the farmer. The dispute went on for two years and at the end the farmer received a document from the FUNAI stating that the Indians must work for free, building a road for him. The Indians were reminded that if they wanted consideration and favor, they must be united with the government and that the FUNAI helps but also punishes.

At times, the FUNAI agent, especially when he is new at the job and to the area, takes the plea of the Indians very seriously. In 1976 for example, in a dispute between the Indians and a farmer, the agent made the decision in favor of the Indians. A few days later the farmer threatened the agent's life and he had to be transferred to another area.

3. Sociopolitical and Psychological Pressures

These kinds of pressures transform the indigenous peoples into cheap labor. When their land is taken away from them and given to the "civilized" settlers, one can hear the repetition of slogans such as, "Land for those who



3. Sanuma (Yanomama) children, Upper Auaris River, Roraima
(near U F M mission station)



4. Yanomama, Uraricuera River, Roraima

can produce", "Produce to export", "Multiply regional small farmers". These slogans make the Indians appear as socially unproductive people. The Mayor of a small interior town, publicly complained that the land should not be left in the hands of those unproductive Indians. However, statistics show that up to 1960, 90% of the cattle or agricultural production of the Territory was done by Indians as cheap labor. On many ranches when the farmer goes to the city (Boa Vista) for business or a vacation the Indians are left with the responsibility for the farm.

Another strategy is to create a state of dependency and indebtedness. Most farmers run a private shop, selling household objects, food and drink they bring from the city. There are also small interior shopkeepers and peddlers who have settled in the agricultural colonies. A typical example is that of a shopkeeper in the agricultural colony, Coronel Mota, which was formed by taking Indian land. His shop usually attracts Wapishana Indians from the village Pium and the shopkeeper invites them to buy drink and objects which they may or may not need, and pay later. Neither accustomed nor skillful in the price and selling system of the shopkeeper, the Indians realized at the end of the year that they had bought more than they could ever afford to pay. As a result they paid by giving the right of possession of their small land around their village. The shopkeeper put a fence around his new property and the Wapishana are now his occasional cheap labor.

Psychological pressures, in the form of personality and character devaluation and the creation of an inferiority complex, have been common practices. It is a type of propaganda, made by the land owners and other "knowledgeable" people, saying: The Indians kill cattle; the Indians cheat and steal; the Indians have so much land and they are not doing anything with it; the Indians are ignorant, they are

backward people; the Indians are savages. As a result the Indians are made to feel inferior, unreliable people, lazy and at times dirty. The worst effects of this campaign are on the young Indian people who feel ashamed of their heritage and want to leave their village and forget their language. Some Indian families move to other areas where there are elementary schools for their children to learn "good Portuguese". Many of them, having lost their identity and purpose in life without any real substitute for it, have become passive and insecure people.

4. Manipulation of Local Customs

The exploitation of Indian customs has been quite common in the Territory. One example is the often used practice of working together as a group in making a plantation or hunting, usually followed by a party. This custom is used by the farmer when he wants a job done, such as, making his own garden, harvesting, building a road, branding cattle, etc.. All he needs is to announce a local drinking feast preceded by a week or so of working together. After the job is accomplished he allows a time of dancing and drinking. In this way he has the job done at little cost and preserves his image as a good patron and Indian benefactor.

5. Population Dispersion

The Indians are recruited as manual laborers outside their village in the cities, farms, as roadworkers, etc.. This process of population dispersion is very effective in

destroying tribal unity or village identity as well as the strength of kinship ties. Outside their familiar environment the Indians feel isolated, without friends, security and strength, and thus at the mercy of "civilization". Once they are out of their villages, and have been detribalized or "integrated", the protective agency has little left to protect, and indeed, if they speak some Portuguese they are no longer considered Indians, rather they are now "caboclo" (Amazonian creole).

EPILOGUE

Many Brazilian government workers are aware of the problems mentioned above and genuinely concerned about them. There are some indications that there can be more cooperation between government agencies, local aborigines, corporations, applied anthropologists and missionaries. In recent years, for instance, the Brazilian Government tried to combine the efforts of FUNAI agents with those of missionaries and anthropologists. In July 1969, November 1973 and April 1975, meetings were organized in an attempt to make better plans and work out practical resolutions for better ways to integrate the indigenous population of Amazonia. The aborigines in contact with the national pioneering society are facing an economic and socio-political threat which could lead to their disintegration and destitution rather than integration. Their land properties and rights should be reconsidered and clarified. A bilingual educational program should be implemented as soon as possible.

A much more serious situation is that facing the

aborigines still in relative isolation from the national society. The impact of the penetrating pioneering society is at present devastating to their health, and, as it has been mentioned above, many have died in the past few years.

"Modern medical techniques allow the prediction, control and checking of an epidemic. The Indians ought to benefit from this progress" (Lizot 1976:28). Corporations interested in the "development" (whether opening roads or mining) of an area where isolated Indian groups like the Yanomama live, should include in their plans an efficient medical program for the prevention and control of epidemics affecting the local Indian population.

We urge that the excellent program outlined by Lizot (1976) for the Yanomama in Venezuela be studied, adapted and applied for the same Yanomama in Brazil, before it is too late. We agree with Lizot that the indigenous peoples should not remain isolated and kept as "museum pieces", but should, by reasonable and humane processes, be eventually "placed in the national life, living in their thousand different ways" (Lizot 1976:31). It is our hope that in the immediate future more attempts at understanding and better solutions to this urgent and critical situation may be a reality.

NOTES

- 1) Unless otherwise stated, all the figures given here refer to the Indigenous population of the Territory only, and do not include Indians located in the State of Amazonas (Brasil), Guyana or Venezuela. Spelling of tribal names follows the most common appearances of the name in the literature. Their pronunciation is as follows: Arawak [arawák], Wapishana [wəpíʃána], Atorai [atorái] or [atorayú], Carib [káríɓ], Pemon [pemoŋ] Ingariko [iŋgíríkó], Taurepang [tawrepaŋ] or [tawlipaŋ], Jarecuna [ʒarekuna] or [arekuna], Mayongong [mayoŋŋoŋ] and [makiritare] and [ʃekuana], Waimiri [waymirí] and [atroarí], Paushana [pawšana], Yanomama [yanomam] and [yanam] and [ninam] and [tsanimá] or [sanimá], Uruak [uruak] and [urutani] and [awake], Maku [makú] or [makó].
- 2) By semi-savannah is meant an area of savannah spotted with forest and palm trees along rivers and creeks.
- 3) Two of them still speak Uruak, the others speak only Ninam (Yanomama).
- 4) For the types of contacts with the national society, we use here the categories of Darcy Ribeiro (1957) namely: isolated, intermittent, permanent and integrated.
- 5) There are also a hundred and fifty Ninam in the Upper Paragua River (Venezuela).
- 6) Davis, S.H. (1977) reports on this projected Yanomama reserve, however, in 1976 the two anthropologists had to resign.

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