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Revista do Laboratório de Linguagens LEETRA
Universidade Federal de São Carlos

Tradução, Internacionalização e Produção Acadêmica Indígena

Organização: Patrick Rezende (UFC)

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Número 23

LEETRA INDÍGENA

REVISTA DO LABORATÓRIO
DE LINGUAGENS LEETRA

Universidade Federal de São Carlos
VOLUME 23 – Número 01 – 2024

Tradução, Internacionalização e a Produção Acadêmica Indígena

Organizador: Patrick Rezende (UFC)

Universidade Federal de São Carlos

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LEETRA INDÍGENA, v.23, n.01. Tradução, Internacionalização e a Produção Acadêmica Indígena, 2024 – São Carlos/SP: Universidade Federal de São Carlos, Laboratório de Linguagens LEETRA

Periodicidade semestral.

ISSN: 2316-444X

1. Literatura indígena. 2. Literatura brasileira. 3. Sociedades indígenas brasileiras. 4. Línguas Indígenas.

Revista do Laboratório de Linguagens LEETRA
Universidade Federal de São Carlos – SP – BRASIL
Volume 23, número 01 – 2024 – ISSN 2316-445X

SUMÁRIO

APRESENTAÇÃO

Este volume temático representa uma intervenção crítica nos debates contemporâneos sobre produção de conhecimento, reunindo cinco artigos fundamentais originalmente publicados na revista brasileira LEETRA – todos de autoria de pesquisadores indígenas –, além de uma nova contribuição crítica do tradutor e pesquisador Patrick Rezende. A coletânea reflete um esforço deliberado para transcender as fronteiras acadêmicas nacionais, ao mesmo tempo em que enfrenta as assimetrias epistêmicas que historicamente marginalizaram a produção intelectual indígena em contextos internacionais. Mais do que simplesmente amplificar vozes indígenas, o projeto questiona as normas estabelecidas de legitimidade acadêmica e busca ressignificar os quadros teóricos que determinam como o conhecimento é reconhecido e valorizado.

O volume abre com a desconstrução seminal da taxonomia colonial proposta por Luciano Aribo Kezo em *"I'm Not an 'Indian,' Nor Do I Belong to Any Tribe"*. A arqueologia etimológica minuciosa de Kezo revela como rótulos como "índio" e "tribo" funcionam como camisas de força epistemológicas, perpetrando o que Santos denomina "epistemicídio" por meio de violência categórica. Sua proposição de autoidenificação etnolinguística precisa constitui um ato de resistência onomástica, reivindicando o direito à autodefinição ontológica contra o que Cajete descreve como "a colonização da própria realidade".

"Our Ancestries Are Sacred", de Camilo e Edson Kayapó, estende essa crítica à experiência indígena urbana, utilizando a autoetnografia para expor o que chamam de "paradoxo da autenticidade" – situação em que os povos indígenas enfrentam simultaneamente demandas de assimilação e acusações de inautenticidade ao transitar por espaços acadêmicos. Sua narrativa revela o racismo epistêmico embutido nos mecanismos de controle institucional, ao mesmo tempo que exemplifica o que Simpson (Mohawk) identifica como "soberania intelectual" por meio de sua recusa à subjetivação colonial.

A análise de Eliane Potiguara sobre sistemas semióticos indígenas em *"Ink, the Spoken Word in Oral Tradition, and Writing in Indigenous Languages"* demonstra como as novas tecnologias estão sendo indigenizadas em vez de funcionar como forças assimilativas. Sua

reflexão sobre a preservação digital da tradição Kuna Mola oferece um contraponto potente ao que Appadurai alerta ser um "esmaecimento cultural", apresentando, em vez disso, o que ela denomina "ancestralidade tecnológica" – o uso estratégico de ferramentas modernas para amplificar, e não erodir, epistemes indígenas.

"The Role of the Indigenous Teacher", de Rosivânia Cataá Tuxá, enfrenta as dimensões pedagógicas da descolonização epistêmica. Por meio do que chama de "contramapeamento curricular", Tuxá documenta como educadores Tuxá subvertem os currículos impostos pelo Estado para criar o que Mignolo e Walsh conceituam como "uma outra lógica" educacional. Sua análise de contextos escolares pós-deslocamento revela as instituições de ensino como territórios epistêmicos contestados onde, em suas palavras, "todo plano de aula se torna uma negociação de tratado".

"The Stories I Heard from My Grandmother and What I Learned from Them", de Márcia Nunes Maciel, emprega o que ela nomeia como "mito-historiografia" para expor as políticas brasileiras de apagamento da identidade indígena. Por meio das narrativas serpentinas da cosmovisão Mura, Maciel demonstra o que De Certeau chama de "prática de resistência cotidiana", em que a tradição oral se torna tanto repositório arquivístico quanto metodologia decolonial contra o que ela identifica como "monocultura narrativa do Estado".

O volume se encerra com a contribuição original de Patrick Rezende, *"The Internationalization of Indigenous Productions: Translation as an Attempt to Repair Silencing"*, que oferece um meta-comentário crítico sobre a coletânea. Baseando-se em abordagens pós-coloniais da tradução, Rezende examina os desafios envolvidos na transposição de epistemologias indígenas para o inglês acadêmico dominante. Sua proposta de "tradução reparadora" – compreendida não como busca por equivalência linguística, mas como ato de abertura epistêmica – fornece orientações metodológicas importantes para o projeto de internacionalização do volume.

As traduções aqui apresentadas evitam deliberadamente as armadilhas comuns das interpretações acadêmicas convencionais do pensamento indígena. Em vez de se limitarem a discussões sobre domesticação ou estrangeirização em sentido estritamente linguístico, buscam

permitir que as obras produzidas por intelectuais indígenas se expressem sem confinamento a categorias epistêmicas dominantes. O objetivo é fomentar um diálogo entre diferentes modos de saber, utilizando práticas tradutórias como tentativas sutis de reparar o silenciamento recorrente imposto por modelos eurocêntricos.

Coletivamente, este volume reconceitualiza a tradução como um ato intrinsecamente político – que tanto reproduz quanto desafia hierarquias epistêmicas existentes. Em vez de compreender a mediação linguística como transmissão neutra, a abordamos como um terreno contestado onde regimes de conhecimento coloniais se intersectam com alternativas decoloniais. A cuidadosa transposição desses trabalhos para o inglês constitui uma intervenção intencional na geopolítica acadêmica, buscando expandir os limites do que é reconhecido como conhecimento legítimo nos espaços acadêmicos internacionais. Por meio de práticas tradutórias criticamente mediadas, que resistem a impulsos domesticadores, almejamos criar condições para que epistemologias indígenas circulem em seus próprios termos – não como "outros" exóticos, mas como sistemas de pensamento igualmente válidos.

A reflexão crítica aqui apresentada serve como meta-comentário fundamental sobre esse processo, expondo as tensões inerentes à inserção do pensamento indígena em circuitos acadêmicos anglófonos sem comprometer seus fundamentos epistemológicos. O projeto encarna, assim, um compromisso com a preservação da riqueza conceitual e da especificidade cultural do saber indígena, mesmo diante das limitações impostas pela linguagem acadêmica hegemônica. Esse delicado equilíbrio exige vigilância constante contra a reafirmação sutil de lógicas coloniais, que frequentemente ressurgem mesmo em esforços bem-intencionados de internacionalização.

Em última análise, o volume busca demonstrar que um intercâmbio acadêmico verdadeiramente significativo deve envolver não apenas a tradução de palavras, mas a transformação dos quadros epistemológicos que determinam o que conta como conhecimento. Nesse sentido, convidamos os leitores a se engajarem de modo atento e a reconhecerem a pluralidade de racionalidades que coexistem para além das fronteiras eurocêntricas do saber. Mais do que simplesmente acessar novos conteúdos, espera-se que a leitura deste volume

provoque uma abertura crítica à diversidade de modos de existência e produção de conhecimento, contribuindo para a construção de espaços acadêmicos mais inclusivos, pluriepistêmicos e sensíveis às histórias dos povos indígenas. Nesse processo, a tradução revela seu potencial como prática de hospitalidade, acolhendo a alteridade epistemológica que constitui a riqueza das cosmologias indígenas.

São Carlos, 2024

Maria Silvia Cintra Martins

Patrick Rezende

EDITORIAL

This thematic volume represents a critical intervention in contemporary debates on knowledge production, curating five foundational articles originally published in the Brazilian journal *LEETRA Indígena* - all authored by Indigenous researchers - alongside one new critical contribution by translator-scholar Patrick Rezende. The collection represents a deliberate effort to transcend national academic boundaries while addressing the epistemic asymmetries that have historically marginalized Indigenous knowledge production in international contexts. Beyond simply amplifying Indigenous voices, the project questions the established norms of scholarly legitimacy and seeks to reshape the frameworks through which knowledge is recognized and valued.

The volume opens with Luciano Aribo Kezo's seminal deconstruction of colonial taxonomy in "I'm Not an 'Indian,' Nor Do I Belong to Any Tribe." Kezo's meticulous etymological archaeology reveals how labels like "Indian" and "tribe" function as epistemological straightjackets, performing what Santos terms "epistemicide" through categorical violence. His proposition for precise ethnolinguistic self-identification constitutes an act of onomastic resistance, reclaiming the right to ontological self-definition against what Cajete describes as "the colonization of reality itself."

Camilo and Edson Kayapó's "Our Ancestries Are Sacred" extends this critique to the urban Indigenous experience, employing autoethnography to expose what they term "the authenticity paradox" - where Indigenous peoples face simultaneous demands to assimilate and accusations of inauthenticity when navigating academic spaces. Their narrative exposes the epistemic racism embedded in institutional gatekeeping, while modeling what Simpson (Mohawk) identifies as "intellectual sovereignty" through their refusal of colonial subjectivation.

Eliane Potiguara's examination of Indigenous semiotic systems in "Ink, the Spoken Word in Oral Tradition, and Writing in Indigenous Languages" demonstrates how new technologies are being indigenized rather than functioning as assimilative forces. Her analysis of the Kuna Mola tradition's digital preservation offers a powerful counterpoint to what

Appadurai warns against as "cultural gray-out," presenting instead what she terms "technological ancestrality" - the strategic deployment of modern tools to amplify rather than erode Indigenous epistemes.

Rosivânia Cataá Tuxá's "The Role of the Indigenous Teacher" confronts the pedagogical dimensions of epistemic decolonization. Through what she calls "curricular counter-mapping," Tuxá documents how Tuxá educators subvert state-mandated curricula to create what Mignolo and Walsh term "an-other logic" of education. Her analysis of post-displacement schooling contexts reveals educational institutions as contested epistemic territories where, in her words, "every lesson plan becomes a treaty negotiation."

Márcia Nunes Maciel's "The Stories I Heard from My Grandmother and What I Learned from Them" employs what she terms "mytho-historiography" to expose Brazil's policies of Indigenous identity erasure. Through the Mura cosmovision's serpent narratives, Maciel demonstrates what De Certeau calls "the practice of everyday resistance," where oral tradition becomes both archival repository and decolonial methodology against what she identifies as "the state's narrative monocropping."

The volume concludes with Patrick Rezende's original contribution, "The Internationalization of Indigenous Productions: Translation as an Attempt to Repair Silencing," which provides a critical meta-commentary on the collection. Drawing on postcolonial approaches to translation, Rezende examines the challenges involved in rendering Indigenous epistemologies into dominant academic English. His proposal for "reparative translation" — understood not as a search for linguistic equivalence but as an act of epistemic openness — offers important methodological guidance for the volume's project of internationalization.

The translations presented here deliberately avoid the common pitfalls of conventional academic interpretations of Indigenous thought. Rather than limiting themselves to discussions surrounding domestication or foreignization in a strictly linguistic sense, they seek to allow the works produced by Indigenous intellectuals to be expressed without being confined to dominant epistemic categories. The aim is to foster a dialogue among different ways of knowing, while using translation practices as subtle attempts to repair the recurrent silencing enforced by Eurocentric models.

Collectively, this volume reconceptualizes translation as an inherently political act — one that either reproduces or challenges existing epistemic hierarchies. Rather than understanding linguistic mediation as a neutral transmission, we approach it as a contested terrain where colonial knowledge regimes intersect with decolonial alternatives. The careful rendering of these works into English constitutes an intentional intervention in academic geopolitics, seeking to expand the boundaries of what is recognized as legitimate knowledge in international academic spaces. Through critically mediated translation practices that resist impulses of domestication, we aim to create conditions for Indigenous epistemologies to circulate on their own terms — not as exotic "others" but as equally valid systems of thought. The critical reflection presented here serves as a fundamental meta-commentary on this process, exposing the tensions inherent in bringing Indigenous thought into Anglophone academic circuits without compromising its epistemological foundations. The project thus embodies a commitment to preserving the conceptual richness and cultural specificity of Indigenous knowledge, even in the face of limitations imposed by hegemonic academic language. This delicate balancing act requires constant vigilance against the subtle reassertion of colonial logics, which frequently manifest even in well-intentioned efforts at internationalization. Ultimately, the volume seeks to demonstrate that truly meaningful academic exchange must involve not only the translation of words but also the transformation of the epistemological frameworks that determine what counts as knowledge. In this regard, we invite readers to engage attentively and recognize the plurality of rationalities that coexist beyond the Eurocentric boundaries of knowledge. More than simply accessing new content, it is hoped that the reading of this volume will provoke a critical openness to the diversity of modes of existence and knowledge production, contributing to the construction of more inclusive, pluriepistemic academic spaces that are sensitive to the histories of Indigenous peoples. In this process, translation reveals its potential as a practice of hospitality, embracing the epistemological otherness that constitutes the richness of Indigenous cosmologies.

