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Volume 36

Creoles in Education. An appraisal of current programs and projects
Edited by Bettina Migge, Isabelle Léglise and Angela Bartens

Creoles in Education

An appraisal of current programs and projects

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Bilingual education among the Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono

Prospects and possibilities for language preservation

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Kheuól or Amazonian (or Amapá or Amerindian) French Creole (AFC) is spoken by the Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono, indigenous Brazilians who also belong to the wider Caribbean French Creole-speaking world. They are bilingual in AFC and Portuguese to varying degrees, and language attitudes vary among groups and villages. Working alongside government agencies, religious organisations have been promoting a three year bilingual education primary school programme among these AFC speakers. It is through bilingual education that many Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono are exposed to Portuguese, the official language and medium of secondary education. The paper offers an overview of bilingual education among these groups, considering the opportunities and challenges for language maintenance, government policies and the materials in use.

Keywords: French Creole; Karipúna; Galibi-Marwono;
Bilingual Education; Amazonia

1. Introduction

In the Americas, there are three groups of Amerindians that claim French Creole (FC) as a mother tongue – the Kalinago of Dominica (cf. Tassinari 2002: 125–126) and the Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono of Brazil (cf. Couto 1997; Tarallo & Alkmin 1987). The latter two are from the northernmost Brazilian state of Amapá, bordering French Guiana, and are unrelated to the former. Many among the Kalinago are bilingual in French Creole (Kwéyòl or Patois) and English, while the Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono are bilingual in French Creole (Kheuól, Crioulo, Patoá, Patuá or Patúa, or here, Amazonian/Amapá/Amerindian French Creole-AFC) and Portuguese.

The language of the Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono, and the role it plays in the education of its speakers, is the focus of this paper. This paper is not intended to be a

definitive statement on this dynamic interface among Creole language studies, Brazilian indigenous studies, legislation, and bilingual education, and is offered as an overview of and an introduction for Caribbeanist and Creolist scholars unfamiliar with these two ethnolinguistic groups. This initial foray into this complex area only scratches the surface,¹ and readers are directed to the extensive anthropological research carried out by Antonella Tassinari, a professor at the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, working in Uaçá, Amapá, Brazil since 1990.

Because of their heterogeneous origins, and their own view of themselves as “mixed Amerindians”, these groups were not always considered or counted as Amerindians (see Tassinari 2006’s discussion of the official and politically-based recognition of the groups as “indigenous” by the *Serviço de Proteção aos Índios* (SPI)). Today they are recognised as indigenous Brazilians. Many members of the Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono groups are aware that they are in the unique position of being Amerindians who speak French Creole. As French Creole (Kheuól) speakers, they are associated with French Guianese French Creole speakers who, of course, belong to the wider Atlantic and Caribbean French Creole-speaking world. Brazilians generally consider the Caribbean to be very remote from daily Amazonian life, although Martiniquan connections are remembered and recognised by older members of the Amerindian groups and others. (See below for mention of Martinique.) Speakers of Kheuól see themselves as quite distinct from French Guianese Creole speakers, but are aware that the language varieties are highly similar, and mutually intelligible. Several Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono have relatives, or know of other persons, living and working in French Guiana, in both the border town of Saint-Georges-de-l’Oyapock and much further afield in the capital of Cayenne. Further research into historical and current relations with French Guianese, on both sides of the border area and beyond, is crucial.

The language also serves as the lingua franca of the area and is spoken as a second language by speakers of two other Amerindian languages of the area, namely, Palikúr (belonging to the Eastern Maipuran, Arawakan family) and Galibi do Oiapoque (or Kaliña, a member of the Carib family). There are also Apalaí and Wayana (Carib) and Wayampi (Tupi) on both sides of the border, and Emerillon (Tupi) on the French Guianese side of the border, among whom a few individuals may speak French Creole to varying degrees.

1. The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Isabel Murphy, Isaac Souza, and the comments of two anonymous reviewers, and wishes to note that all limitations of this prefatory study are entirely her own.

Kheuól, while not native to or indigenous to Brazil in the traditional sense (cf. Arnaud 1966; Rodrigues Dall’Igna 1986; Novaes 1994), is now considered and treated as an indigenous language in the Brazilian education system, which has a department governing indigenous educational needs. Government policies give full rights to indigenous peoples and their education. FUNAI, the *Fundação Nacional do Índio* (National Amerindian Foundation) was officially responsible for Amerindian education until the *Ministério da Educação* (MEC) took over in 1992, four years after the new Brazilian Constitution was passed in 1988. Ministry-trained teachers have also included members of both Catholic and Protestant organisations. CIMI (*Conselho Indigenista Missionário*), a Roman Catholic organisation, has had strong input into developing both training programmes for indigenous teachers and monitors as well as mother tongue materials.

MEC, in consultation with FUNAI, develops teacher training courses for indigenous leaders, teachers and monitors, and also works with the *Comissão Nacional de Educação Escolar Indígena* or CNEEI (National Commission of Indigenous Education) which is composed of 15 indigenous representatives selected by various indigenous organisations across the country. Schooling takes different forms in different areas, with programmes ranging from monolingual programmes (in the indigenous language of the group in question) to transitional bilingual programmes, and to immersion programmes. Immersion programmes may be those that are fully monolingual in Portuguese, or in an indigenous language not native to the group in question, as in the case of the language of the Terêna, a dominant ethnolinguistic group of the region of Mato Grosso do Sul, comprising 16,000 persons living in 20 villages and 2 cities. In this case, for example, smaller groups sharing the same geographical space as the Terêna are often educated in Terêna before Portuguese, even if Terêna is not their mother tongue. Sometimes, Portuguese has actually been considered a neutral choice, especially in cases of historical or ongoing conflict between and among neighbouring ethnic groups. The choice of programme generally and broadly depends on the particular sociolinguistic context of the ethnic group(s) in question.

This paper aims at a preliminary investigation of some of the sociolinguistic by-products and long-term issues that have arisen out of transitional bilingual education programmes, particularly to what extent they may contribute to language maintenance, or whether they are in fact agents of change, leading towards community language shift. While educational advancement is a clear goal of any education programme, monolingual or bilingual, bilingual programmes may either inadvertently or purposefully contribute to either maintenance or erosion of the group’s mother tongue, depending on the underlying goals, attitudes and pedagogical approaches of the educators.