São Carlos, 2024

Maria Silvia Cintra Martins

Patrick Rezende

Revista leetra Indígena

I'M NOT AN "INDIAN," NOR DO I BELONG TO ANY TRIBE[1]

NÃO SOU ÍNDIO, NEM PERTENÇO A NENHUMA TRIBO

Luciano Ariabo Kezo[2]

Translation: Patrick Rezende

Abstract
This article critically examines the terms *"Indian"* and *"tribe"*, arguing that they are historically inaccurate and often pejorative when applied to Indigenous peoples in Brazil. Through an etymological and cultural analysis, the text highlights how these labels perpetuate stereotypes and obscure the vast diversity among Indigenous communities. The discussion emphasizes the importance of self-identification, noting that each Indigenous people has its own distinct language, traditions, and social structures—far more complex than the homogenizing term *"tribe"* suggests. Visual examples of adornments and body art from groups such as the Bororo-Boe, Kayapó, and Xavante illustrate the unique cultural markers that differentiate these peoples. Additionally, the article challenges colonial narratives by asserting that Indigenous identity is not tied to primitive stereotypes but rather to ancestral belonging and self-determined definitions. The conclusion advocates for using precise terminology, such as *"Indigenous"* followed by the specific name of the people, to promote respect and accurate representation. Finally, the text suggests educational activities to deepen understanding of Indigenous cultural expressions, encouraging a move beyond superficial perceptions toward meaningful recognition of Brazil's original peoples.
Keywords: indigenous peoples, cultural identity, self-designation

Resumo
Este artigo analisa criticamente os termos *"índio"* e *"tribo"*, demonstrando sua inadequação histórica e carga pejorativa quando aplicados aos povos originários do Brasil. Através de uma análise etimológica e cultural, o texto evidencia como esses rótulos perpetuam estereótipos e apagam a imensa diversidade entre os povos indígenas. A discussão enfatiza a importância da autodesignação, destacando que cada povo indígena possui língua, tradições e estruturas sociais próprias – muito mais complexas do que o termo genérico *"tribo"* sugere. Exemplos visuais de adornos e pinturas corporais de povos como Bororo-Boe, Kayapó e Xavante ilustram os marcadores culturais que os diferenciam. Além disso, o artigo desafia narrativas coloniais ao afirmar que a identidade indígena não está vinculada a estereótipos de primitivismo, mas sim ao pertencimento ancestral e a definições autodeterminadas. Conclui defendendo o uso de terminologia precisa, como *"indígena"* seguido do nome específico do povo, para promover respeito e representação adequada. Por fim, sugere atividades educativas para aprofundar o conhecimento sobre expressões culturais indígenas, incentivando uma compreensão que vá além de percepções superficiais.
Palavras-chave: povos indígenas, identidade cultural, autodesignação

Introduction

The content that follows addresses two extremely important issues that deserve attention, as they will serve as a foundation for truly recognizing the real profile of Brazil. "Indian" and "tribe" are seemingly simple expressions; at first glance, they may not appear

[1] Text originally published in Portuguese in volume 13 of *Leetra* Indígena. Access: https://issuu.com/grupo.leetra/docs/aba_pnaic_13_pub/1?ff

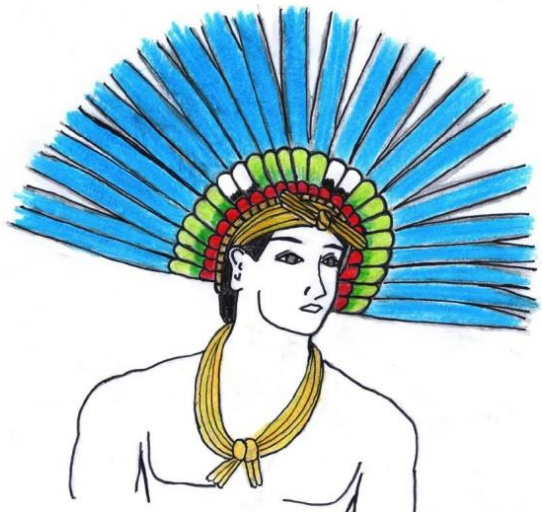
[2] Holds a degree in Languages – Portuguese and Spanish – and a Master's degree in Linguistics, both from the Federal University of São Carlos (UFSCar). A native of the state of Mato Grosso, he is a member of the Balatiponé Indigenous community, where the Balatiponé language, part of the Jê linguistic family, is spoken. His academic work focuses on Indigenous literature and Linguistics.

offensive. However, if we investigate the etymological meaning of each word—and depending on the perspective—we realize that neither of these terms accurately applies to the people they are meant to describe. In fact, both tend to be pejorative. It is at this point that the present content aims to unpack or challenge these misconceptions, precisely in order to clear up misunderstandings. “I am not an Indian, nor do I belong to any tribe” — these are the statements that emerge from the point of view of an Indigenous person. These questions aim to encourage reflection on such labels, based on their actual meanings.

When the term “Indian” is used, what image comes to your mind?

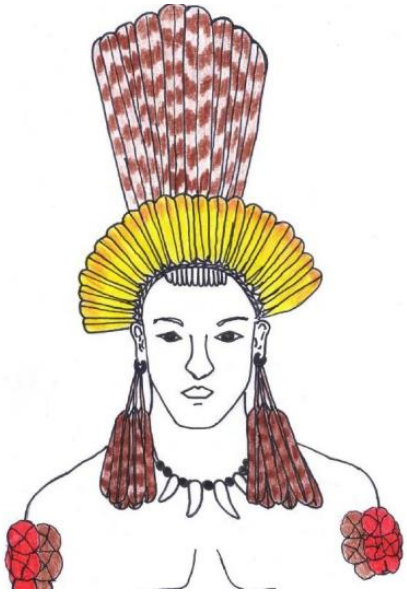
Your concept of this term might differ completely from that of the person who is customarily referred to as an “Indian.”It is important to note that there are many Indigenous Peoples living in Brazil. This fact counters the idea that Brazilian Indigenous people are culturally, linguistically, religiously, and—most importantly—identity-wise homogeneous. Therefore, the notion of homogeneity among Indigenous groups does not hold up.

The reality is that the term “Indian” simply reduces and hides a vast diversity. Now, how can we begin to perceive this diversity? We may identify an Indigenous person as belonging to a specific people through their headdress—but not only that. The distinguishing features of some Indigenous groups can also be made visible through body painting, earrings, necklaces, hairstyles, and so on. What does that mean? Next, we will present images of Indigenous individuals from various ethnic backgrounds, with the aim of clarifying the distinctions between one group and another through visual means.

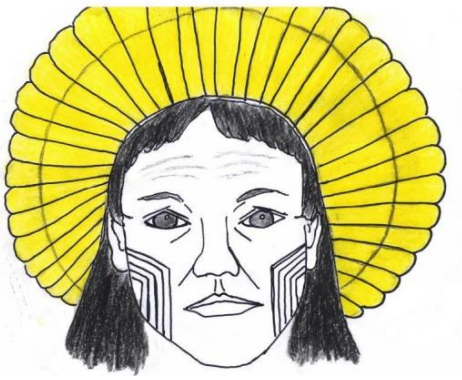


The image above shows a member of the Bororo-Boe people from the state of Mato Grosso. When adorned according to their tradition, they can be identified by people outside

their culture through the *pariko*, the headdress. The *pariko* is a distinctive diadem of the Bororo-Boe people and is not found in the traditions of any other group.

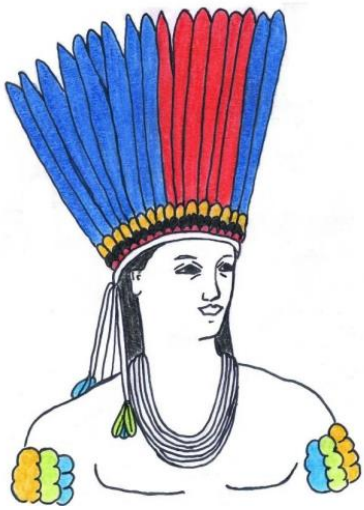


This second image shows a Umutina-Balatiponé warrior. Several items displayed with him reveal his ethnic origin, such as: the *hakikano* (an adornment worn along with the headdress), the hawk feather earring, the *ajikuitá okopo* (a jaguar tooth necklace), and the bracelet made from the down feathers of the curassow and the macaw, among others. It is a set of signs indicating his belonging.



This third illustration features the Kayapó people, whose ornamental elements allow us to identify an individual as belonging to this group. In addition to the headdress,

there are also body paintings. Although it is not shown in the illustration, there is a particularly significant male adornment: a rounded and flattened wooden piece worn in an opening in the lower lip. It is through this lip ornament that one can recognize an individual as a member of the Kayapó people, since this custom and its specific craftsmanship are not found in any other group. This type of adornment is usually worn by elders.



This drawing depicts a member of the Pareci–Hality people. The individual is adorned with several items such as bracelets, a headdress, and necklaces. Among these, the most significant component is the *haulo* (headdress). It is through this item that we identify a member of the Hality people.

In the fifth drawing, we can see a Xavante individual. His profile features remarkable ornaments. The most common ones are the *dañorebzu'a* (neck tie) and the *daporewa'u* (earring). The wooden earring worn by Xavante men is essential, as it marks the passage into adulthood through a ritual that spans several months of continuous activities.

The Rikbaktsa people are mainly known for their feather art: headdresses, bracelets, earrings, and feather caps. Another common ornament, especially among elders, is a rounded wooden earring, about 10 centimeters in diameter.

After observing the images, reinforcing the idea of diversity, we now present a link to a video that poetically shows the names of all the Indigenous peoples who shape the multicultural identity of Brazil:

http://migre.me/osnic

Did you imagine that our country is composed of all this cultural richness presented in the video?

In Brazil, there are two major linguistic roots: *Tupi* and *Jê*. Just like Portuguese, French, Italian, and Spanish evolved from Latin—and Latin from Indo-European—many Indigenous languages branch out from *Tup*i and *Jê*. Besides these two main roots, there are also other language families that are not derived from either, such as *Aruák, Karib, Pano*, among others.

Just to clarify, all the terms mentioned are the names of Indigenous peoples, each with their own language. It is important to emphasize that if a Guarani person tries to communicate

in Guarani with someone from the *Xavante* people, the communication will not succeed, since they belong to different peoples and, therefore, speak different languages. In this case, *Guarani* belongs to the *Tupi* root, while *Xavante* belongs to the Jê root.

According to the video, one can say it exceeds all expectations, as Brazil has never seen itself through this lens. Indigenous peoples are distributed across all Brazilian states. The daily life of each people is diverse. Just as there are peoples strongly connected to their traditional practices—such as language, dance, body painting, hunting, fishing, agriculture, etc.—there are also peoples or members of peoples who live in urban contexts, ranging from small towns to large metropolises.

Deconstructing stereotypes about Indigenous peoples means understanding that, although many communities maintain a living culture inherited from their ancestors, this does not prevent them from living in or engaging with external cultures. And when they do, it does not strip them of their identity. That is, if an Indigenous person speaks Portuguese or English fluently, wears Nike sneakers, or owns the latest iPhone, this does not mean they are any less Indigenous or lose their right to identify as such.

There are peoples who no longer speak their traditional languages or practice certain cultural knowledge. However, those are not the defining criteria that erase or define a people's identity.

Based on the previous images and their descriptions, we have seen some concrete ways through which it is possible to identify an Indigenous person as belonging to a particular people. But what if they are not dressed in traditional attire—how can we recognize someone as being from an Indigenous background? Would it be through physical traits such as hair, eyes, skin tone, height, etc.?

If one chooses to rely on such criteria, there's a significant risk of falling into stereotypes. Physical characteristics among Indigenous peoples are not as uniform as one might think. When we adopt a holistic but superficial view like this, we risk placing Indigenous individuals within a caricatured model. After discussing the concrete features that could guide identification, we now turn to subjective characteristics.

One of the keys to accessing identity through abstract elements is language. However, there are peoples who, unfortunately, have lost the ability to continue practicing their native languages. Beyond language, there are still specific forms of knowledge that are continuously

practiced—such as social organization, political structures, worldview, agriculture, education, epistemology, memory, and more. These and other factors point back to the ancestral roots of each people. The name of the people is a way of expressing all this cultural heritage, encompassing both concrete and abstract elements.

"Indigenous" is often imagined as someone who lives in the forest, naked or wearing a loincloth, hunting with a bow and arrow, and performing rain dances. This image is more closely aligned with a stereotypical model. In reality, this is not how Indigenous peoples would identify themselves. For example, someone from the *Balatiponé* Indigenous people, even if they present themselves to someone as "Indigenous," will carry with them the meaning constructed by their own people. That is, each Indigenous group has its own concept of what it means to be "Indigenous"—a notion that may not have been influenced by school textbooks or dominant historical narratives, but rather built upon their own cosmogony and worldview. Each people has its own dances, songs, clothing, symbols, and art, which may be quite different from the version imagined by those unfamiliar with these realities.

Shall we dive deeper and try to understand this better together?

Next, you will learn the etymology of each word. Do you know the difference between the terms: *índio* (Indian)**,** *indígena* (Indigenous)**,** *and silvícola (*primitive forest dweller)?

If we consult a portuguese dictionary intending to find the definition of the word *índio (Indian)*, there won't be a precise or consistent meaning for it. The term *índio*, one of its meanings—particularly the one related to the arrival of Europeans in Brazil—emerges from the idea that these navigators were heading to the Indies, but due to a navigational error, they anchored their ships on American land. Realizing that the territory was already inhabited, the Europeans called all the inhabitants "Índios" (*Indians*), even though they knew they had not reached their intended destination.

Another definition of *índio* is associated with numismatics, the science that deals with coins. During the time of King Manuel I of Portugal, a silver coin was called *índio*.

The third definition of *índio* is related to scientific terminology, which comes from Latin. It refers specifically to a metallic chemical element (symbol: In), with atomic number 49 — *indium* (in Portuguese, *índio*).

The second term, *indígena* (Indigenous), refers to ancient origins and ancestry. It describes individuals who belong to a people that has established residence in a particular place so long ago that their descendants cannot precisely measure how long it has been. Many Indigenous groups also believe that their origin took place right here, on Brazilian soil.

A more concise explanation of the term *indígena* would be "originating from the land". The antonym of *indígena* in portuguese is *alienígena* (alien/foreign), and the term is equivalent to *aboriginal*, *native*, or *autochthonous*.

Silvícola (primitive forest dweller) refers to the forest, or to people who live in the forest—a concept that often carries connotations of “savage.” This is one of the reductionist ideas historically applied to autochthonous societies, equating their value to that of irrational beings. In line with this idea of being “savages,” it is still commonly said or thought today that Indigenous people are not part of civilization, or that they are not "civilized."

While they may not belong to *Western*, *European*, *Asian*, or other forms of civilization, they certainly do belong to *civilized societies*. In the case of our country, if we take a broader view, we can see that there are many civilized societies—existing long before the arrival of European civilization. Of these terms, which do you believe is the most appropriate to use: *índio*, *indígena*, or *silvícola*?

In the end, all these terms were introduced and imposed from external perspectives. Every Indigenous person, regardless of their ethnic origin, will always have their self-designation, which is tied to their identity. An individual who belongs to a society—for example, those born in Brazil are called Brazilians, those born in Portugal call themselves Portuguese—in other words, their identities are connected to their respective societies.

Someone born in Brazil wouldn't say they're Portuguese unless they had a blood tie to someone from Portugal; therefore, they would be expected to identify as Brazilian. In the case of Brazil, this is no different within Indigenous societies. If I, as an Indigenous person, know that I belong to a particular Indigenous society, I will identify myself as a member of that specific society.

It wouldn’t be enough for me to simply say I’m Indigenous—the natural follow-up question would be:*You’re Indigenous? But from which people?* So I would also be expected to identify myself as a member of a specific people—in my case, the Balatiponé people. The same applies to someone who belongs to another Indigenous group, such as the Enawenê Nawê

people. Someone from that group would never claim to be Balatiponé unless they had a blood connection; therefore, from an identity standpoint, they would identify themselves as Enawenê Nawê.