2. Kheuól (French Creole) in Brazil

Kheuól or FC in Brazil is known to outsiders mainly as Karipúna Creole French or Karipúna French Creole (KFC), and has been coded in *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009), using ISO standards, as [kmv]. It can and should be more accurately referred to as Amazonian or Amerindian French Creole (AFC) since this branch includes not just Karipúna but also Galibi-Marwono French Creole (GMFC), both varieties being dialects of the same language, differentiated only on the basis of a few phonetic differences (accent) and vocabulary. Tassinari (2002: 383) notes that

fazem-se notar acentos diferentes dados por cada grupo, e a preocupação constante em diferenciá-los: os Galibi-Marwono, por exemplo, fazem questão de ressaltar que o patois que utilizam é diferente daquele falado pelos Karipuna, o qual se assemelharia ao usado pelos crioulos da Guiana.²

Amazonian French Creole is one of three varieties of French Guianese Creole (Guianese or FGC, cf. Corne 1999: 150), comprising FGC itself, as well as a third variety, namely, Lanc-Patuá of southern Amapá, which is supposedly a derivative of Lesser Antillean Creole, having been taken to Macapá by St Lucian migrants (see Andrade 1988): Guianese is in turn one of four main branches of Atlantic French Creole (including Louisianian or Louisianais, Haitian or Haïtien and Lesser Antillean). (See Figure 1.) Referred to as “peripheral varieties” of FGC by Corne (meaning those spoken outside of Cayenne), modern Amazonian FC varieties spoken in the protected and rural Amerindian reserve (or reservation) of Uaçá have been relatively isolated from French Guianese and French since 1900, at which time the area definitively became Brazilian and was no longer in French hands (see discussion below). As predominantly Amerindian but heterogeneous groups, the Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono populations are linked to but remain mostly outside the Euro-Afro ethno-cultural mix usually associated with creole languages of the Americas. In addition, the sociolinguistic situation of the multilingual Uaçá area is very different from those of the Caribbean and elsewhere.

2. [“they note the different way the (orthographical) accents are marked [in each language] and there is a constant preoccupation [for each group] to present itself as distinct: the Galibi-Marwono, for example, insist that the Patois that they use is different from that spoken by the Karipuna, which is closer to that spoken by the Creoles of Guyane.”]

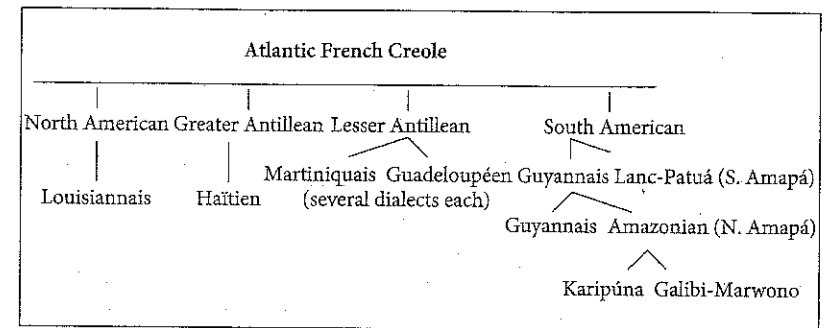


Figure 1. Atlantic French Creole varieties³

According to Lewis (2009), referring to Arnaud (1969), the ancestors of the Karipúna of Amapá “formerly spoke Karipúna, an unclassified language, possibly from Marajó Island at the mouth of the Amazon” (web version). The Karipúna do Amapá or do Uaçá, also known as Caripuna, are not to be confused with the Karipuná or Karipuna de Rondônia. The latter group speaks Karipuná (also known as Karipuná do Guaporé, Caripuna, Jau-Navo, Juanauo, and Kagwahiva). This almost extinct language belongs to the Tupi family, although Loukotka (1968) identifies it as a Panoan language (cf. Hemming 2008: 200). It is to be noted that Loukotka has been resoundingly discredited by historical linguist Lyle Campbell (1997). Tassinari (2002: 111–112), in an extensive discussion of the origins of the group and the various names it has acquired over time, notes that Karipúna oral history contradicts this version of their story, and that the group has heterogeneous origins, not limited to any one majority ethnolinguistic group. Karipúna, also known as Karipúna do Amapá and Karipúna do Uaçá, is now extinct, and may have been a Tupi-Guarani language, spoken on the border between French Guiana and Brazil, but there was also input from members of Carib and Arawak ethnolinguistic groups as well (Tassinari 2002: 145). Lewis (2009) states

3. The term Guyannais appears twice because it is used as a cover term for Guyannais and Amazonian. A linear chart for the South American branch would look like this:

- D. South American
1. Guyannais
 - a. Guyannais
 - b. Amazonian (N. Amapá)
 - i. Karipúna
 - ii. Galibi-Marwono
 2. Lanc-Patuá (S. Amapá)

geographical location and other factors. Language attitudes, including attitudes towards mother tongue and bilingual education, also vary from group to group and village to village. Most students appear to take early mother tongue education for granted, as it is now the expected norm and their only experience. Bilingualism is acquired in the school, and young people find it useful to be literate in both languages. Schools in Oiapoque, secular or religious, use Portuguese as a medium of instruction, even where there is a majority of pupils who do not have Portuguese as their mother tongue.⁶ It would be interesting to find out if students have an interest in higher education in their mother tongue, or whether they view both Kheuól and Portuguese equally as their own. Speakers live and work and are schooled in FUNAI-recognised reserves, and many are hunters, woodcutters, fishermen and (swidden) agriculturalists, planting cassava (Lewis 2009), and selling their highly-valued cassava farine ("cassava flour") to others in the area through associations such as the *Associação dos Povos Indígenas do Oiapoque* (APIO), created in 1992.

With regard to the Karipúna, Tassinari (2002) has delved into their complex past (cf. Röntgen 1998), tracing their origins to various groups, and Ladhams (1995: 118) has attempted to provide a simple summary of his theory of the social history of this group in seeking to provide answers to questions earlier raised by Holm (1989: 381). Both authors, though not entirely in agreement, tackle the apparent mystery and uncertainty surrounding the sociohistorical origins of KFC, one variety of the AFC language spoken on both sides of the border between French Guiana and Amapá, an area of Brazil once heavily influenced by both the French and the French Guianese, and still influenced by these two groups. Except for Tassinari (2002: 71–72, 80–107) and Vidal (2000), little other research has been done or published about the origins of the Galibi-Marwono, an AFC-speaking group that also has heterogeneous origins. Calvet (2009: 38) assumes that this group migrated from Guyane "au milieu du XX^e siècle, et a donc emmené le créole avec lui", although it is the Galibi do Oiapoque (Galibi Kaliña) that came from Guyane in the mid-twentieth century, and not the Galibi-Marwono.