I don't belong to any tribe

Tribe? What does your imagination conjure up when you hear that word?

In Brazil, it is common to refer to Indigenous groups living in villages or in the forest as tribes, based on the assumption that a tribe must exist in direct contact with nature, living in huts or cabins.

But why should we use the term *tribe* and not another designation? The word *tribe* gives the impression of a dependent relationship between one group and another—culturally, socio-politically, linguistically, etc. If we look at a specific Indigenous community—for example, the Umutina-Balatiponé people—they are located in the state of Mato Grosso, living in their own territory, speaking their own language, following their own internal regulations (in addition to those of the Brazilian state), with their own political leadership and independent knowledge production.

What are the criteria for calling something a **s**ociety? Linguistic? Cultural? Political? Identity-based? Epistemological? Is it possible to refer to everyone living in Germany as the "German tribe," or those from the United States as the "North American tribe"? Of course not. These examples are used precisely to illustrate that the term *tribe* is not appropriate for Indigenous peoples, who are often labeled this way.

The diverse Indigenous populations of Brazil possess highly complex systems—capable of equaling, in many aspects, those groups more commonly referred to as *societies*. Therefore, the word *tribe* fails to capture the full depth of their social, political, and cultural heritage.

Suggested Activities

Based on this content, here are some points that can serve as guidelines for designing activities:

If working with body painting or graphic patterns *(grafismo)*, it is important to try to learn the name of the people who practice it, the name of the design, its meaning, whether it is

used by men or women, the age range for its use (how young or how old someone must be), and the occasions on which it is applied. Also, try to find out what the ink is made of, how it is produced, how long it lasts on the skin, and whether the same designs are used on other objects such as pottery, basketry, wooden stools, etc.

When focusing on headdresses *(cocares)*, try to find out the name of the Indigenous group, the materials used in their making, whether the headdress is worn by men or women, and whether there are different types of headdresses. If there are, find out when and why each type is used.

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OUR ANCESTRIES ARE SACRED[1]

NOSSAS ANCESTRALIDADES SÃO SAGRADAS

Camilo Kayapó[2]; Edson Kayapó[3]

Translation: Patrick Rezende

Abstract
This article recounts the experience of a young Kayapó indigenous man who migrated from the Amazon rainforest to São Paulo, highlighting the challenges of belonging and the forms of racism faced in urban contexts. Through an autobiographical narrative, the text exposes the contradictions of colonial discourse: while indigenous peoples are expected to "modernize," those who access universities and technologies are questioned in their authenticity. The author describes his free childhood in Amapá, contrasting it with the hostility encountered in the metropolis—from environmental alienation to school bullying targeting his cultural traits. The account reaches its climax when describing an episode of academic racism during his Law degree, when his identity was challenged based on stereotypes. Despite assimilation pressures, the author emphasizes the importance of cultural resistance and activism, showing how he reconnected with his roots through the indigenous movement. More than a personal testimony, the text becomes a manifesto about the contemporary struggle for indigenous rights and the right to self-defined identity.
Keywords: Indigenous Identity; Urban Racism, Cultural Resistance.

Resumo
Este artigo relata a experiência de um jovem indígena Kayapó que migrou da floresta amazônica para São Paulo, destacando os desafios de pertencimento e as formas de racismo enfrentadas em contextos urbanos. Através de uma narrativa autobiográfica, o texto expõe as contradições do discurso colonial: enquanto se espera que os povos indígenas "se modernizem", aqueles que acessam universidades e tecnologias são questionados em sua autenticidade. O autor descreve sua infância livre no Amapá, contrastando com a hostilidade encontrada na metrópole - desde o estranhamento ambiental até o bullying escolar por seus traços culturais. O relato atinge seu ápice ao descrever um episódio de racismo acadêmico durante seu curso de Direito, quando sua identidade foi contestada com base em estereótipos. Apesar das pressões para assimilação, o autor reforça a importância da resistência cultural e do ativismo, mostrando como reconectou-se com suas raízes através do movimento indígena. O texto vai além de um depoimento pessoal, tornando-se um manifesto sobre a luta contemporânea pelos direitos indígenas e o direito à autodefinição identitária.
Palavras-chave: Identidade Indígena; Racismo Urbano; Resistência Cultural.

Being indigenous after the Portuguese invasion of 1500 was never easy for our ancestors, just as belonging is a challenge for us today. Living in large urban centers, in cities, and taking on roles that initially do not align with our ancestral ways creates a sense of unease within us and among non-indigenous people toward us.

[1] Text originally published in Portuguese in volume 19 of *Leetra* Indígena. Access: https://www.leetraindigena.ufscar.br/index.php/leetraindigena/article/view/35

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[3] A member of the Mebengokré people. He is a renowned Brazilian historian, Indigenous rights advocate, and environmentalist. He serves as faculty at both the Federal Institute of Bahia (IFBA) and the Federal University of Southern Bahia (UFSB). His acclaimed writings have earned prestigious awards from UNESCO and Brazil's National Foundation for Children's and Youth Literature (FNLIJ).

Racism, in its various forms, is constantly expressed, often in contradictory ways. The same people who argue that Indigenous peoples should embrace the modern world dismiss the belonging of our youth who are in universities, using the tools of the modern world. This time, the narrative claims that those who pursue higher education and use digital technologies are not 'real Indians.' Systematically, they seek to condemn emerging generations to the past and to cultural and biological inferiority.

Written collaboratively, infused with ancestral inspirations, the text recounts the experience of a young Indigenous man who left the forest and immersed himself in the daily life of Brazil's largest city. Within the narrative, the racism, oppression, fears, and anxieties faced by our people in social spaces far from their ancestral lands are unveiled.

This is a text that goes beyond the attempt to produce an autobiography. More than that, it is a cry for help from our peoples in the struggle for respect for our sociolinguistic diversities. It is a lesson that can contribute to the visibility of our peoples in all social spaces.

Here is the outburst:

I was born in Amapá, in the midst of the dense forest, in a place located in the far north of the country, on the banks of the great and majestic Amazon River. A Kayapó Curumim with straight black hair, known as Tatá, always full of energy, living up to the nickname inspired by the great serpent of fire, present in the stories told to me by the elders."

I spent the first years of my childhood playing on the quiet, tree-lined streets of a neighborhood along the Amazon River, alongside my cousins and other boys who lived in the area. We would have fun until late at night, playing games like *pira, peteca*, bottle cap races, running in the rain, and swimming in the abundant rivers and streams of the region, always watched over by my father and the other adults.

One of my favorite pastimes was climbing to the top of the tallest trees to pick fruits. It was a challenge to reach the highest branches, where only the birds could go. The rose apple tree in front of my house was one of my favorites because, from its top, it offered a beautiful view of the horizon, where the very blue sky met the muddy waters of the Amazon River.

In the waters of the great river, at Aturiá Beach, on Island of Santana, or in the Curiaú River, I would have fun swimming from one bank to the other amid the strong currents. I would look for trees near the shore to perform acrobatic jumps from their tops into the river. With my father, who knew those forests like the back of his hand (a true woodsman), we would hit the

trails, following the banks of large and small rivers, always observing and being observed by birds and other animals that inhabited those lands.

Roaming those long trails was perfect for collecting seeds of all kinds of colors and shapes, which later would be used to make crafts—like necklaces, earrings, and bracelets. My uncles were my teachers in this ancestral art, skilled artists in the family. Often, because the trails were flooded, some parts of the journey had to be done by canoe or boat. During those times, I would observe carefully—with great attention—the lives of the forest people who lived peacefully there, in wooden stilt houses that seemed to float on the dark, muddy waters of the Amazon, which resembled a vast freshwater sea.

At the end of the day, exhausted from so many games, I would run home looking for some good grub, which usually consisted of roasted fish served with fresh açaí (mashed in the mortar) and tapioca flour, or a large pot of fresh fish stew.

When I turned seven years old, my father, engaged in studies and activism in the forest, received a scholarship to study at one of the best universities in São Paulo, where he researched the conflicts in the Amazon. Because of this, we moved to the city of São Paulo, which felt more like a giant river of cars and buildings.

Despite my young age, I soon felt that big changes were ahead. We were stepping into a completely new way of life, entirely different from what we were used to in the forest. Arriving in the big concrete jungle was truly impactful, a place with few trees and an excessive number of grey concrete skyscrapers and the red lights of cars stuck in traffic on the streets. From the view through the small window of that plane that would land at Congonhas Airport, I was struck by those endless lines of cars on the Marginal Tietê.

In the first few days, during quick walks around the city, I had a strange feeling when I saw that grey sky and the air with an unpleasant smell. The birds' songs were barely heard, as they were constantly drowned out by the deafening noises of cars, buses, subways, and the many people rushing back and forth, seemingly invisible to one another.

The air, heavy with pollution, and the extremely fine dust made my nostrils burn, causing me severe headaches and making it hard to breathe. The majestic river that should flow through the city, spreading life and beauty from end to end, was no longer majestic and it was now agonizing in the most developed city in the country. In fact, at first glance, the Tietê River seemed more like an open-air sewer to me. The strong, unpleasant smell that lingered around

the river and the large amount of garbage there left me feeling depressed, longing for the great Amazon, with which I was familiar.

I soon realized that the cold concrete jungle was not welcoming—as expected, my father had already warned me about the new reality we would face. It was rare to see children playing in the streets; in daily life, people were always rushed and busy, hardly ever taking the time to say good morning or even offer a smile. On the contrary, the disapproving looks I got, filled with all sorts of discomfort at my presence, were constant.

At school, my typical straight, bowl-cut hair and seed-based handicrafts were not well accepted among my classmates. They became reasons for mockery, nicknames, and other explicitly racist actions, because in this new environment, the norm was standardized hair and ways of expression. I lost count of how many times I was asked to perform the so-called rain dance or how often someone tapped their mouth and told me to repeat: "Me Indian."

The accent and way of speaking typical of the Amapá region were also constant targets of offensive and humiliating jokes—things I often didn't even understand at the time. The straw and seed crafts I wore were often viewed with disdain and pejoratively labeled as objects of macumba, associated with something demonic, according to some people. Although I did not fully connect these remarks as racism back then, I could clearly feel the offense in the angry,sarcastic tone they were delivered in, always making explicit the intent to humiliate and belittle our own ways of understanding the world.

Over time, I began to feel a certain fear of revealing my origins and I tried in some way to fit into the standards imposed on me. I gave up my long hair and the seed and bird feather crafts that I loved so much. I tried my best to adopt a São Paulo accent, initially forced, which I gradually refined over time to please the people who used racism against my way of being. This continued until the end of my elementary and high school studies.

My father went to Porto Seguro to work in the training of Indigenous teachers as part of an Intercultural Indigenous Teaching Degree. I stayed in São Paulo to continue my studies, aiming to enter university in that city. However, he had already taught me, through his example, to value our ancestral traditions and fight for our rights using various tools and strategies. It was a huge challenge in my life!

After a few years, I matured and became aware of the importance of preserving my ancestry. I entered university with high hopes of finding a less oppressive environment, but

little had changed, because the disdain and discomfort from others remained the same, if not worse.I began to develop some tactics to defend myself without hiding my ancestral origins, especially in situations where I was often made to feel humiliated and coerced by the hostile rhetoric directed at me.

At first, I tried different approaches to raise awareness among those around me, but I soon realized that many had no interest in such discussions. Their racism was a choice—rooted in sheer malice. I remained focused on my goal: to study, research, draw strength from our ancestors, and contribute to the struggles of our peoples.

I've been trying my best to make the most of the academic environment and the few opportunities I am given to speak on Indigenous issues—such as the rights established in the 1988 Constitution and the enforcement and consolidation of ILO Convention 169, particularly regarding the demarcation and protection of ancestral territories. I always seize every opportunity to challenge colonialist projects and the agribusiness forces that dominate the country, often unsettling students and even some professors who are completely unaware of these issues.

In the fourth semester of my Law course, during a presentation on the land demarcation issues affecting the Guarani Mbya people living in Pico do Jaraguá—who have been suffering historical violations of their rights, this time by the construction company "Tenda"—one of my classmates, using the argument of "place of speech," questioned my right to speak on Indigenous issues, as I was not Indigenous. A bit embarrassed by the situation, I countered his question by asking him to define, from his perspective, what it meant to "be Indigenous." He then told me that "real Indians have long, straight hair, wear painted faces, live in thatched huts by the river, in the middle of the forest, not in the big city." Following that, the person sarcastically asked what kind of Indian I was, answering his own question by calling me some kind of "modern Indian," someone who carried a cellphone in my pocket, enjoyed the development of the big city, and even studied Law at a major university in São Paulo.

In the heat of the moment, faced with such explicit violence, I felt cornered and couldn't find the words to respond. But that very same day, on my way home, I thought to myself: they force us to become what we are not and constantly try to dismantle our ancestral connections. They compel us to abandon our ancestral habits and customs, imposing standards we must strictly follow in order to gain even a minimal acceptance from those who do not understand

our ancestries. And in the end, these same colonizers demand that we be exactly what they took from us.

From the teachings I received at home, with my parents, I felt the need to get involved in social movements, particularly in the Indigenous movement. In this way, I started attending meetings and protests for our rights, actively participating in major mobilizations in São Paulo over the past few years.

The violence that seeks to silence us has never been effective in carrying out the project of extermination of our peoples. The watchword is resistance, re-existence, and so we follow the paths and the lights left by our ancestors, not without losses, nor without negotiations and mediations.

Thanks to the Spirits of the warriors and warrior women, we have not abandoned our traditions and knowledge. On the contrary, when the colonizing world believes we have given up our identities, we rise again like a hummingbird that flies serenely, or like a jequitibá tree full of life, attuned to the symbiosis with other plant species and the presence of dozens of other forms of life.

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INK, THE SPOKEN WORD IN ORAL TRADITION, AND WRITING IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES[1]

A TINTA, A PALAVRA NA TRADIÇÃO ORAL E A ESCRITA EM LÍNGUA INDÍGENA

Eliane Potiguara[2]

Translation: Patrick Rezende

Abstract
Indigenous peoples in Brazil employ diverse strategies—from digital activism to cultural revitalization—to combat historical marginalization and assert their rights. Through community media, linguistic preservation, and political mobilization, they challenge dominant narratives while protecting traditional knowledge and territories. Cases like Panama's Kuna people demonstrate how technology can amplify Indigenous voices without eroding cultural identity, turning art like the Mola into nationally recognized heritage. In Brazil, initiatives such as Indigenous Games and literature reflect this dual engagement with tradition and innovation. However, threats persist, including intellectual property violations, environmental destruction, and systemic discrimination, as seen in crises like the suicides in Mato Grosso do Sul. The text argues for Indigenous-led public policies that bridge ancestral wisdom and modern tools, emphasizing education and media as key to self-representation. By centering Indigenous cosmologies in dialogues about development, Brazil can address historical inequities and foster a pluralistic society where Indigenous knowledge is valued as a collective contribution rather than appropriated or erased.
Keywords: Indigenous Rights; Cultural Preservation; Decolonization; Intellectual Property.