The French presence in Brazil dates back to the sixteenth century. Two of the French colonies in Brazil include Vice-Admiral Durand de Villegaignon's France Antartique at Fort Coligny or Guanabara Bay, Rio de Janeiro, 1555 to 1560, and Daniel de la Touche's France Equinoxiale at São Luís de Maranhão 1612 to 1615 (see Burns 1980: 41; Eccles 1990). Further north, in 1713, in an area disputed by Portugal and France, the Treaty of Utrecht ceded (Portuguese) settlements in the area between the Amazon and Oyapock (or Oiyapoque) rivers to Portugal (later Brazil, independent by 1822), not to France, with the Oyapock River firmly established as the border between

6. Languages of the area include Kheuól, Palikúr and Galibi do Oiapoque, as well as others mentioned earlier.

French Guiana and Brazil. Elsewhere, the area north of the Araguari River and east of the Oyapock River was, in fact, territory hotly contested by both France (via French Guiana) and Brazil for almost two centuries. This conflict, based on gold deposits, lasted from the 17th to the 19th centuries. In 1885, the Republic of Counani, named after a village in the area, was briefly established in this Brazilian territory (1885 to 1887). After a bloody battle in 1895, France and Brazil decided to take this case to Switzerland, and on 1 December 1900 the dispute over the territory was finally settled in favour of Brazil by the Swiss Federal Council in the Arbitration Commission of Geneva (Rippy et al. 1935, quoted in Poleon 2009: 35). The area was ceded to Brazil and became part of the state of Pará, later becoming Amapá. After more than 40 years, the Federal Territory of Amapá was created on 13 September 1943, eventually achieving statehood in 1988 (Drummond & Pereira 2007: 65–66).

One contentious view holds that the Karipúna may have originated in the Island of Marajó in the mouth of the Amazon, in the state of Pará (referred to in Lewis 2009). The following is based on Ladhams' (1995:18) summary of the origins of the Karipúna. This view holds that they came to settle in the Oiapoque area after a series of migrations, for a variety of reasons, starting shortly after a revolt in Pará in the mid-1830s. Hemming (2008: 119) describes the political and economic tension in that period:

Brazilian Amazonia seethed with discontent during the decade after independence. The region was in economic decline, and the new nation Brazil suffered from inflation. Regional separatism simmered, and provincial presidents sent from Rio de Janeiro were inept or unduly harsh. Local politics were polarized between liberals, who focused their hatred on newly arrived Portuguese, and conservatives who opposed reform. By the 1830 there were sporadic disturbances and mutinies in settlements and forts on different Amazon rivers.

Hemming goes on to describe the Cabanagem Revolt, an unplanned but full-scale revolt, "named after the cabanos, homeless migrants who lived in temporary huts or cabins on the mudflats of the flood plain" (*ibid.*). The cabanos held the city of Belém from January 1835 to May 1836. At that time, many Tupi-speaking Amerindians from the mouth of the Amazon chose to move north-west to French Guiana, initially settling along the Ouanary River in French Guiana. At some point later, they moved further south to Oiapoque in Brazil, then moving back east, to the north of the Curipi River in Brazil. Later, an outbreak of smallpox caused them to move again, this time to the south of the Curipi River. The group later came into contact with non-Amerindian Brazilians and others, including speakers of French Creole from French Guiana, and speakers of Wayampí, a Tupi language, and also with French and French Creole-speaking missionaries in the Uaçá area. Having settled in the Curipi area, they were later joined by many gold miners and would-be gold miners of various origins (including French and French Creole-speaking Martiniquans and others) who moved

to Oiapoque and Curipi in search of gold. This was during the gold rush near Approuague, another river further west in French Guiana in 1854.

This general theory has the Karipúna as possibly Tupi-speaking Amerindians, moving from the state of Pará to the state of Amapá, eventually settling in the Uaçá area, including Oiapoque and Curipi, bordering French Guiana, where they came into close contact with other Amerindians as well as French and (Guyanese and Martinique) French Creole-speaking settlers. The result is a heterogeneous group with a strong ethnic Amerindian base, speaking mostly French Creole, as well as Portuguese (cf. Röntgen 1998: 58–59). This theory, however, has not necessarily been accepted in full by all scholars – see Tassinari 2002 and Calvet 2009.

Ladhams (1995: 117) also notes that in the late nineteenth century, “all Amerindians, except the Palikúr, were fluent in Creole” (citing Coudreau 1893: 378). Today that has changed and many Palikúr also speak Kheuól/Patuá (Diana Green, pc, February 1998, cf. Calvet 2009: 41). The Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono number a little over 1,700 each, bringing the native *créolophone* population to over 3,400, while the Palikúr number some 1,500 and the Galibi do Oiapoque number only 30, bringing the Amerindian population speaking the language as an L2 to over 1,500 (see Ferreira & Alleyne 2007, source FUNAI 2001). These figures are based on statistics gathered by FUNAI for the villages/reserves, and do not include the town of Oiapoque itself, so the totals are in fact probably higher.

With regard to the sociolinguistic status of Kheuól in the region, as a lingua franca, Tassinari has this to say:

O patois funciona, assim, como expressão da unidade dos povos da Uaçá frente aos não-índios, podendo também exprimir uma identidade com outros grupos da Guiana Francesa... Funcionando como “língua geral” do Uaçá, no entanto, o patois acaba sendo menos valorizado do que as línguas específicas faladas pelos Galibi do Oiapoque e os Palikur. Os Karipuna e Galibi-Marwono, assim, ficam em desvantagem quando querem tratar de assuntos mais restritos aos seus grupos, pois só podem fazer uso desse idioma compreendido pelos outros povos.

(Tassinari 2002: 382–383)⁷

Therefore, on the one hand, the language has great unifying value, uniting Amerindians and separating them from non-Amerindians. Among Amerindian groups, this

7. [Therefore, Patois functions as an expression of unity among the Amerindian peoples of Uaçá, separating them from non-Amerindians, also used to express common identity with other groups of French Guiana... Functioning as the lingua franca of Uaçá, however, Patois has lesser value than do the languages unique to the Galibi do Oiapoque and the Palikúr. The Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono, therefore, remain at a disadvantage when it comes to dealing with matters unique to both groups, since they can only use this language that is understood by other groups.]

language of Amerindian unity, which used to be one of the least valued, even called a type of French or a “dialect”, is not a strong ethnic symbol unique to and associated with any one group. This said, the language and its speakers are more respected today than in the past. It is a fact that Amerindian languages throughout Brazil have low value compared to Portuguese (or even other international languages such as English and French). This historically placed Kheuól (a Creole variety spoken by Amerindians) at the very bottom of the Brazilian sociolinguistic ladder, for a variety of complex reasons, and for sociohistorical reasons different from those of Caribbean French Creole-speaking communities. Despite or because of its currency as a lingua franca, the language belongs to a group wider than its native speakers, and it belongs to everyone and to no one in particular. On the other hand, Galibi do Oiapoque and Palikúr are the heritage languages of those respective groups only, and have come to hold higher status among the Amerindians of Uaçá, uniquely representing and identifying those two ethnic groups, respectively.

Today, at the official level, there is increasing contact between French Guiana and Brazil. The multilingual border area has long been fluid and open to residents and visitors of both sides of the border, with French Creole and Portuguese spoken on both sides of the border, and with French Creole playing the role of lingua franca – from Brazilian operators of water taxis to French gendarmes. According to Léglise (2004: 118; Leconte & Caitucoli 2003), among Brazilian families in Saint-Georges, where at least 85% of children declare themselves to be trilingual (Léglise 2004: 115), Portuguese is beginning to be replaced by French, rather than French Creole, probably due to schooling and other influences. The new Oyapock River border bridge being constructed between Saint-Georges-de-l’Oyapock (French Guiana) and Oiapoque (Brazil), about 10km apart and currently accessible by boat only, will ultimately link the European Union to Mercosur. The bridge will be an extension of the Brazilian BR-156 interstate highway, one that connects the equatorial capital of Macapá in the south to Laranjal do Jari in the west and to Oiapoque in the north, and may contribute to a permanent change of the area’s sociolinguistic situation. It remains to be seen specifically how the more remote areas of the Uaçá reserve will be affected.

3. Indigenous education in Uaçá

Since 1980, the Catholic mission, CIMI, has been largely responsible for promoting a three year Kheuól education primary school programme,⁸ particularly through

8. There has been a general increase in children’s attendance at indigenous primary and secondary schools across the country: *Em 2002 tínhamos 117.171 alunos freqüentando escolas*

Sister Rebecca Spires and Fr Nello Ruffaldi, who have developed materials in reading and mathematics, and also with the help of linguists such as Ruth Montserat (UFRJ) and Márcio Silva (then of UNICAMP). Since Kheuól is spoken by two indigenous groups (however mixed their origins might have been), government support is relatively strong, and there is also (unofficial) support from other Christian (Protestant) missions.

Many of the teachers are Karipúna or Galibi-Marwono, although non-indigenous teachers continue to form part of the teaching cadre as well. The latter are all trained by MEC and certified to teach anywhere in Brazil. Much of their training specific to Uaçá is practical and happens on-site, after certification, rather than being theoretical and being learned in the university classroom. Indigenous teachers generally are prepared for their profession in their home areas, and in 2005, formed the *Organização dos Professores Indígenas do Oiapoque* (OPIMO), the Organisation of Indigenous Teachers of Oiapoque.⁹ CIMI sponsored an indigenous teachers' training course from 1990 to 1995, and is still involved in teacher-training, though to a lesser extent than in the past.

According to Murphy, *educação diferenciada* (differential or differentiated education) has begun to replace bilingual education in some areas for many indigenous educators. This model includes training and schooling ("ethno-schools") different from national norms, and

tries to respect the specific cultural differences of each group, working with them to develop materials which utilize local indigenous knowledge; which allows for indigenous participation in the educational product, often including a re-evaluation of orthographic decisions, so that nothing is imposed upon the societies from the outside (2009:5).

That author goes on to note the discontent felt by many indigenous leaders, who "are not convinced that differential education is to their benefit" (*idem.*), seeing it as being of a lower standard than education programmes for non-indigenous teachers. The advantage of this type of education is that there is a holistic approach to the students'

indígenas em 24 unidades da federação. Hoje [2006] este número chega a 174.255 estudantes em cursos que vão da educação infantil ao ensino médio (MEC 2006). [In 2002, we had 117,171 students attending indigenous schools in 24 units of the Federation. Today [2006], this number has reached 174,225 students in courses ranging from kindergarten to middle school.]

9. The following articles would have been helpful, but it was not possible to access them at the time of writing: L.F. Dias. 2001. *Curso de formação e oficina para monitores e professores indígenas da reserva Uaçá*. In *Práticas Pedagógicas na Escola Indígena*, M. Aracy Silva, M. Kawall Leal Ferreira (eds). São Paulo: FAPESP/Global, and A. Tassinari. 2001. *Da civilização à tradição: os projetos de escola entre os índios do Uaçá*. In *Antropologia, história e educação: a questão indígena e a escola*, A. Lopes da Silva and M. Kawall Leal Ferreira (eds), 57–95, São Paulo: Global.

environment. Indigenous practices and traditions are allowed centre focus and teachers can incorporate as many of these into a curriculum as desired by communities. The disadvantage is that it may ultimately place such communities on an unequal footing compared to non-indigenous communities around the country, thereby potentially hindering and limiting individual and group opportunities for educational advancement in the national and mainstream system.

In Brazil, there are very few opportunities for higher learning in indigenous education studies. The Universidade Estadual do Mato Grosso (Unemat) was the first to offer a postgraduate programme in indigenous education in April 2002, consisting of 9 courses, including the following: Foundations of Anthropology, Educational Management of the Indigenous School, Indigenous Peoples and Languages of Brazil, Teaching of Sciences in the Indigenous School, Foundations of Education in the Indigenous School, Philosophy and Epistemology of Education, Research Methodology in Teaching, Legal Foundations of the Indigenous School, and a Monograph Writing Seminar. The Universidade Federal de Pernambuco also started a postgraduate programme in indigenous schooling in 2006, but these two universities cannot cover the whole country. At present, CAPES (*Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior*) is also conducting an Observatório da Educação Escolar Indígena. Indigenous teachers and monitors are not usually expected to have completed undergraduate training, and non-indigenous teachers are not necessarily expected to have completed postgraduate training, a clear discrepancy between the two groups.

Prior to the 1980s, the main teachers of Uaçá were non-indigenous, sent by the predecessor of FUNAI, namely the Government Serviço de Proteção do Índio (SPI), which operated in the Uaçá area from 1945 to 1967 (see Adamatti 2009). The overall purpose was that of incorporating Amerindians into national life, in this case in the extreme north of the country, which was between two worlds, those of French Guiana and Brazil. The model, according to Tassinari & Cohn (2009: 151), "is identified as an older assimilationist model". Before the 1920s, there had been sporadic attempts by individuals to become literate, often with the help of outsiders living in or visiting the area. Later, from 1934 to 1938, two teachers were assigned to two villages, Espírito Santo (Karipúna) along the Curipi River and Kumarumã (Galibi-Marwono, then known as Santa Maria). One of the teachers, by the name of Verônica D. Leal (generally known as dona Verônica), was from the state of Pará (of which Amapá was then a part), and remained in the area for about 30 years (Tassinari 1997, 1998, 2002, 2006; Tassinari & Cohn 2009). The school closed in 1938, but then re-opened later. Among other groups, such as the Palikúr, the first attempt in 1945 failed, but four years later, the Palikúr were able to produce the first *professor índio* ("indigenous teacher") of the region. From 1945 to 1951, another teacher was assigned to one Galibi-Marwono village. Later on, dona Verônica was assigned to the Karipúna village of Santa Isabel, and stayed there from 1948 to 1967.