Resumo
Os povos indígenas no Brasil empregam estratégias diversas – do ativismo digital à revitalização cultural – para combater a marginalização histórica e afirmar seus direitos. Através de mídias comunitárias, preservação linguística e mobilização política, desafiam narrativas dominantes enquanto protegem saberes tradicionais e territórios. Casos como o do povo Kuna, no Panamá, demonstram como a tecnologia pode amplificar vozes indígenas sem diluir identidades, transformando expressões como a arte *Mola* em patrimônio nacionalmente reconhecido. No Brasil, iniciativas como os Jogos dos Povos Indígenas e a literatura autóctone refletem essa dupla articulação entre tradição e inovação. Contudo, ameaças persistem, desde violações de propriedade intelectual até discriminação sistêmica, evidenciada em crises como os suicídios no Mato Grosso do Sul. O texto defende políticas públicas indígenas que conciliem saberes ancestrais e ferramentas modernas, destacando educação e comunicação como eixos para a autorrepresentação. Ao centrar cosmologias indígenas nos debates sobre desenvolvimento, o Brasil pode superar desigualdades históricas e construir uma sociedade plural, onde esses conhecimentos sejam valorizados como contribuições coletivas – não apropriados ou apagados.
Palavras-chave: Direitos Indígenas; Preservação Cultural; Descolonização; Propriedade Intelectual.

[1] Text originally published in Portuguese in volume 4 of *Leetra* Indígena. Access: https://issuu.com/grupo.leetra/docs/leetra_vol4/1?ff

[2] She was nominated in 2005 for the international project *"1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize."* She is a writer, poet, and teacher, with degrees in Portuguese Literature and Education. She is the founder of GRUMIN – Indigenous Women's Education Group – and a member of Inbrapi, Nearin, the Intertribal Committee, Ashoka (social entrepreneurs), the Peace Association, and Consul of Poets of the World. She worked on the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* in Geneva. She received awards from the PEN Club of England and the Free Expression Fund, USA.
Books: *Metade Cara, Metade Máscara* (Half Face, Half Mask - a memoir book), *O coco que guardava a noite* (The Coconut That Held the Night - short stories), among others.

Indigenous peoples have always been pushed to the margins of Brazilian cultural norms, due to the intolerance and social and racial discrimination of the dominant culture—which, of course, dictates the rules of information and communication. In the recent past, when Indigenous Peoples in Pará rose up against the construction of the Kararaô dam, or when today, leaders—however precariously—share information through radio, video, and community television, challenging the "global villages," or when they create literacy booklets in their mother tongues, or websites to promote healing practices or to sell *guaraná*[3], for instance, they are doing so in an attempt to step out of cultural invisibility. Their aim is to strengthen their people and culture, and to express themselves—whether in the fight for human rights or in the effort to bring their contributions to light within official, scientific, academic, and religious knowledge systems. In essence, they are asserting their traditional knowledge—their intellectual property. This must be respected and amplified!

When Indigenous midwives resist government sterilization programs targeting women, when shamans and healers gather in the mountains, or when leaders block roads in defense of their territories—they are all raising their voices to protect their traditions and their environment. This is voice!

When Indigenous peoples form dance groups, theater troupes, children's choirs, promote written media on the Internet, or elevate Indigenous literature, they do so with the full intent of disseminating information and communication that they are often denied, due to the ongoing devaluation of their millenary culture. This devaluation—rooted in historical and ethical issues—must, at last, be recognized and respected in practice. And why not also addressed through compensatory policies, by means of affirmative actions implemented within public policies?

All of these expressions are part of Indigenous culture and are intertwined within a single cosmology: the ancestral territory, the ethical, mythical, mystical, magical, and sacred space of ancestry—strengthened by the elders and carried forward by the youth through informal and natural education, further reinforced by formal education. Hence the importance of establishing an Indigenous University to support a differentiated educational approach.

[3] Translator's note: a climbing plant native to the Amazon rainforest, easily found in Brazil. Its seeds are renowned for their high caffeine content and have been used for centuries by Indigenous peoples.

This Indigenous worldview is a profound contribution to Brazilian society—one that must be encouraged as a step toward respecting cultural diversity, in which Indigenous culture also stands as a vital exponent.

The information and communication society plays a crucial role in the dissemination of Indigenous culture. However, we are aware that advanced technologies are not traditionally part of Indigenous ways of life. Still, consider this case: the International Indian Treaty Council, over 30 years ago, was one of the first Indigenous organizations in the United States to carve out political space within the United Nations Human Rights Commission. It fought for the creation of the Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, ultimately leading to the establishment of a Permanent Forum within the UN. Following its lead, hundreds of Indigenous organizations emerged—including many from Brazil.

The Treaty Council was among the first to use the Internet as a tool to uphold Indigenous rights. Publications, dances, and demonstrations were other powerful forms of communication within the information society, helping to secure the recognition of treaties with the government. Canada's First Nations managed to change the country's Constitution, gaining societal support through the media's diffusion of their culture. A major fishing-related project, for instance, was supported by the Canadian government as a result of the partnership between Indigenous peoples and the information society.

The Kuna people of Panama, through their cultural expression promoted in the information society, now have clearly defined territories and their art literally present in the streets. As we can see, respect is born when understanding blossoms. The beautiful fabric handicraft called "*Mola*", woven with infinite colors, is now a national symbol—a design instantly recognized and respected by both society and the world as Indigenous art, and therefore, deeply valued.

Thus, our medicinal herbs, our *Marajoara* Amazonian pottery of Indigenous origin, our traditional foods, our *guaraná*, *cupuaçu*[4], our sacred places, our lands, our cemeteries, our songs, stories and legends, our prayers, our sacred chants, our hunting, our fishing, our

[4] Translator's note: *cupuaçu* is a tropical fruit native to the Amazon rainforest, particularly in Brazil, and is considered a delicacy in Pará's regional cuisine. It has a large, brown, fuzzy outer shell and a creamy, white pulp with a unique and fragrant flavor. *Cupuaçu* is consumed in a variety of ways depending on the region of Brazil, including as part of lunch dishes, in juices, or as a dessert ingredient. In addition to its culinary uses, it is also widely employed in the cosmetics industry due to its high nutritional value and moisturizing properties.

education, health and agriculture must all receive this same kind of recognition and treatment. In short, countless elements can be shared within the information society, strengthened by Indigenous Communication Networks, community radio stations, websites, television channels, and even Indigenous conferences and seminars—whether in person or virtual—not in the precarious way we've been doing, but instead through technological, scientific, educational, and systematic means, supported by the government through public policies discussed at the grassroots level of Indigenous communities.

What kind of development do we seek? The inclusion of Brazilian Indigenous peoples in the information society is indeed a challenge, especially given the fragile protection of their intellectual rights and their intellectual property. But it is a challenge that must be met—through awareness, technical training, capacity building, and the creation of Indigenous databases to safeguard their historical heritage and ensure the protection of their patents. Traditional culture undergoes changes in the face of modernity and technology. These technologies must be used as tools in the defense of Indigenous rights.

Development for Indigenous peoples must be a process that aligns traditional culture with new technologies and new hopes—and this is something the Kuna people of Panama have done with great distinction: they unite Indigenous tradition with new technological concepts and their information society, without losing their cosmovision. For this reason, they are pioneers of Indigenous press and literature, just as many Indigenous peoples of Mexico are as well. Indigenous peoples should look to these models of challenge, development, and technological innovation—models that do not destroy Indigenous biodiversity and territoriality.

The Commission on Education, Culture, and Sports has the potential to take a significant political and historical step by recognizing, supporting, and investing in the inclusion of Indigenous peoples in the information and communication society through programs created and managed by the Indigenous peoples themselves. Today in Brazil, we have several editions of the Indigenous Games, which reflect pure oral, visual, and written culture—an example of dignity!

The open veins that pour the blood of our sacrificed ancestors, the wombs of fertile mothers saddened by oppression, the most transcendent chants silenced by cultural imposition—all of these magical, yet real, elements will be replaced by children, youth, and organizations prepared for the future, through their inclusion in the information and

communication society, gradually eliminating the disparities of society and eradicating social and racial discrimination against Indigenous peoples.

Advancements in the struggle of the Brazilian Indigenous movement have taken place in tangible ways. Despite some challenges, and although there are still isolated issues—such as the lack of support from public policies—Indigenous Education in Brazil is now a reality. It is a differentiated form of education, in which the Indigenous worldview is fully embedded in its broadest sense. Within this context, Indigenous Literature must be seen as a tool of awareness, strength, and liberation.

This literature should be encouraged through Indigenous Education, integrated into the daily life of schools, so that Indigenous peoples themselves can truly be the voices of their cultures, traditions, and worldviews. However, another fundamental aspect must also be considered: the traditional oral discourse carried by the elders and shamans of the community, which must never be ignored. In fact, this oral discourse is the solid foundation—it is the conceptual framework, the core ethnic principles that sustain the tradition and will, in turn, ground the written form, based on the unique linguistic values of each Indigenous people.

In the face of the modern world and the harmful aspects of neocolonialism and globalization, it becomes even more evident that written records—produced by Indigenous peoples themselves—are a necessary measure of precaution and care. This ensures that Indigenous storytelling and historiography do not fall into the public domain or end up benefiting third parties or institutions financially, historically, or morally through unauthorized use and copyright violations.

Indigenous peoples across the globe continue to fight, in both national and international forums, for the preservation of their cosmologies—against both natural predators and imposed ones, such as bourgeois philosophies, religious doctrines, pseudo-moralistic patriotic ideologies, and colonial or imperialist philosophies. The social impoverishment of Indigenous groups also leads to the loss of cultural, spiritual, and ethical values. In such contexts, women, children, and elders bear the heaviest burdens of social and racial discrimination—as is painfully evident in the hunger and suicide crisis in Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil. The impoverishment and destruction of Indigenous lands are also among the highest risk factors. Hundreds of examples reflect this reality.

Indigenous literature plays a vital role in cultural recovery, preservation, and the strengthening of ethnic worldviews. Future Indigenous writers must be encouraged from an early age through bilingual and general education. The Indigenous writer is the future anthropologist—the one who sees, understands, and records. Indigenous peoples must walk on their own paths.

Centers of Indigenous thought and writing must also be supported and empowered within Indigenous organizations, just as discussions on gender, race, and ethnicity have been increasingly brought into Assembly debates. Once problems are identified, they must be promptly addressed through studies that aim to develop strategies and mechanisms to resolve difficulties, conflicts, and differences.

When the rose blooms, the bees come naturally to collect its nectar. Let the rose of our hearts, souls, and character bloom fully within Brazilian society—through testimonies of our capacity, self-management, dialogue, and ethics—so that this society may swiftly dismantle the discourse and practices that currently exclude Indigenous peoples. Respect and meaningful results will follow.

Indigenous thinkers and writers: Speak and shape the world anew!

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THE ROLE OF THE INDIGENOUS TEACHER

O PAPEL DO PROFESSOR INDÍGENA

Rosivânia Cataá Tuxá[1]

Translation: Patrick Rezende

Abstract
This article examines the challenges of developing culturally relevant pedagogical practices in Indigenous schools, focusing on the tensions between traditional knowledge systems and imposed educational models. Through the lens of Tuxá Indigenous educators in Bahia, Brazil, we analyze how teachers navigate curricular planning while resisting colonial frameworks that marginalize Indigenous epistemologies. The study highlights efforts to create intercultural, community-based schooling that honors ancestral traditions while engaging strategically with non-Indigenous knowledge. Using the Tuxá people's historical displacement by the Itaparica Dam as context, we explore how land dispossession intensifies educational decolonization struggles. Findings reveal that effective Indigenous pedagogy requires: (1) collective planning rooted in community values, (2) critical adaptation of bureaucratic requirements, and (3) curricular autonomy to reflect cosmological worldviews. The research underscores Indigenous teachers' dual role as educators and cultural activists, particularly in post-displacement contexts where schools become vital sites for cultural preservation.
Keywords: Indigenous Education; Decolonial Pedagogy; Intercultural Schooling.

Resumo
Este artigo analisa os desafios de desenvolver práticas pedagógicas culturalmente relevantes em escolas indígenas, focando nas tensões entre saberes tradicionais e modelos educacionais impostos. Através da perspectiva de educadores Tuxá na Bahia, examinamos como professores conciliam planejamento curricular com a resistência a estruturas coloniais que marginalizam epistemologias indígenas. O estudo destaca esforços para criar uma escolarização intercultural e comunitária que valorize tradições ancestrais enquanto dialoga criticamente com conhecimentos não-indígenas. Utilizando o deslocamento histórico dos Tuxá pela barragem de Itaparica como contexto, exploramos como a perda territorial intensifica as lutas por descolonização educacional. Os resultados revelam que uma pedagogia indígena efetiva requer: (1) planejamento coletivo enraizado em valores comunitários, (2) adaptação crítica de exigências burocráticas, e (3) autonomia curricular para refletir cosmovisões indígenas. A pesquisa evidencia o duplo papel dos professores indígenas como educadores e ativistas culturais, especialmente em contextos pós-deslocamento onde as escolas se tornam espaços vitais de preservação cultural.
Palavras-chave: Educação Indígena; Pedagogia Decolonial; Escolarização Intercultural.

Understanding the historical context of Indigenous schooling, in an effort to comprehend and improve teaching practices, reflects the very challenges faced by Indigenous teachers when tasked with lesson planning and student assessment. It is recognized that the school is one of the key spaces for sustaining the process of cultural tradition and the expression of knowledge. Thus, the difficulty in developing didactic-pedagogical strategies in the

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classroom has been a concern for Indigenous teachers, who have sought to take ownership of planning in an effort to enhance the teaching and learning process—aiming to preserve and maintain Indigenous culture.

After all, it is in schools that both Indigenous rights to a specific, quality educatio*n* and the very concept of schooling as a means of access to information are debated—for Indigenous peoples in their relations with non-Indigenous society and in their integration into Brazilian society. Above all, schools must be autonomous, a space for cultural empowerment.

Victims of the colonizing framework of Indigenous education, which still negatively impacts Indigenous schools today, teachers strive to dismantle deep-rooted prejudices and rewrite the history of Indigenous schooling. We understand that the non-Indigenous way of conceptualizing education is neither the only nor the best way to define its meaning and importance in the world. For us, the best education is one that represents who we are, how we live, what we value, and what we desire for our people. From our worldview and lived experiences within the community, we believe the best education is one where people feel recognized within their own cultural framework. We see that it is essential not to deny our customs, our histories.