Tassinari & Cohn (2009: 156–157) summarises the impact of schools on the Uaçá area:

These first schools were established by the Government of Pará, along with the appointment of an Inspector of Indians in the region to act as an SPI employee. This school education project was based on the positivist, nationalist, coercive, and authoritarian ideology, which in general guided the actions of the SPI (Lima 1995). The schools worked in the homes of captains of villages and the residence pattern, with families scattered in small villages along the rivers, hindered its operation. Initially, the children traveled long distances daily in canoes or went to live in the schools. Over time, many families, valuing the knowledge acquired through schooling, decided to move to the village headquarters. In that sense, the establishment of schools has promoted a considerable reordering of the Indigenous villages of the Uaçá region.

Other effects of the schools on daily life included the promotion of national symbols, values, and institutions, including national holidays.

By 1978, government policy began to be enforced through the Secretária de Educação de Amapá (SEC/AP). According to Tassinari (1997):

A partir de 78, é aplicado o novo programa curricular para a zona rural (de 1a a 4a séries) incluindo: comunicação e expressão (português), matemática, ciências, integração social e estudos sociais.¹⁰

Portuguese was the language of instruction for all areas, including communication and expression, and ignorance of the language was often accompanied by punishment (pc Dominique Gallois 2008). Tassinari notes:

Não conheci um Karipuna que não tenha elogios para a professora Verônica e encontrei, mesmo da parte de ex-alunos, elogios aos antigos métodos da palmatória e da proibição do uso do patois na sala de aula (2002: 360–61).¹¹

This is because many Karipúna, living in isolated, river communities, saw dona Verônica's school as the beginning of their advancement as a people, and as a means of shaking off the stigma of *bichos-do-mato* ("bush animals"). Many former students, in fact, were those who came to hold positions of responsibility in their communities, as leaders, nurses, FUNAI employees, and are among those supporting strongly positive community feelings towards dona Verônica, her school and her methods.

10. [From 1978, the new curriculum was implemented in rural areas (from Grades 1 to 4) including: communication and expression (Portuguese), mathematics, sciences, social integration and social studies.]

11. [I have not met a Karipúna who has anything but praise for the teacher dona Verônica, and I have heard praises for the old methods of punishment and of banning Patois in the classroom, even among former pupils.]

In Uaçá today, many young people trained by CIMI seem to prefer the bilingual education model, while older heads prefer the older assimilationist models. Differential education does not seem to be favoured by either group (Tassinari & Cohn 2009: 153). It is true to say that, on paper, the formal qualifications of indigenous teachers are generally fewer and relatively lower than others from outside of the area, and that many non-indigenous teachers go into the villages without a knowledge of either Kheúól or of the principles of mother tongue or bilingual education.

There seem to be four main waves of education in the history of the area: dona Verônica's assimilationist model, CIMI's original 3-year bilingual model, the government's differential education model (mostly not adopted), and a new modified CIMI model, the *Projeto Político Pedagógico das Escolas Indígenas Karipuna e Galibi-Marwono*, which modifies the original three-year programme, and offers a longer-term bilingual programme. The details and value of this new programme are not known, and it is worth waiting and seeing what impact it will have on language preservation in the long-term.

3.1 Bilingual education

By the 1980s, the Kheúól-to-Portuguese bilingual education programme was instituted, largely through the efforts of CIMI (the Catholic Mission) and with the approval of FUNAI, and later MEC. CIMI's goals, according to their educational materials (primers, mathematics books and storybooks), included the "processo de recuperação e valorização da língua, visando uma escola indígena bilingüe e bicultural"¹² (Spires & Ruffaldi 1996). Spires (1997b) states clearly, in Kheúól and in Portuguese, the goals of the project coordinators in developing an education programme that would (1) cultivate language maintenance/protection, (2) offer a bridge to the outside world for the young people, (3) prepare its students to defend Amerindian rights, and even (4), to help those learning the language as an L2:

Kheúól:

Dji pi 1978, no pov ka bat pu fe un lekol ki bai ke no gu. Un lekol ki hespete no zes viv, no metxe, no thadjisiô. Lãdã sa, lekol-la djivet osi phuepahe no jonmun-iela pu konet biê lasosiete deho ke tut so bagaj ki nov i djifehã. Li djivet ide alun-iela save kôphan lua dji blang-iela, i tut ki ka pas ke no kôpäie êdjê pu ie save defeie dua êdjê, pu defeie no late, pu defeie no zes viv... Osi pu ie ki ka âphan kheuol ie dezem lang.

Portuguese:

Desde 1978 os povos Galibi-Marwono e Karipuna trabalham para desenvolver um processo educativo escolar que respeite e anime seus valores, modo de

12. [process of saving and raising the prestige of the language, aiming at a bilingual and bicultural indigenous school.]

vida e expressões culturais ao mesmo tempo que prepare seus jovens para aproveitar as vantagens da modernidade e relacionar-se com seus vizinhos em Oiapoque. Ainda mais, esta educação, esta escola, deve cultivar a capacidade de analisar a realidade para melhor defender os direitos indígenas. Neste processo, a alfabetização na língua foi um dos primeiros passos e continua sendo de importância fundamental... Também pode servir para os alunos que estudam kheuól como segunda língua.¹³

Murphy (2009: 7) concurs: "Schools, for many of Brazil's indigenous groups, are perceived as a form of self-defense, and a means of understanding the dominant society and relating to it on their own terms."

In spite of the goals of the educators and despite the wishes of its chief protagonists, this bilingual education programme appears to have become an early exit bilingual education programme, not a maintenance bilingual education programme. It is designed to promote mother tongue literacy, but ultimately leads to transitional literacy and bilingualism, from the L1 to the L2, Portuguese, the language of wider communication, "...alfabetizando as crianças em kheuól antes de passarem para o ensino oficial, monolíngüe" (Tassinari 1997).¹⁴ Today, this method is used in many areas of Brazil, as part of the national policy of integration at all levels, starting with formal Government-approved and designed education. (Other traditional programmes are full immersion programmes in Portuguese.) It is not known if or how much research was done into the sociolinguistic situation of the region, prior to the implementation of this type of programme. According to Calvet (2009: 30),

Mais il nous faut surtout souligner que s'il existe des études d'anthropologues, de sociologues, voire de musicologues sur la région d'Oiapoque, les linguistes brésiliens ne semblent guère s'y être intéressés. Les services de la Funai d'Oiapoque par exemple ne comptent pas de linguistes dans leurs rangs.¹⁵

13. [From 1978 the Galibi-Marwono and Karipúna have been working to develop an educational process which respects and uplifts their values, way of life and cultural expressions, while preparing their young people to benefit from modern living and to relate to their neighbours in Oiapoque. Furthermore, this education, this school, should cultivate in students the ability to analyse [their] reality so as to better defend indigenous rights. In this educational process, literacy in the language is one of the first steps and continues to be of fundamental importance... It [the material] can also be used by students of Kheuól as a second language.]

14. ["educating the children in Kheuól before continuing on to the official, monolingual education system"].

15. The French *Centre National de Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS) currently has two research projects underway. French linguists, sociolinguists, anthropologists and geographers are currently working on the borders of the Guyanas through the project *Dynamiques des circulations migratoires et mobilités transfrontalières entre Guyane, Surinam, Brésil, Guyana et Haïti*

The choice of programme seems to lie largely in national policy-making, rather than being one based on research specific to this or other situations.

This transitional programme, with a 3-year monolingual Kheuól phase to a monolingual Portuguese phase, serves two purposes, namely, (a) the 3-year Kheuól phase provides an L1 literacy foundation, and (b) the first language component acts as a bridge to biliteracy and bilingualism, making the latter accessible since basic transferable literacy skills are acquired at an early stage. The programme helps students cross the bridge from indigenous to wider Brazilian culture, and from French Creole to Portuguese. Literacy in the mother tongue is used as a vehicle for achieving literacy in Portuguese. It also raises the status of the L1, but this is mostly a by-product of any transitional programme. With only three years of Kheuól education, however, this may seem like a token use of the vernacular, especially since many students (and their parents) are not only keen to continue in Portuguese in the village schools, but in the town of Oiapoque.

3.2 Why transitional bilingualism

Conditions for choice of transitional bilingual education include both group-internal factors and factors external to the group. Within the groups, the factors in favour of such a programme include the following-actual language use, language attitudes and the existence of materials by and for the groups in Kheuól. Outside the groups, there is social pressure to integrate into the wider society, and transitional bilingual education facilitates increasing familiarity with and control of Portuguese.

There is active use of Kheuól, from birth, and while there is some penetration of Portuguese, certain domains are reserved for use of Kheuól (e.g., home and in some cases, spiritual life). These two factors make the language key to any education programme, especially at the basic, transitional level. Portuguese is used in other domains (secondary education and civic life), placing Portuguese at an extremely important level – local, regional and national. As a result, there is a relatively strong tendency towards bilingualism, making Portuguese a strong contender for any education programme. There are many bilingual but not biliterate adults (and some children),

(ANR-DC2MT): see <<http://www.guyane.cnrs.fr/breve-DC2MT.html>>. The project Observatoire de l'Oyapock, also a CNRS project, *Oyapock-un Fleuve en Partage*, has as its focus the developing physical infrastructure between the two countries, namely the bridge across the river, whose completion is projected for 2010, and *l'objet est de comprendre les paramètres qui vont influencer sur la population humaine et l'environnement en lien avec cet événement majeur* – see <<http://www.guyane.cnrs.fr/projoyapock.html>>. Prof A. dos Martirios Barros and the Instituto Latino-Americano de Pesquisas Científicas (ILAPEC), Universidade Federal do Amapá (Unifap) have expressed an interest at varying times in carrying out research into the language and the language situations of the area.

and bilingual education programmes assist the current and upcoming generations to take their part in Brazilian civic life, desired by Kheuól speakers themselves, as well as the wider society. With the focus on mastery of Portuguese, many Amerindian languages, including Kheuól, are dropped from education programmes, after primary school, all across Brazil.

Both learners and parents of learners object to studying in anything but Portuguese in the long-term, believing that exclusion from the wider society will hinder social and economic advancement in the wider society. Schooling is one of the first steps to the "ingresso na 'sociedade brasileira' que faz dos Karipuna 'índios avançados' e os contrapõe aos 'índios do mato' que 'vivem como bichos', ou seja, sem o estabelecimento de laços com o exterior"¹⁶ (Tassinari 2002: 363, referring to the way that many outsiders view Amerindians in general and the Karipúna in this case).

There is existing literacy and other relevant materials in Kheuól, created and developed largely by the missions, so there is already a firm foundation in place, with room for improvement and expansion. Outside of the group, factors in favour of bilingual education include the following factors related to prestige, national education policy, and government resources:

1. The social prestige of Kheuól-speaking language groups is relatively low, vis-à-vis Portuguese, so a bilingual programme, no matter the ultimate goal of transition, raises and assures confidence among its speakers from early. As noted earlier, the sociolinguistic hierarchy of the area places Kheuól at the bottom of the ladder, with Portuguese at the top, Amerindian languages such as Palikúr and Galibi do Oiapoque in the middle, and Kheuól below.
2. National education is in Portuguese. However, most children in Kheuól-speaking villages speak only Kheuól, and gradually acquire Portuguese later, through school and contact with Portuguese-speaking adults. A transitional programme using the mother tongue of primary level students has the potential of raising interest and participation, even though modern pedagogical strategies are quite different from those used by dona Verônica, and honoured by older heads.
3. Although Brazilian national language policy did not favour mother-tongue literacy before 1988, it now does, and can and does accommodate the Kheuól programme, but in practice only for a limited time of a child's life, since the ultimate goal is

16. [the incorporation into "Brazilian society" that makes the Karipúna "advanced Amerindians" and separates them from the "bush Amerindians" who "live like animals," that is, those that have no links with the outside world."] That author goes on to discuss the role of various other social mechanisms that help complete the Brazilian socialisation and nationalisation of all Amerindians in the area, namely, the *Dia da Pátria*, *Dia do Índio*, football (and other sports) and local politics.

social and national participation. The original goal on the part of legislators and educators was national integration, and although the goals have changed, the reality is that national integration does indeed happen as a long-term by-product of the process.

4. While there are educational materials available in Kheuól for the primary level, there are limited government and mission resources for long-term bilingual education, so the creation of secondary school materials in Kheuól for a full bilingual programme is not envisaged for the near future.

3.3 The role of Portuguese

As noted earlier, all education beyond primary school is in Portuguese, the official language, which is the language of prestige, power and offers possibilities for socio-economic advancement. The groups are in contact with Portuguese through commerce and trade with non-Amerindians, education and the media. It is in the context of bilingual education that many primary school age Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono children are exposed to Portuguese in any significant depth. Television and other national media using Portuguese have played varying roles in different villages over time, the more remote having neither electricity nor television sets, the less remote having satellite dishes, but limited electricity, at specific times of day.