To this end, we strive to build an education that upholds these principles—what we are calling intercultural and community-based Indigenous schooling, *or* specific and differentiated education. The stories written and lived by us, passed down through generations, ensure the continuity of our history by protecting Indigenous peoples and fostering understanding and appreciation of our cultures. But how can we ensure that schools also fulfill this role? The role of embracing a worldview that meets the learning needs of our students—who, as Indigenous people, believe in the importance of valuing life and the cosmological world, yet also understand the necessity of engaging with non-Indigenous knowledge and tools for their own survival?

The challenge we raise here is: what kind of planning should we develop in Indigenous schools? Who is this Indigenous teacher responsible for carrying out this planning? What training do they have for pedagogical work in Indigenous schools? Is Indigenous teaching practice truly aligned with the interests of their community, or is it merely replicating the pedagogical approaches dictated by textbooks imposed by State and Municipal Education

Departments? Does Indigenous pedagogy have its own distinct characteristics, or is it analogous to the prevailing educational system in our country?

The first step in thinking through all of this is to become familiar with the school's Political-Pedagogical Project, to find out whether its political and pedagogical principles reflect the social dynamics of the community; whether the curriculum framework and the subjects within it meet the needs of the community; whether the content aligns with the principles of an Indigenous school. Only after this analysis should we begin to think about planning. Still, we continue to question and problematize: What kind of planning? How, where, and when should this planning take place? Who should be involved in the planning? What approaches should be included? How often should planning occur?

These questions are part of the systemic planning that we consider fundamental for the effective organization of pedagogical practice and assessment in Indigenous schools. Indigenous Pedagogy, the classroom practices within Indigenous schools, and their epistemological foundations shape the teaching practice in these specific educational contexts. We must not lose sight of the fact that the influence of non-Indigenous educational pedagogy on Indigenous pedagogy remains significant—evident, for example, in the methodological processes imposed on Indigenous teachers through the use of textbooks.

However, Indigenous teachers have been actively working to create specific didactic-pedagogical strategies that allow them some freedom from this subordination to traditional Brazilian education. Being an Indigenous teacher makes a significant difference in this educational context. Their knowledge of traditional cultural and linguistic practices, their ways of relating to the environment and conceiving the world within their specific contexts, all contribute to an intercultural teaching approach.

While planning is crucial to any teaching practice, regardless of the educational model or school type, it is even more challenging in Indigenous schools. Why do we say this? Because in Indigenous schools, even though the principles that guide them are well established, everything is still very new. The curriculum is new, the educational projects are new, the pedagogical practices are new—and even the teachers are new. It is these teachers who are shaping the conception and structure of Indigenous education. In other words, everything is still under construction.

And this construction is taking place collectively—a collective way of thinking and doing that occurs especially during the school's pedagogical planning sessions, where teachers and community members work together. When an Indigenous teacher is part of their community's school, they are more than just a teacher; they are also a mentor/activist in service of the empowerment of their students. Their teaching practice must be planned collectively, respecting the values and principles of the community in which the school is embedded and the legal instruments established by the specific Indigenous school.

Administrative and bureaucratic tasks must indeed be carried out. However, these should not be the sole measures used to assess the teacher's competence or the legitimacy of their practice. What is at stake today is documentation—as a mechanism for valuing, preserving, and serving as a source of research for their people. Today, planning is not just a responsibility of the teacher or the school as a whole; it is also a demand of Indigenous peoples, extending beyond the classroom since the *memory* of Indigenous cultures, ancestral traditions, and socioeconomic structures guides the very conception of Indigenous school education.

Thus, planning must embrace and recognize the daily experiences of the community in which the school operates. It must evaluate teaching practices, be reflective, revisit practices as needed—whether successful or not—reconsider available data, revise, seek new meanings, and more. Planning also involves adopting an attentive posture—carefully analyzing everything that requires a systemic view by the school team. Within this process, the teaching plan is also built, and it must be understood as a guiding instrument for the teacher's work, grounded in the political-pedagogical competence of the Indigenous teacher, with full clarity and assurance regarding what is written in the plan.

However, the greatest challenge for the Indigenous teacher is to break free from a system that imprisons, that fails to respect specific cultural realities, that distances the school from the lived experiences of its students and from the true purposes agreed upon by members of the Indigenous community. The real task is to build an autonomous school education—one in which the Indigenous school has greater freedom to structure its own curriculum, putting into practice the conception of an intercultural, specific, and differentiated Indigenous school. Yet, despite the difficulties imposed by the mainstream education system, we have managed to create a school education in our own way—grounded in the everyday reality of our schools.

Brief History of the Tuxá People

The Tuxá, who call themselves the *"Proká Caboclo Nation of Bow, Arrow, and Maraká,"* lived according to their beliefs and customs until 1987 in the village of Rodelas, a municipality in northern Bahia, in the sub-middle São Francisco region, bordering the state of Pernambuco. After that year, the *Tuxá* community experienced an irreparable tragedy that marked the lives of every Indigenous individual.

The presence of the São Francisco Hydroelectric Company (CHESF), focused solely on its own progress, led to the construction of the Itaparica Dam, which affected eight municipalities in Bahia and Pernambuco—including Rodelas. With the imminent flooding of their village, the community was completely uprooted, and its people were forced to split up to avoid perishing beneath the river's waters. They had to abandon their homes on a predetermined day and time.

Part of the population chose to be resettled in the municipality of Ibotirama**,** Bahia, approximately 1,050 km away from their ancestral village. The other part of the community opted to remain on higher ground in Rodelas, in a place where their people had once lived in the past—close to their cultural roots. This site is now known as the Aldeia-Mãe (Mother Village).

The *Tuxá* village is located in northern Bahia, 560 km from the state capital, east of BR-116, which connects to the town of Rodelas. Following the São Francisco River upstream leads to Barra do Tarrachil in the municipality of Chorrochó, while downstream lies the city of Glória and, further ahead, Paulo Afonso—all situated in Bahia. To the west, the village borders the banks of the São Francisco River.

Rosivânia Cataá Tuxá.

Revista leetra Indígena

THE STORIES I HEARD FROM MY GRANDMOTHER AND WHAT I LEARNED FROM THEM[1]

AS HISTORIAS QUE OUVI DA MINHA AVÓ E O QUE APRENDI COM ELAS

Márcia Nunes Maciel (Mura)[2]

Translation: Patrick Rezende

Abstract
This article explores the intergenerational denial of Indigenous identity through the life story of Francisca Nunes Maciel, whose family history reflects state-led erasure policies in Amazonia. Analyzing oral narratives from rubber-tapping communities along the Madeira River, we examine how serpent mythology operates as both cultural memory and colonial allegory—mediating experiences of displacement, cultural syncretism, and environmental transformation. The study reveals how Afro-Indigenous cosmologies persist within Catholic practices like litanies and communal work (Puxirum), even as official histories obscure Mura and Munduruku territoriality. Ultimately, these narratives demonstrate Indigenous resistance through storytelling, where myth becomes methodology for reclaiming ancestral connections amid forced integration.
Keywords: Identity Erasure; Amazonian Mythology; Oral History.

Resumo
Este artigo analisa a negação intergeracional da identidade indígena através da história de Francisca Nunes Maciel, cuja trajetória reflete políticas estatais de apagamento na Amazônia. Examinando narrativas orais de comunidades seringueiras no Rio Madeira, investigamos como mitos da serpente funcionam como memória cultural e alegoria colonial—mediando experiências de deslocamento, sincretismo e transformação ambiental. O estudo revela cosmologias afro-indígenas preservadas em práticas católicas como as litanias e no trabalho comunitário (Puxirum), mesmo com a territorialidade Mura e Munduruku sendo apagada. Essas narrativas demonstram resistência indígena através da oralidade, onde o mito torna-se metodologia para reclamar ancestralidade.
Palavras-chave: Apagamento Identitário; Mitologia Amazônica; História Oral.

Francisca Nunes Maciel, my grandmother, died denying she was Indigenous, but this denial is not an isolated case—it is the result of a policy of erasing Indigenous identity implemented by the State from the 17th to the 19th century. The State's project was to exploit Indigenous labor, their knowledge, their traditional rivalries in the pacification of other

[1] Text originally published in Portuguese in volume 4 of *Leetra* Indígena. Access: https://issuu.com/grupo.leetra/docs/leetra_vol4/1?ff

[2] Márcia Nunes Maciel self-identifies as Mura, and her sense of identity is collectively affirmed by the Mura people of the Itaparanã River. She is part of the Mura Territorial, Identity, and Cultural Reclamation Movement, along with the Mura communities of Itaparanã and Capana Grande. In 2010, she was awarded the Cultural Exchange Prize by the Brazilian Ministry of Culture (MINC) to present her master's research on women who experienced life in the rubber plantations of the Amazon, conducted at the Federal University of Amazonas (UFAM). She is the author of the book *O Espaço Lembrado – Experiências de Vidas em Seringais da Amazônia* [*The Remembered Space – Life Experiences in Amazonian Rubber Plantations*]. Maciel is a member of the Instituto Madeira Vivo and the Oral History Research Group (NEHO) at the University of São Paulo (USP). PhD in Social History at the University of São Paulo (USP).

Indigenous peoples, their geographic expertise in territorial occupation, and, ultimately, to exterminate them when they refused to submit to pacification—culminating in the final product: the generalization of the Indigenous identity and their incorporation into the national society.

Even though I never heard my grandmother speak about a specific Indigenous territory from which the Indigenous People her father came from might have originated—he was often seen as a "*caboclo*[3] who, when he put his sandals on the wrong feet, would turn into an Indian"[4]—I grew up hearing many other stories that, once I became an adult, made me see myself as Indigenous and realize that everything I experienced with my grandmother never erased our connection with nature and with an Indigenous way of being.

Among the stories my grandmother told, the one that most captivated me was about my great-grandfather—her father—who fought a jaguar and came out victorious. I used to imagine what he was like, how strong he must have been. I never met him, and it was only after my grandmother passed away, already in my adult years, that I visited the place called Uruapeara, once a territory roamed by the Mura, and now divided into three areas: the Indigenous land of the Parintimtim, the territory roamed by the Mura Pirahã, and a region shaped by a rubber plantation settlement, mostly populated by migrants from the state of Pará—though there are also stories of the place having been discovered by three Portuguese women who founded the families that live there, along with people from different states across Brazil. From this emerged a rubber tapper culture in which Afro and Indigenous traditions prevail in food customs and social ways of organizing. Although Catholicism is strong, it incorporates manifestations of Afro and Indigenous religiosity. The people from the former rubber tapper communities distinguish themselves from Indigenous peoples, but maintain relationships of neighborliness, ritual kinship (compadrios), and marriage. Their cultural practices also reflect Indigenous ways of doing things—for instance, the *Puxirum*, a word from the Tupi linguistic trunk *Ka wahib*, meaning "multitude."

[3] Translator's note:The term *caboclo* originates from the Tupi word *kuri'boka* (later *kuriboca*), which, as noted by Tupí scholar Eduardo de Almeida Navarro, initially referred to the child of an Indigenous person and an African. By the 18th century, it expanded to describe children of Indigenous mothers and European fathers, and later, mixed-race descendants (mestizos) of *caboclos* and whites. Today, it denotes rural Amazonian/Northeastern communities blending Indigenous traditions with Iberian cultural elements. Reference: NAVARRO, E. A. *Dicionário de tupi antigo: a língua indígena clássica do Brasil*. São Paulo. Global. 2013. p. 244.

[4] I heard that from an elder who knew my great-grandfather and still lives in Uruapeara, the place where my family was formed.

The *Puxirum* is carried out among families connected by ties of blood and symbolic kinship, and it takes place during the season for clearing the fields. All the interconnected families come together to work on preparing the land: men weed with hoes and dig holes to plant *manivas* (cassava cuttings); an elder cuts the cassava branches into pieces for planting; *curumins* and *cunhantãs* (children and young girls) carry the pieces in baskets to the women, who place them in the holes and use small sticks to gently cover them with loose soil.

While they work, they talk, joke, and laugh a lot. The day starts early, and after a morning of hard work, there's a break for a snack—coffee with milk and cassava-flour biscuits. At midday, the work ends, and the family that owns the field serves lunch to all the families who took part in the *Puxirum*. In a conversation with one of the elders, I learned that in the past, they would make a drink called *Tarubá*, made from cassava, to enjoy after the *Puxirum*.

My grandmother always told me about the place she came from. She said there was a very beautiful lake there, full of fish—it was a land of abundance, and all her family lived there. She spoke of the litanies and the festivals of the saints, of the bonfires, of the work with rubber tapping and Brazil nut gathering, of the dances where she would waltz and dance the mazurka. She also told me about the *dança do seringador*—a dance created by the elders, with Afro-Indigenous rhythms.

It was only in 2011, four years after my grandmother had passed away, that I went for the first time to Uruapeara, together with my aunt and my mother, who hadn't returned to the place she came from in over 30 years. My mother and I took a bus from Porto Velho, in Rondônia, to Humaitá, in Amazonas, where we met my aunt. From there, we left at six in the evening by boat. We traveled through the night, and early in the journey, as dusk settled in, my mother was introduced to cousins and acquaintances traveling on the same boat.

We navigated the Madeira River all night, and at six in the morning, we began to enter the Uruspeara River. By mid-morning, we reached the vast lake of Uruapeara, and by early afternoon we arrived at the old locality called *Vista Longe*, where my grandmother had lived.

It was in Uruapeara that I saw the women preparing the litanies for Saint Michael, traditionally making sweet and savory cassava-flour biscuits, just as they had learned from the elder women. It was there that I understood that although the litanies is a Catholic practice, it has its own traditional form within the community. The oldest man leads the litanies in Latin,

and the women respond. It is a moment of remembrance of the ancestors—everyone weeps, recalling those who have passed.

That was when I realized that within this form of Catholicism, there is a traditional ritual unique to the community, a way of honoring those who are no longer here. The same happened during other saint festivities I attended in the following years when I returned to the community.

Within this religious space tied to Catholicism, the custom of families gathering, sharing food, and the *mangofa*[5] of one another is preserved — often with themes related to sexuality. But at the same time as they *manga*[6] one another, there is a solemn moment when the "host of the celebration" names the elder who passed down to them the responsibility of continuing the saint's feast. Everyone joins in remembering the former host and takes pride in honoring them through the celebration. All the rituals of the saint festivities felt to me as though I were living out my grandmother's stories.

My experience as a researcher is a search for the history of my own family, and in this search, through the methods of oral history, I collaboratively built a narrative of my grandmother's lived experience, which is part of my book *The Remembered Space: Life Experiences in the Rubber Plantations of the Amazon*, the result of my master's thesis. In this narrative, among other images, a mythical image of the serpent is brought to life. This image appears in the story she tells about her sister-in-law, who gave birth to a creature—through which she explains the disappearance of an island. It is not Uruapeara, but rather a space of transition, experienced during her movement from Uruapeara to other places along the Madeira River, marking the departure from riverside communities to the city of Porto Velho.