In this language contact situation, a growing preference for Portuguese may well militate against language survival in these Amerindian French Creole minority communities. While the language has been important to group identity, Portuguese has begun to replace French Creole in the lives of those more or less permanently based in the town of Oiapoque. For those who do not migrate from the rural reserves, the language remains central to daily life and group identity. This area needs to be further investigated quantitatively through focus group interviews, individual interviews and language attitude surveys. More than likely, such investigations will show the importance of developing and employing different educational strategies to suit each situation, taking staffing, training and other cost-bearing factors into consideration. Discovering language attitudes, language awareness and language ideology is a necessary part of recommended future research. Although no defined project is underway at present, such research should focus on developing knowledge of individual experiences of language use in the home communities, as well as a reconstruction of language interactions and experiences in villages of origin. Preliminary findings indicate that the Karipúna tend to be less bilingual than the Galibi-Marwono (FUNAI 2001), age, education and mobility being important variables. Note that remote-access villages are not necessarily the most conservative – language contact and language attitudes appear to have played an important role in language choice and use. Those communities that have had ongoing peaceful contact with the outside world, no matter how physically remote, are generally more open to bilingualism.

3.4 Issues

At present, it is not known whether there are available, reliable statistics on the participation of children in the schools. In rural areas, schools are relatively few, including the Uaçá reserve in Amapá, and in the case of those that are sometimes difficult to access for those in the more remote areas (depending on the climatic conditions, the tide, transportation, etc.). In such cases, there may be relatively low rates of local participation, which may therefore have quite a different basis, group-external rather than group-internal.

Bilingual education may be a two-edged sword, representing at once (a) a strong possibility for language maintenance, and (b) the source of possible long-term erosion of Kheúól by Portuguese. Many agree that "[o]ften these programmes support language shift and make no long-range considerations of institutional development or support of the mother tongue" (Matthews 1983: 16). Trudell (1995: 4) notes that "The principal goal of transitional bilingual education is the redistribution of opportunities to offset past discriminatory practices, but little concern is expressed for maintenance of the minority language or culture," while Baker (2006) generally dismisses transitional bilingual programmes as ineffective in achieving biliteracy.

Among the Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono, many young people are literate in both Kheúól and Portuguese, and aspire to further education in Portuguese. In brief interviews with four young Galibi-Marwono men under 21 (December 2007), varying degrees of literacy in and mastery of Kheúól were exhibited, but all of the young men were proficient and literate in Portuguese, having gone on to secondary education in Portuguese, mainly in Oiapoque.¹⁷ It appears that literature, whether Kheúól or Portuguese, is confined mainly to the school and the church, both domains requiring and using both languages to varying degrees. Those who leave the reservation villages must generally function in Portuguese and the younger ones are literate and able to function at schools, banks, and government offices. Anonby (2007: 9), referring to Vidal 2000, notes that elderly Amerindians of the area must go to Oiapoque "to receive their retirement pensions which form a large percentage of the income of each village," and "must use Portuguese in their transactions with other Brazilians." School materials are still basic, and further workshops could be mounted in order to develop more advanced materials, possibly including agriculture manuals, and translations of national and international legal documents, inter alia. The Museu Kuahi, inaugurated in 2007, can also begin to make use of the three indigenous languages of the region, including Kheúól, through not only displays of printed materials in the museum and on its website, but also bi/multilingual signs and posters in the museum. Some materials

17. At one point during the interview, one of the young men excused himself to take a cell phone call. Cell phones are very popular, and Kheúól could be used for texting messages.

are out of print or are only available in the cities where they were printed, and not even in Oiapoque, for example. There are no bookshops in Oiapoque, although one pharmacy sells Bibles in Portuguese, and educational materials are available through the missions and schools.

The ongoing use of educational materials points to the success of the transitional nature of their early education programme, but raises serious doubts and questions about the future vitality of Kheúól, at least in specific domains, namely education itself, and local politics, indicating that the education system in place may lead to subtractive bilingualism, especially for young people who leave for Oiapoque in search of higher education. If more Kheúól materials, possibly more focused on modern life, could be developed and used in later stages of school life, this could be reversed.

It is worth quoting Brazilian linguist Charlotte Emmerich (1974) at length (quoted in Kindell 1978: 13):

The educational plan for bilingual speakers begins with instruction in the mother tongue and proceeds gradually to instruction in Portuguese. Above all, it is of fundamental importance to have a functioning bilingual instructor who collaborates with the Brazilian teacher.

The training of these monitors has been a major preoccupation of FUNAI (National Amerindian Foundation) and several training courses already exist. Since the monitor is the key element of bilingual education, it is vital that all groups have trained monitors.

Concerning the Brazilian teachers, it is important that they receive special training that enables them to plan their educational activities in accord with the world view of each culture, that is, the sum of ideas, beliefs, symbols, and customs of the indigenous group.

Along with courses to train bilingual instructors, the development of courses to equip national teachers must be accomplished with maximum speed.

Three decades later, some of the same issues still need to be addressed throughout Brazil, and certainly for the Amerindians of Uaçá.

3.5 Materials

Materials are all culturally relevant and are in use, and include appropriate illustrations, based on the daily, traditional life of children and adults in the communities. Most of the booklets were developed and tested by bilingual teams made up of indigenous teachers and monitors of both ethnic groups, representatives of the Núcleo de Educação Indígena (NEI), CIMI missionaries and anthropologists, at annual workshops and conferences, with all illustrations done by workshop participants. It is worth noting here that financial support came from the Government of Amapá and also from the Associação dos Povos Indígenas do Oiapoque (APIO), indicating the community-wide support of these projects. The convenors in one preface state *esta iniciativa faz parte*

de um projeto mais amplo que visa uma escola indígena em seu conteúdo, metodologia e protagonismo,¹⁸ but the methodologies used are not explicitly stated. One storybook used in children's literacy classes, however, indicates that the literacy method in current use includes the creation of stories (Spires 1997b).

Materials include reading primers, mathematics texts, story books and dictionaries. Reading primers include the following, by Francisca Picanço Montejo:

- Adult Primer 1: *No ka kumase li i ekhi lādā no lekól kheuól* (We are Beginning to Read and Write in our Creole School) (Picanço Montejo 1985a),
- Adult Primer 2: *Anu li i ekhi lādā no lekól kheuól* (Let us Read and Write in our Creole School) (Picanço Montejo 1985b), and
- Adult Book 3: *Liv pu li lādā lekól kheuól* (Book for Reading at the Creole School) (Picanço Montejo 1985c).

Mathematics books include the following two-level book by Picanço Montejo, and use mainly indigenous images: (1985c) *Anu kōte lādā no lekól kheuol: Livro de Matemática* (Let Us Count at our Creole School: Book of Mathematics).