> Today, that island where we used to live... it's not even there anymore. Looks awful now, that island... It collapsed, just gave in. Now there's just that big patch of land left. So, when Maria, Pedro's wife, he's my brother, got sick for a while, he took her to see Dona[7] Preta. Maria ended up giving birth to some kind of creature. I didn't even go see it — no way! It was other folks who went, Fermina and Sabá. I didn't go. They buried it right there, on the island. Folks said it was so ugly — Lord have mercy! So Maria was sick, all yellow-looking. They took her to get checked by Dona Preta... And then the mestres there said the whole island was gonna collapse. Mainly the part where we used to live. Said the top part of the island would fall — right where Maria and Pedro were living. And that creature Maria gave birth to... they said it was gonna

[5] Translator's note: A term of uncertain origin, according to most Brazilian dictionary a variation of the word mangação referring to playful teasing, mockery, or banter, often with a sexual undertone.
[6] Translator's note:Conjugated form of the verb *mangar/mangofar*, a word previously used in its noun form.
[7]Translator's note: A form of address used in Brazil as a marker of respect and affection, particularly toward older women or those held in high regard within the community. While English possesses equivalent terms such as ***'Ma'am'*** or ***'Miss,'*** these do not convey the same sense of intimacy and communal belonging inherent in the use in this passage.

> turn into a serpent. Ah, I got so scared! We packed our things real quick and got out of there. Good thing Antônio pulled some strings and found a house for us over in Triângulo. And we left, just like that. And sure enough... it collapsed. The whole thing. Big chunks of land, just falling off."

This fragment of my grandmother Francisca's narrative is not individual, as it is supported by a collective. In this narrative, there is a time and a space that lie between the mythical and the historical, between the social and the cultural. I insist on this image of the serpent, which, in my view, is an element of a mythical theme that has gone through various transformations, carrying meanings within the cultural and symbolic context of a community made up of people from different cultures, but mostly coming from the process of integrating Indigenous peoples into national society. This integration presents opportunities through the occupation of the Madeira River and other rivers in the Amazon, like the Negro River, allowing them to carry, in their very makeup, an Indigenous ancestry that lives on in their imagination and social practices.

Just like the serpent canoe, the Pamuri-maxsë[8] of the Desâna, Pira-Tapúya, Wanâna, and Tuyuka, which is like a large canoe[9], and inside it came the people who ascended the rivers to the headwaters. Upon reaching Ipanoré, it stumbled upon a large rock... Then the people left through a hole. Other serpent canoes, large snakes shaped like boats, may have traveled the rivers of the Amazon and left behind the mark of Indigenous presence.

These serpent symbolisms in the mythology of the Xingu and Rio Negro peoples allow me to draw a connection with the symbolism of the serpent present in my grandmother Francisca's narrative, as the relations go beyond the realm of historical verification and enter the world of symbolic imagination. In this way, I allow myself to imagine that the serpent-canoe slithered through all the rivers of the Amazon, with the peoples of the Madeira River emerging from the same hole, including the Mura and Munduruku[10], two Indigenous peoples who contested the Madeira River as their territory for wandering. And in turn, the individuals who descended from them and integrated into the communities along the Madeira River. (This is within the realm of my imagination, connected to information about the circulation of these

[8] Note from Carvalho (1979): "People in Dacsé: "maxsë" (sing.) "maxsá" (pl.).
[9] **Ibid. note 6.** In reality, a serpent-canoe, called Pamuri-gaxsiru... According to the creation myth of the Desâna. See page 18 of the book *Xingu, Seus Índios, Seus Mitos*, by the Villas Boas brothers, cited by Carvalho (1979).
[10] I am not claiming that the Mura and Munduruku share the same origin myth as the peoples of the Xingu and Rio Negro, but merely referring to the possible circulations of the different serpent symbolisms present in their mythologies.

peoples in the rivers of the Amazon). There are records of the presence of different serpent symbolisms in narratives that lie on the border of historical events (explaining the disappearance of a community, sustained by locality) and mythical explanations throughout the Madeira River.

In the face of commands that were constituted from the extermination of various Indigenous ethnic groups and the circulation of cultures from the Amazonian peoples, from the rest of Brazil, and from different places in the world, what remains are fragments of mythical themes that emerge as explanations for the phenomena of the disappearance of peoples, places, and communities. It is within this reading of the world of the seringal that the fragment of my grandmother Francisca's narrative gains relevance. This is my interpretation, built through the symbolic image of the serpent generated in the liquid of a woman's womb, which, upon leaving this liquid space, destroys the world. Francisca explains the signs of illness during pregnancy, the death of the woman, and the disappearance of her community through this image.

In the text resulting from my grandmother's interview, the serpent appears as a curse of a place doomed to disappear; this image is not an individual imagination, but a collective creation. By updating the image of the disappearance of the place and linking it to the serpent, it brings with it the collective memory of those who were part of the couple that gave rise to the serpent, her brother and sister-in-law, the healer who predicted the disappearance of the place, and the other women of the community who went to see the creature.

Stories of serpents that cause places to collapse are recurrent in the Amazonian imagination, steeped in mythical imagery that has migrated from different parts of the world—while still undergoing transformations through interaction with elements of Indigenous mythologies. One such story, which I heard from my grandmother and which is also told by boatmen and travelers living in riverside communities along the Madeira River, is about an island known as *Terra Caída* ("Fallen Land"), which sank.

According to the tale, during a night of celebration, a giant snake caused the island to sink, and to this day, when boats pass near the spot around midnight, people say they can still hear music, the sound of a party, and a rooster crowing. My grandmother said that the boatmen avoid the area where the community once stood because of the strong whirlpools—and the boatmen themselves confirm this.

This story shares similarities with my grandmother's own narrative: *"There isn't even an island anymore where we used to live… That island looks so sad now… It fell… It fell… What's left is just that big, deep swirl."*

In both narratives, the serpent—or snake—appears not only as a destructive force but also as a form of punishment. Recalling certain fragments from my grandmother Francisca's story, we can perceive hints that not only the woman who gave birth to the creature, but also her husband, was the most punished—though the narrative doesn't make clear exactly why. Still, it is possible to sense that it may relate to something within the couple's relationship:

"Maria gave birth to a creature… They buried it right there on the island. They say it was so ugly, may God forbid!... That the whole upper part of the island was going to collapse, in the place where Maria and Pedro lived. That the creature Maria had was going to become a serpent."

In the second narrative, the one about the island that sank during a night of celebration, there is a strong indication that the community was being punished for staying up all night partying. Throughout the Madeira River, in the stretch from Calama (a former Mura settlement) to Porto Velho/RO (also formerly Mura territory), this story is told repeatedly. Of the three versions I've heard, one adds the detail of an elderly woman who had stepped out to relieve herself, accompanied by her husband, and in that moment, the side of the island where the party was taking place sank—leaving only the old couple, who had stepped away, to survive.

In the book *Visões da Natureza – Seringueiros e colonos em Rondônia* by Carlos Corrêa Teixeira (1999), a narrative with the same theme of the serpent that sank an Indigenous community in the Madeira River is recovered from a record made by Father Vitor Hugo:

> Near Borba, the Carmelites founded, in 1827, the village of Sapucaiaoroca, a name associated with a nearby place said to have sunk into the depths of the river, cursed by the gods due to the misconduct of its inhabitants, the Mura Indians. These people would sing songs so impure and engage in dances so lascivious that they caused their protective spirits to weep in pain. With the founding of Sapucaiaoroca and the relocation of these Indigenous people to that site, it is said that, in the dead of night, the Carmelites were tormented by the incessant crowing of roosters rising from the depths of the waters, as if those anguished spirits lamented the misfortune of the vanished village.

Teixeira (1999) highlights Vitor Hugo's observation that this narrative may have been forged or altered by missionaries who lived in the region with the aim of evangelization. This common strategy among missionaries—of forging or reshaping Indigenous mythology in favor

of Christianization—was often employed to distance Indigenous peoples from their religious rituals. Such interventions may have interfered with symbolic transformations related to Christian myths, potentially explaining the narrative's association of punishment with festivities, behaviors, and practices deemed non-Christian.

This is one possible explanation. However, if we look further, we find that the image of the serpent linked to destruction is not exclusive to Christian or Amazonian contexts. Among the Bataks of Malaysia, as explained in Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant's *Dictionary of Symbols* (2002), the cosmic serpent lives in subterranean regions and is destined to destroy the world.

The serpent appears in the myths of many cultures and carries a wide range of symbolic meanings. In Christian mythology, it represents evil and sin, as seen in the story of Adam and Eve. However, the serpent also embodies images from other mythologies not overturned by Christian condemnation. Thus, the serpent that caused the island to disappear might also be understood as a symbol of transition—marking the beginning of a new life elsewhere—or even as life itself, guardian and regenerator.

Although the serpent generated by a woman from my grandmother Francisca's community did not come from the river, it represents an external enemy, as the community is horrified upon seeing the creature: *They say it was so ugly—God forbid!* That is, it was not one of them and came to destroy the place where they lived.

The serpent generated by the woman is explicitly connected to the womb, which can give birth to either life or death. In this case, it gave birth to death and to an extreme ugliness, which, by evoking monstrosity, may symbolize the distinction between the creature and the people of the community. The womb can be associated with the house due to their symbolic similarities—both represent a feminine symbol, one of refuge, of motherhood, of protection, of the maternal embrace. Three images are intertwined: the womb as house, the house as world. A world destroyed by the serpent.

Connecting the three narratives—the one about the woman who gave birth to a serpent and the two about the place that sank into the depths of the river—I noticed another similarity, albeit with some variations. In all three, there is a sign that marks the submerged place. In the story of the woman who bore the serpent, it is the *bolãozão* (chunks of riverbank churned up

by the backwater); in the two versions of *Terra Caída*, the sign is the crowing of a rooster. Both serve as markers of vanished places and continue to haunt travelers and nearby residents.

Even if, as Teixeira (1999) asserts, some of these narratives were forged by missionaries, this has not prevented the symbolic elements of Indigenous mythology from taking on meaning within spaces that have been transformed and interwoven with various cultures, such as the rubber plantations.

For now, in order to fulfill an academic ritual, I turn to some clues offered by Lévi-Strauss in *The Raw and the Cooked* (2010):

In *The Raw and the Cooked*, there is a beautiful collection of Indigenous mythical narratives that I read with great pleasure—only later realizing that there was a circulation of these narratives when I heard or read other Indigenous stories from different peoples. This is what Lévi-Strauss calls *parallelism*. The stories about serpents—about the giant snakes in communities along the Madeira River—are part of this circulation of Indigenous mythical narratives that endure, even though the Indigenous peoples with their traditional territories of movement may no longer exist along those riverbanks, having either disappeared or been displaced to other spaces. Today, those areas are inhabited by communities who carry fragments of those mythical narratives and by people whose existence results from the disintegration of Indigenous territories.

The stories told by my grandmother—and still told by other elders—do not need to be labeled as myth, tale, or legend, because I find the definition of *myth* as used by anthropologists quite complicated. What truly teaches me about traditions is listening to the stories directly from the storytellers. All I know is that what we call *myth* is part of daily life in these communities. The croaking of frogs during the low-water season of Lake Uruapeara reminds the elders of a time when, they say, frogs could speak. And in that lake lives a great Uruá—a great Snail, the chief of the Uruás—who dwells at the bottom of the lake, and no one can kill him. If they do, the lake—which is a source of life, where people fish, drink water, and travel—will dry up.

To me, this great Uruá who lives at the bottom of the lake is the mythical chief who lives within each person from Uruapeara, the place where my grandmother came from and where she told me so many stories—stories about frogs, about snakes, and others, which served to explain, for instance, the changing seasons of the rivers, from flood to drought. At least,

that's what I learned from the stories my grandmother told me—and what I found confirmed by a collective when I visited Uruapeara myself.

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Revista leetra Indígena

THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF INDIGENOUS PRODUCTIONS: TRANSLATION AS AN ATTEMPT TO REPAIR SILENCING

A INTERNACIONALIZAÇÃO DAS PRODUÇÕES INDÍGENAS: TRADUÇÃO COMO UMA TENTATIVA DE REPARAR O SILENCIAMENTO

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Abstract
This article examines the intersections between scientific production, internationalization, and Anglophone hegemony, considering epistemological tensions derived from the coloniality of knowledge. Grounded in the concept of *mondialisation* (Mongin, 2005), which transcends economic globalization by contemplating cultural and identity transitions, we analyze the paradox of English as a global scientific language: while facilitating transnational knowledge circulation, it perpetuates historical asymmetries, privileging perspectives from the Global North (Phillipson, 2008). In the Brazilian context, university internationalization is tensioned between English adoption and the invisibilization of local knowledge, especially indigenous epistemologies, which possess their own systems of epistemic registration and transmission (Rezende, 2019). We argue that critical translation practices can function as mechanisms for epistemic emancipation, expanding the circulation of indigenous epistemologies. We conclude that scientific democratization requires not only the inclusion of subalternized voices but also the transformation of hegemonic criteria for scientific validation.
Keywords: English hegemony; Coloniality of knowledge; Indigenous epistemologies; Scientific internationalization; Translation.

Resumo
Este artigo examina as intersecções entre produção científica, internacionalização e hegemonia anglófona, considerando as tensões epistemológicas derivadas da colonialidade do saber. Fundamentado no conceito de *mundialização* (Mongin, 2005), que ultrapassa a globalização econômica ao contemplar transições culturais e identitárias, analisa-se o paradoxo do inglês como língua científica global: enquanto facilita a circulação transnacional do conhecimento, perpetua assimetrias históricas, privilegiando perspectivas do Norte Global (Phillipson, 2008). No contexto brasileiro, a internacionalização universitária tensiona-se entre a adoção do inglês e a invisibilização de saberes locais, especialmente indígenas, que possuem sistemas próprios de registro e transmissão epistêmica (Rezende, 2019). Argumenta-se que práticas tradutórias críticas podem funcionar como mecanismos de emancipação epistêmica, ampliando a circulação de epistemologias indígenas. Conclui-se que a democratização científica requer não apenas inclusão de vozes subalternizadas, mas transformação dos critérios hegemônicos de validação científica.
Palavras-chave: Hegemonia do inglês; Colonialidade do saber; Epistemologias indígenas; Internacionalização científica; Tradução.

Scientific Production, Internationalization, and the English Language

The French writer and editor Olivier Mongin (2005) observes that globalization has often been conceived in a reductive manner, limited to a strictly economic and market-driven dimension characterized by intense financial, commercial, and technological flows. However, the author emphasizes that the contemporary global processes in which we are embedded

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constitute a significantly more complex and multifaceted dynamic, marked by profound migratory displacements, cultural hybridizations, identity crises, and the emergence of new forms of belonging. According to Mongin (2005), these transformations directly impact our perceptions of space and time, reshaping the traditional frameworks that structure social experience. In this context, the author proposes the notion of *mondialisation* (worlding) to designate this expanded and more comprehensive phenomenon, which transcends the boundaries of a purely economic logic.

For Mongin (2007), the processes of global decentering have their roots in the colonial projects of the 15th–19th centuries, which consolidated a binary narrative of center (Europe as the civilizing metropolis) and periphery (colonies as subaltern spaces). This paradigm, however, undergoes radical transformations throughout the 20th century—first through the crisis of nation-states and the independence movements of former colonies, and later through the technical and financial reconfiguration of globalized capitalism by the century's end.

In contemporary times, this decentering intensifies through two seemingly contradictory dynamics. On one hand, there is a tendency toward technical and cultural homogenization, driven by the financialization of flows, the relocation of industrial production chains, and the diffusion of digital technologies. On the other, there is a growing fragmentation of identities, manifested in the resurgence of local, religious, and communal particularisms that challenge the presumed universality of Western values. Mongin (2006) argues that this duality does not represent a transient historical phase but rather a structural paradox inherent to the process of *mondialisation*, whose tensions decisively shape the social, cultural, and political configurations of the contemporary world. The author contends that this dynamic does not unfold linearly or progressively: decentering does not imply the replacement of the traditional center-periphery logic with a new stable hierarchy but rather establishes a world-space characterized by paradoxical polycentricity. In this sense, *mondialisation* is less an evolutionary stage or a delimited historical phase than a continuous process of deterritorialization, which simultaneously redefines the categories of global and local, straining their boundaries and interdependencies.

In this scenario of global decentering, the linguistic question takes on particularly complex contours, emerging within an agenda marked by tensions between dominant dynamics and local resistances. On one hand, there is the undeniable consolidation of English as the

hegemonic *lingua franca* of transnational flows—economic, media-related, academic, and technological—granting it a position of functional centrality in the global space. On the other, there is a resurgence of local linguistic-cultural identities that, in response to the symbolic homogenization imposed by global centers, articulate strategies of resistance and affirmation. This constitutes a paradoxical configuration in which the instrumental universalization of the language coexists with the revaluation of situated linguistic affiliations, highlighting the ambivalences that characterize contemporary processes of cultural globalization.

As early as the 1990s, in the first edition of his seminal work *English as a Global Language*, David Crystal (1997) critically reflected on the multiple vectors sustaining the contemporary hegemony of the English language. According to the author, this predominance cannot be attributed solely to historical factors, such as British colonial expansion or the consolidation of the United States as a global power in the post-World War II era. He also underscores the centrality of economic, media-related, scientific, and cultural elements that, collectively, contributed to the diffusion of English as the global language of transnational circuits. Crystal cautions, however, that such linguistic supremacy is not without consequences, as it entails significant risks of marginalization and erosion of other languages and cultures, jeopardizing global linguistic diversity.

It is understood that the hegemonization of English, intensifying particularly during the Cold War, cannot be comprehended solely through the lens of communicative functionality. It is equally imperative to consider the profound power asymmetries that permeate and structure global relations, given that the diffusion of certain languages at the expense of others is intrinsically linked to geopolitical, economic, and cultural dynamics that perpetuate hierarchies and inequalities in the international system. In this regard, a critical and vigilant stance is necessary—for instance, toward the very notion of *lingua franca*, since this designation, as Phillipson (2008) warns, may misleadingly evoke the idea of linguistic neutrality. The author stresses that labeling English as a "is a neutral instrument for ‘international’ communication between speakers who do not share a mother tongue" (Ibid., p. 251) not only poses an ideological risk but also constitutes a falsehood, given that English operates as a vector of hierarchies that reproduce power asymmetries inherited from colonial structures and reiterated by the imperialist practices of contemporary neoliberalism. Phillipson (2008) further emphasizes that its predominant use in the realms of economics, diplomacy, and academic and

scientific production does not stem exclusively from practical criteria or an equitable choice but rather reflects the consolidation of structures that favor native speakers and Anglophone nations while marginalizing other languages and cultures.

Within the context of English linguistic hegemony, it is pertinent to note that renowned scholars in the field, such as Pennycook (2006), Canagarajah (2012), and Jenkins (2015), argue that this process should not be understood as a monolithic or unidirectional system. In other words, English does not function as a homogeneously imposed instrument but rather as a language constantly reconfigured and resignified by its users, who mobilize hybrid and multiple repertoires in constructing situated meanings. This perspective highlights the dynamic nature of language, demonstrating how speakers' linguistic practices incorporate and adapt elements from different communicative systems, generating forms of expression that transcend prescriptive norms.

Such an approach displaces English from its traditional status as an imperial language, revealing how it is continuously deterritorialized and relocalized in everyday practices—whether through lexical borrowings, code-switching, or grammatical adaptations. For Canagarajah (2017), these phenomena should not be interpreted as mere deviations from a centralized norm but rather as legitimate linguistic performances that subvert traditional hierarchies. Thus, although English remains embedded in global power structures, its discursive materiality is continuously resignified by subjects who use it—not as passive agents but as protagonists of linguistic practices that challenge the authority historically conferred upon so-called "native speakers."

The local reappropriations that subvert the linguistic legacies of colonial ventures have also contributed to the consolidation of English, in recent decades, as the primary language of global communication. This condition is particularly evident in the academic sphere, where the language plays a central role in the production and circulation of knowledge. The predominance of English in this context stems largely from the expansion of possibilities for dialogue among researchers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, making it a privileged instrument for the international dissemination of knowledge.

In this regard, English occupies a central role in fostering integration among global scientific communities, facilitating collaborations, joint publications, and access to international research networks. However, it is crucial to reiterate that this centrality does not

necessarily entail the suppression of national or community languages, nor the erasure of the cultural identities of the peoples who use it in academic contexts. On the contrary, it may be understood as a strategy for projecting knowledge and scientific production beyond local boundaries, overcoming linguistic barriers that might otherwise restrict their circulation. Thus, English—as previously discussed, with its multiple variations and accents—can paradoxically contribute to the valorization and strengthening of local identities and cultures within the very process of internationalization (Knight, 1999).

Nevertheless, this seemingly inclusive and functional dimension of English in academia should not obscure the tensions that permeate its use as the *lingua franca* of science. By mobilizing the concept of *locus of enunciation*, as proposed by Walter Mignolo (2003), it becomes evident that the English language—despite the Western desire for universal neutrality—is always produced from specific historical, social, and cultural coordinates. For Mignolo, all knowledge is enunciated from a determined place, and the concealment of this place—a recurring practice in Western scientific tradition—constitutes one of the strategies of the coloniality of knowledge. Thus, the English used in academic publications is not a transparent or disinterested language but rather one imbued with the geopolitics of knowledge, inheriting a colonial project that sought to universalize itself. This perspective destabilizes the notion that scientific English is a neutral medium of rationality, revealing instead that it is permeated by situated worldviews that reflect interests, silences, and exclusions. Recognizing this marking is essential for problematizing the linguistic and epistemic hegemony that English represents while simultaneously creating space for other forms of enunciation—often marginalized but equally legitimate and potent in knowledge production.

The role played by the English language in contemporary times constitutes one of the multiple reflections of the *mondialisation* process described by Mongin (2006), with the language itself being traversed by an inherent tension between homogenizing tendencies and movements of identitarian fragmentation. This tension becomes particularly visible in the case of languages with colonial trajectories, such as English, which—as Mariani (2004) argues—carries with it an institutionalized memory: "the memory of the colonizer about their own history and their own language[2]" (p. 24). In other words, even when mobilized to name or

[2] Translated from Portuguese: “a memória do colonizador sobre a sua própria história e sobre sua própria língua”.

represent other realities, English remains anchored in a semantic logic shaped by categories and meanings historically produced within the colonial context.

In this sense, Mariani (2004) emphasizes that the meanings previously institutionalized by the dominant language tend to persist, as local discursive practices, while seeking to name new contexts or resignify events, implicitly operate within a politics of meaning organized from the language of the metropole. Thus, even when subverted or resignified in global academic production, English continues to reproduce the effects of a colonial legacy manifested in the ways science and knowledge are organized, validated, and disseminated.

It is therefore imperative to recognize the tensions that permeate the use of English as the *lingua franca* of science, rejecting its conception as a mere neutral instrument of communication or as a simple means of expanding the reach of academic production. The paradox between the drive toward universalization and the persistence of colonial markers underscores the urgency of constant epistemological vigilance and continuous critical reflection on the linguistic practices that hegemonize knowledge production spaces.

From this perspective, it is essential to emphasize that English, as the *hegemonic language* of global science, transcends its role as a mere technical medium of communication, constituting instead a field of epistemological contestation where historical power relations are constantly reenacted. The deconstruction of the colonial structures of knowledge thus demands not only the amplification of voices and discursive practices that challenge the centrality of English but also the recognition of the symbolic marks this language carries—marks that continue to shape the boundaries of academic knowledge on a global scale.

The centrality of English as the language of science is unequivocally reflected in the internationalization process of Brazilian universities, a phenomenon that gained significant momentum in recent decades and has contributed to the country's insertion into global knowledge production circuits (Morosini & Nascimento, 2017). In this context, academic production in English emerges as one of the primary strategies for integration into international research networks, fostering the circulation of knowledge and collaboration among researchers from different world regions. However, this process of internationalization—deeply intertwined with linguistic issues—does not occur free of tensions, as it is situated at the intersection of global demands and the specificities of local realities. The adoption of English as the predominant language for international publication and collaboration, though consolidated as

an institutional strategy (Knight, 2003), imposes significant challenges, particularly by marginalizing research that does not align with global linguistic and epistemological standards or that faces difficulties in accessing adequate resources, thereby exposing the limitations of this internationalization dynamic.

Thus, researchers situated beyond the walls of this scientific center often find themselves in a position of epistemic subalternity in global knowledge production, meaning that their investigations—developed in non-hegemonic languages, even if belonging to the European linguistic canon—lack broad dissemination and consequently tend to assume an endemic character, circulating predominantly in local circuits. Conversely, when opting to produce scientific work in English, they necessarily submit to the normative and paradigmatic protocols imposed both by the politics of meaning inherent to English and by structural factors, such as the guidelines of transnational academic journals. This entails not only linguistic translation but may also imply conformity to hegemonic epistemological and methodological archetypes, often detached from the sociocultural and contextual specificities of their autochthonous realities. While this process may enhance these researchers' international visibility, it imposes substantial challenges by demanding their adaptation to a scientific system that, intrinsically, may not fully accommodate their theoretical perspectives and investigative approaches.

Indigenous Knowledge Production and the Challenges of Academic Dissemination

In broad segments of Brazilian society, a persistent misconception holds that Indigenous peoples constitute *non-literate* societies—lacking writing systems and, consequently, devoid of historiographic preservation mechanisms, collective memory, or documentary archives. This assumption is rooted in a Eurocentric epistemology that establishes a false dichotomy between orality and writing, wherein orality is reductively understood as mere phonetic expression, while writing is narrowly conceived only in its Western alphabetic form (Rezende, 2019).

It is crucial to deconstruct the recalcitrant notion, constructed by Western discourse, that the historical—or even contemporary, in certain ethnic groups—absence of Western alphabetic writing in Amerindian societies constitutes a communicative limitation. On the contrary, as argued in previous research (Rezende, 2019), there exists a myriad of graphic expressions endowed with communicative intentionality, materialized in sophisticated recording systems that traverse the cultural diversity of Brazil's Indigenous peoples.

As Souza (2006) discusses, writing can be conceived as an interactional modality that transcends the alphabetic system, manifesting through manual marks left on various surfaces, representing concepts, cultural principles, or narratives. From this broader perspective, the author argues that Brazilian Indigenous peoples have always developed writing practices, evidenced in the graphic designs present in ceramics, textiles, wooden artifacts, woven crafts, and body inscriptions.

In this sense, it is pertinent to emphasize that "Indigenous communities in Brazil, therefore, are not lacking in writing but are independent of an alphabet[3]" (Rezende, 2019, p. 100). Their mnemonic archives have historically been safeguarded through oral traditions while simultaneously being preserved through recording forms that exceed Western alphabetic models.

An illustrative case of Indigenous writing systems is the *kusiwa* art of the Wajãpi, a sophisticated set of body graphic patterns that transcends mere ritual ornamentation. As Vivas (2008) notes, this is an aesthetic and creative tradition embedded in daily family life, composed of collectively recognized patterns referencing elements of fauna or material adornments. This dynamic and ever-expanding graphic repertoire effectively constitutes a non-alphabetic form of writing, as it produces culturally shared meanings, functioning as an expressive vehicle for Wajãpi cosmologies—even before this people's recent adoption of alphabetic writing.

The case of the Wajãpi, currently situated in Amapá, exemplifies—among many other possible examples—how writing practices can manifest through representational systems distinct from the alphabetic paradigm. By endorsing this conception of writing, we necessarily dissolve the artificially established boundaries between orality and literacy. Although Brazil's Indigenous societies were historically classified as *non-literate* or *oral* by colonizers due to their lack of an alphabet, an epistemological shift is necessary, aligned with Tania Clemente de Souza's (2017) perspective, which recognizes them as *oral-based societies*. This conceptual repositioning not only values orality as a constitutive trait of these peoples' identities but, more fundamentally, enables an understanding of these cultures through their own discursive materialities rather than comparative parameters with Western literate societies.

[3] Translated from Portuguese: "as comunidades indígenas brasileiras, portanto, não se mostram carentes de escrita, mas independentes de um alfabeto"

Clemente de Souza (2017) proposes a reconceptualization of orality as a historically constituted phenomenon and as a socio-historical space of semantic production, configuring itself as a linguistic social practice endowed with specific materiality. This perspective, however, does not imply the absence of writing systems in these societies, as previously demonstrated.

> To understand Indigenous peoples as members of oral-based societies is to consider them not from an external perspective—framed by the Western gaze of *lack*—but from a standpoint that begins with their own forms of signification, recognizing the presence of diverse inscription modalities within orality[4] (Rezende, 2019, p. 101).

Thus, various linguistic expression modalities among Indigenous peoples are marked by fluidity between orality and writing, as well as between verbal and non-verbal communication. These manifestations materialize in oral narratives, body graphics, artifacts, dances, ceramics, featherwork, and other semiotic supports through which historically situated subjects express their worldviews, social organizations, and ideological stances.

Tania Clemente de Souza (2017) argues that to understand discursivity in oral-based societies, one must recognize that they operate in an integrated manner between verbal and non-verbal domains, without being confined to a single system of signification. The traditional narratives of each Indigenous community, for instance, are performed through orality and articulated with gestures, body paintings, musical instruments, garments, and various other expressive modes that function as supports for memory and cultural transmission.