Figure 2. *Anu kōte lādā no lekól kheuol*

18. [this initiative is part of a wider project aiming at a school that is indigenous in content, methodology and participants.]

Story books include the following story collections organised by Nello Ruffaldi and Rebecca Spires, CIMI missionaries, sometimes in conjunction with the State of Amapá and APIO:

- *No liv dji ixtua* (Our Book of Stories) (Ruffaldi & Spires 1996a),
- *No liv dji ixtua 2* (Our Book of Stories 2) (Ruffaldi & Spires 1996b),

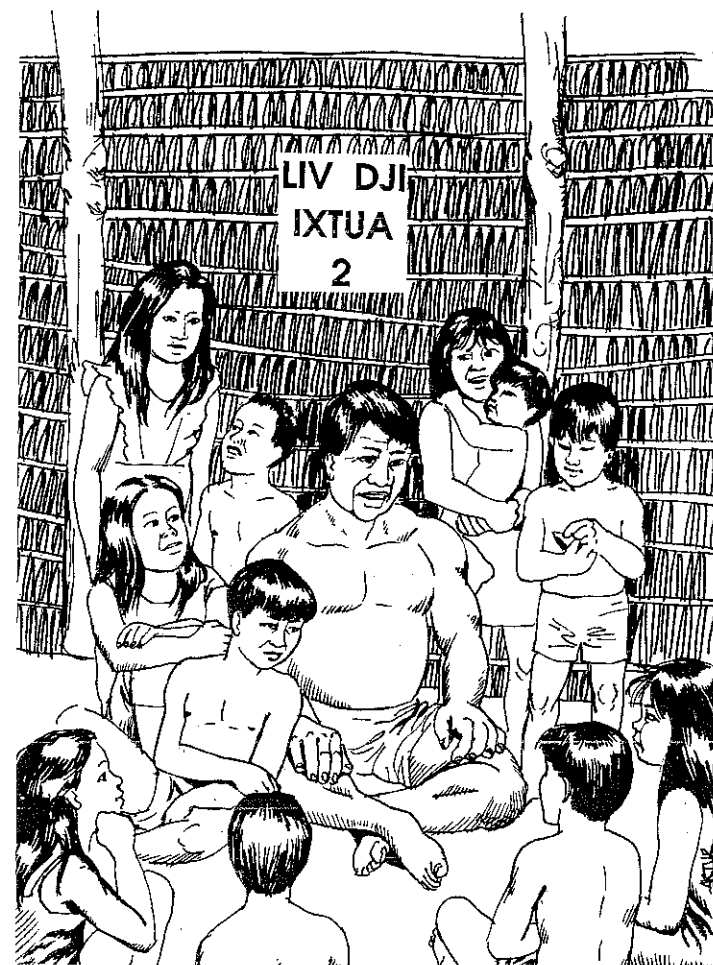


Figure 3. *No liv dji ixtua 2*

- *No ka kumase āphan lādā no lekol kheuol: cartilha no patoá kheuol* (We are Beginning to Study at Our Creole School: a primer in Creole Patois, a children's Grade I primer) (Ruffaldi & Spires 1996c) (See Figure 4 below),
- *Histórias de ontem e de hoje/Ixtuá dji aie e dji jodla* (Stories of Yesterday and Today) (Spires 1997a), and
- *Ixtua ki no fe la no lekol/Histórias que fizemos em nossa escola* (Stories that We Wrote in our School) (Spires 1997b).



Figure 4. *No Ka Kumase āphan lādā no lekol kheuol*

Other story books were published by SIL International and include Tobler & Tobler (1983): *Balén ke lefā: A baleia e o elefante (uma história em crioulo Karipúna: Livro de leitura na língua karipúna (crioulo karipúna))*, and Forte et al. (1983): *Masak, masak! Adivinhações em crioulo karipúna*. The materials appear to be effective in the use of language and appropriate cultural symbols, the most recent having been published since in the late 1990s. It is not known whether new materials have been developed and are awaiting publication – since the materials in use are adequate, new materials could aim at higher levels.

Both missions have published a bilingual dictionary each: A.W. Tobler (1987) and Picanço Montejo (1988). Carlos Guilherme and Deisemerí Corrêa, teachers and members of the *Associação Cristã de Água Viva (ACAV)*, former members of *Missão Novas Tribos do Brasil (MNT)*, have also compiled a dictionary (Corrêa & Lopes de Melo Corrêa 1998), currently being worked on by their colleague Adriana Carla Alves e Silva, a teacher at the *Centro de Treinamento Missionário (CTM)* of Oiapoque. See also trilingual word lists compiled by Green & Green (1996 & n.d.). There are also two grammars, one published in English (Tobler, S.J. 1983) in print and online, but this is not in use in the communities, and is only available in personal and administrative libraries in the town of Oiapoque itself, and the other, unpublished, is in Portuguese, by Montserrat & Silva (1984). (All of these materials include information on the orthography in current use, with minor differences here and there.)

Some individuals and villages have small libraries with books in Portuguese, but it is difficult to say whether these books are in actual use or simply form part of a museum-like collection. Individuals may purchase and read newspapers and magazines in Portuguese, but these do not form part of the schools' collections, for example.

Literacy agencies, such as *Alfalit*, have also visited the village of Kumarumã, and many adults there have also been exposed to literacy classes in Portuguese. Since Portuguese is generally held in high esteem, adult literacy courses in the country's main official language are highly valued. Thus far there has been no formal or informal evaluation of these programmes in terms of their effectiveness in both the short and long term.

4. Conclusion

Bilingual education programmes are often transitional, ultimately promoting language shift at both individual and community levels. In typical transitional bilingual programmes, the mother tongue is taught in the early years, continuing until the children's mastery of the second language is sufficiently developed to the point that they can continue education in it. This is the case among the Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono. The transitional goals of the programme seem to be met at individual and community levels in Kheuól-speaking areas, but the possibilities and prospects for language preservation are not high, and Portuguese remains the language of prestige and power. There is great room for language development in Kheuól at educational and other levels. However, as Kindell (1978: 14) notes:

educational programmes for the Amerindian groups of Brazil need to be planned according to the linguistic situation of each group. Evidently each will need a specific programme adapting teaching methods and materials to its sociopsycholinguistic peculiarities.

This is true for the Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono, two groups with varying degrees of bilingualism and a variety of language attitudes. Areas for further research include surveys of linguistic vitality, language use and domains, bilingualism, language attitudes, language materials, a thorough ongoing evaluation of the programme, as well as application of the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (UNESCO 1996) to the language situation(s) of Uaçá, as well as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations 2007).