Munduruku (2006) observes that in Indigenous oral-based societies, writing is not restricted to the graphic materiality recognized by Western rationality. It is an *other* writing—invisible to urban codes—that articulates spiritual, cosmological, and existential dimensions. This form of inscription, embedded in the body itself and in collective memory, sustains ways of life, knowledge systems, and resistances, configuring itself as an expression of Indigenous thought that challenges the epistemic limits of the West and affirms other possible ontologies. Thus, the absence of alphabetic writing among Amerindian peoples should never be interpreted as a deficiency but rather as an expression of *non-necessity*, given that these cultures have historically developed their own symbolic systems to interpret, represent, and transmit reality.

[4] Translated from Portuguese: "Ao entendermos os indígenas como membros de sociedades de oralidade, a ambição é pensá-los não de uma perspectiva externa, a partir do olhar ocidental da falta, mas de um ponto de vista que parta de suas próprias formas de significação, enxergando a presença de diferentes formas de inscrição na oralidade".

From this perspective, a critical stance is imperative—one that recognizes that the preservation of Indigenous memories, narratives, knowledge, and cultural aspects does not (and did not) depend on alphabetic writing for its legitimacy or continuity (Rezende, 2019).

In contemporary times, Indigenous peoples have been reappropriating this exogenous technological resource—imposed violently over five centuries ago—as a political tool for preserving their collective memories. In doing so, these peoples strengthen their cultural resistance mechanisms, using writing as a means of circulating their knowledge and ensuring self-preservation against persistent forms of physical and symbolic violence.

In this process, it is essential to highlight—as defended in prior research (Rezende, 2019)—that oral-based societies do not perceive alphabetic writing as a mere representation of speech but rather as a *supplement* (*supplément*) in the Derridean sense (Derrida, 1967[2011]). That is, not as a complement to something supposedly complete (as if writing secondarily represented an original and self-sufficient speech), but as an element that reveals speech was never fully autonomous. Thus, as previously noted, Indigenous societies have always relied on diverse semiotic forms for communication. However, alphabetic writing—though historically used to subjugate societies independent of it—is also subject to the logic of insufficiency, as both speech and writing are marked by *différance* and the deferral of meaning, precluding any instance of plenitude or absolute presence. In Derrida's framework (1967[2011]), speech and writing are not independent or hierarchizable instances; both are manifestations of the same fundamental structure of signification, marked by difference and the absence of an original plenitude.

From this understanding, we observe that Indigenous peoples, in adopting alphabetic writing as a mode of supplementation, not only resignify a technology historically used for their disqualification but also incorporate it as a means of reinscribing and intensifying their semiotic practices. Thus, what emerges is an appropriation that does not constitute mere adaptation to Western norms but rather a practice of subversion and transformation—one in which writing becomes a fluid, multimodal space traversed by orality, enabling the recovery, preservation, and continuous reinvention of Indigenous traditions without ever fixing itself in a stable or full origin.

Despite the powerful reappropriation of alphabetic writing by Indigenous societies, it is imperative to recognize that these populations continue to face persistent forms of epistemic

violence, including in contemporary academic and scientific spheres. This persistence stems largely from the requirement that the production and circulation of their knowledge not only occur through alphabetic writing—a technology already critically and creatively incorporated, as demonstrated—but also through the grammaticalization of their native languages and, above all, through articulation in colonial languages: first, in the Brazilian context, Portuguese, and more recently, English, due to the dynamics of scientific internationalization, as discussed in the previous section.

This linguistic imposition functions as a renewed exclusionary mechanism, establishing filters and hierarchies that delegitimize Indigenous epistemologies within their own frames of reference, forcing them into translation and conformity with Western discursive models. Thus, the coloniality of knowledge reasserts itself, shifting from explicit silencing practices to more subtle mechanisms of linguistic-discursive normalization, which continue to obstruct the full recognition of the epistemic and ontological plurality constituting Indigenous cosmologies.

In this landscape of tensions and contradictions, a growing Indigenous presence in academia highlights the strength, resistance, and vitality of their epistemologies—even in contexts historically marked by systematic exclusion and silencing. Justino Rezende (2024), for instance, appears as co-author of the article *"Indigenizing conservation science for a sustainable Amazon"*, published in *Science*, one of the world's most prestigious academic journals, reaffirming the centrality of Indigenous knowledge in constructing alternatives for planetary sustainability. Another significant example is the work of Trudruá Dorrico, who stands out in literary and critical studies by articulating memory, resistance, and identity from Indigenous perspectives. These experiences attest to the potency of Indigenous epistemologies in reconfiguring knowledge production spaces.

Nevertheless, Indigenous researchers continue to face structural barriers, including limited access to funding, precarious publication resources, and the need to conform to editorial criteria favoring Eurocentric academic formats. Scientific journals and university presses, even those committed to epistemological diversity, predominantly operate under logics that privilege methodologies, writing styles, and argumentation forms aligned with Western paradigms—often incompatible with Indigenous thought structures, temporalities, and expressive modes. This scenario underscores the urgent need not only to expand mechanisms for Indigenous

visibility but also to critically deconstruct the prevailing criteria of knowledge legitimization in academic spaces.

In light of these challenges, translation emerges as a potentially transformative tool for the visibility and legitimization of Indigenous academic production on the international stage. Beyond mere linguistic operations, translation practices—when approached from an intercultural and postcolonial perspective—function as epistemic bridges. They enable Indigenous *knowledges*, worldviews, and methodologies to traverse geopolitical and disciplinary boundaries, even if they inevitably involve negotiations with varying degrees of domestication and erasure intrinsic to any translation process.

Thus, translation must be conceived not merely as a technical instrument for the internationalization of Indigenous production but as a political and ethical exercise that facilitates the circulation of historically marginalized epistemologies, challenging the hegemonic structures of global academia. By allowing these discourses to traverse different linguistic and cultural contexts, translation not only fosters the dissemination of Indigenous authors but also promotes a reconfiguration of dominant epistemological parameters in academic and scientific spheres, broadening horizons for an effective plurality of *knowledges*.

Translation and Epistemic Violence: Attempts at Reparation

From the earliest days of Brazilian colonization, translation processes constituted fundamental instruments of territorial domination and control. Far from being a purely linguistic activity — which it never is—translation functioned as a tool of asymmetrical mediation, facilitating the imposition of European values and power structures upon Indigenous populations. It is worth noting that the figure of the *"língua"* — an interpreter who mediated communication between colonizers and Indigenous peoples—emerged as a key player in this context, not as a mere facilitator of intercultural dialogue but as a strategic agent of the colonial project (Wyler, 2003; Rezende, 2023). These interpreters were, for the most part, Portuguese exiles who, abandoned in Brazil during the early years of colonial invasion, established prolonged contact with Indigenous populations, acquiring proficiency in native languages. Their role proved crucial to the consolidation of the Portuguese Empire's colonial strategies, as they provided both linguistic and cultural advantages. By serving as mediators, they facilitated negotiation processes, forged strategic alliances, and enabled the collection of essential

information about territories, natural resources, and the sociopolitical dynamics of Indigenous communities. Thus, they became indispensable agents in the expansion and consolidation of Portuguese colonial rule in the Americas. Translation, therefore, was not an act of respect for linguistic alterity but rather a sophisticated political maneuver designed to access Indigenous subjectivities in order to better implement Lusitanian domination policies and, later, Catholic catechization—effectively weaponizing native languages against their original speakers.

Throughout the colonial period, translation processes thus functioned as central devices of what Mignolo (2000) conceptualizes as the *coloniality of knowledge*. The subjugation of Indigenous languages to European grammatical structures, as well as the translation of their cosmologies into Christian categories, exemplify practices that enacted what Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2000) terms *"epistemicide"*—that is, the systematic erasure of local knowledges by foreign epistemologies, in this case, of European origin. In this sense, "translation enabled the invaders to engineer Indigenous knowledge and thought systems in alignment with Western paradigms[5]" (Rezende, 2023), thereby consolidating intellectual domination as an extension and deepening of the colonial project.

The enactment of the *Diretório dos Índios* (Directory of the Indians) in 1757 provoked an even deeper reconfiguration of linguistic dynamics within the colony. Among its imposed measures was the mandatory exclusive use of the Portuguese language in colonial territories, which significantly diminished the role of translation in the colonial context. Translation, which until then had played a strategic role in imposing and reorganizing communication systems between Europeans and Indigenous peoples, lost much of its centrality, while Portuguese consolidated itself not only as an administrative and religious language but also as an instrument of forced assimilation and cultural homogenization of Indigenous populations.

Faced with this historical backdrop, translation processes underwent a notable reorientation, shifting primarily toward relations between Portuguese and hegemonic European languages, particularly French and English. This configuration, which privileges the Lusophone axis in translation practices, persists as a dominant contemporary paradigm and represents one of the consequences of systematic policies aimed at forcibly incorporating Indigenous peoples into the Brazilian national identity project—a process that not only marginalized their languages

[5] Translated from Portuguese: "a prática da tradução viabilizou aos invasores uma engenharia das formas de conhecimento e pensamento dos povos indígenas em consonância com os paradigmas ocidentais"

and knowledges but also stripped them of the essential right to determine their own cultural and political destinies.

Since the 1990s, contestatory movements challenging Portuguese hegemony have granted increasing visibility to Indigenous languages in the Brazilian context. The process of recovering and re-elaborating Indigenous narratives exemplifies this phenomenon, offering new translational approaches. These initiatives emerge from the resistance and political articulation of Indigenous peoples themselves, who gained greater political agency by the late 20th century. In this context, the *União das Nações Indígenas* (Union of Indigenous Nations) played a decisive role in securing the advances enshrined in the 1988 Constitution, which recognized multiculturalism and guaranteed fundamental rights to Indigenous peoples, such as traditional land possession and the preservation of their cultural manifestations in environments necessary for their reproduction (Rezende, 2023).

Amid this growing Indigenous political mobilization and constitutional recognition of their rights, translation has begun to be repositioned as a potential instrument of epistemic visibility. This reconfiguration does not emerge as a mere continuation of historical translation practices but as their radical critique and resignification. Unlike colonial practices that instrumentalized translation as a vehicle for domestication and erasure, contemporary initiatives seek to establish dialogic processes that recognize Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies on their own terms—even when mediated by colonial languages—thereby challenging the supposed universality of Western thought.

However, a structural challenge remains: although translation is now largely mobilized as a tool of resistance and visibility, most research produced by Indigenous intellectuals in Brazil is still published predominantly in Portuguese. This choice, far from being merely practical or voluntary, stems from an institutional requirement of national academic journals, which demand Portuguese-language texts to facilitate peer review. In a country where the academic elite remains largely unfamiliar with Indigenous languages, Portuguese emerges as the inevitable medium for knowledge circulation within the university space. This configuration, however, reveals a double tension: on one hand, the pragmatic necessity of using Portuguese as a means of institutional insertion and recognition; on the other, the involuntary perpetuation of linguistic coloniality—which, by favoring a European language of low global prestige, limits the international reach of Indigenous epistemologies.

This reality means that many Indigenous *knowledges*, even when rewritten and reclaimed from a postcolonial perspective, remain confined to national circuits, lacking the same impact or recognition that research disseminated in English inevitably achieves. As discussed in the first section of this article, English occupies a hegemonic position as the language of contemporary academic knowledge production and legitimation—a phenomenon that deepens global epistemic asymmetry. In this context, translating the works of Brazilian Indigenous researchers into English becomes, paradoxically, a strategic act of reappropriation: not an unthinking submission to the colonial logic of English as the *lingua franca* of science, but a critical instrumentalization of this position to amplify historically silenced voices in a global arena. Thus, translation into English can operate as a tactic of epistemic insurgency, expanding the circulation of alternative *knowledges*, displacing centers of knowledge production, and ultimately challenging the linguistic and epistemic hierarchies that sustain contemporary coloniality.

Therefore, recognizing the complexity of translation in this multifaceted scenario proves absolutely essential: it not only navigates the dialectical tensions between local and global, between epistemic resistance and the reproduction of colonial structures, but also offers concrete possibilities for critically subverting these historically entrenched hegemonic dynamics. When resignified and repositioned as an insurgent practice, translation transcends its instrumental condition as mere communicative mediation and asserts itself as a political and strategic act, endowed with transformative potential within the geopolitics of knowledge. This reconceptualization of translation enables the emergence of a counter-hegemonic enunciative space capable of destabilizing the regimes of invisibility systematically imposed upon Indigenous epistemologies in the hierarchical, globalized order of academic knowledge. Translation, thus understood, reconfigures itself as a device for intervening in the power relations that structure knowledge production and circulation, facilitating the creation of contact zones where diverse *knowledges* can engage in dialogues not subordinated to Eurocentric epistemological frameworks.

Final Notes: Attempts to Amplify Voices

Contemporary scientific production remains structured according to models that privilege Western thought as the legitimate *locus of enunciation*, predominantly manifesting as

a discursive practice that is masculinized and anchored in the centrality of writing as a hegemonic epistemic norm. This configuration reinforces what Spivak (1988 [2010]) identified as the epistemic exclusion of the *subaltern*—subjects whose forms of knowledge are systematically silenced. The primacy of writing as a technology of power not only marginalizes oral traditions and embodied *knowledges* but also naturalizes hierarchies that associate scientific production with a specific model of rationality—one that is masculinized and tied to the institutions of the Global North. In this way, the sciences contribute to the suppression of dissident epistemologies, perpetuating the coloniality of knowledge even in postcolonial contexts.

This logic constitutes a vicious epistemic cycle: by refusing to reproduce the parameters established by the Western canon, dissident researchers are excluded from the primary mechanisms of scientific validation—indexed journals, funding agencies, academic spaces—rendering their critiques invisible precisely because they do not conform to the very rules they denounce. Following Spivak (1988 [2010]), one might argue that the problem lies not only in the silencing of the subaltern but in the structural delegitimization of their modes of knowledge, systematically classified as "unscientific" for deviating from dominant validity criteria. Supposed academic principles—such as methodological rigor, neutral and technical language, and standardized formats of scientific production—function as epistemic filters that exclude knowledges misaligned with Western rationality, ranging from Indigenous knowledges rooted in orality to feminist epistemologies that contest the purported neutrality of science. Thus, subjects situated on the peripheries of academic-scientific circuits face a dilemma: to be recognized, they must adhere to protocols that, in themselves, perpetuate the exclusion of dissident epistemologies. This dynamic not only reinforces the coloniality of knowledge but also naturalizes marginalization under the pretext of alleged "methodological inadequacy." The result is the maintenance of a system that legitimizes itself while foreclosing alternatives, creating the illusion that no valid knowledge production exists outside its framework.

In this context, translation processes emerge as a potential vector of transformation, operating in the interstices of colonial structures themselves. By translating subaltern knowledges into hegemonic codes without reducing them to these parameters, a fissure is created in the system: previously marginalized knowledges gain academic intelligibility while retaining the marks of their difference. Translation, in this sense, does not erase asymmetries

but makes them evident, transforming scientific language itself into a site of struggle. When, for example, an Indigenous epistemology on ecological relations is translated into scientific discourse while preserving its non-Western key concepts, a double subversion occurs: the canon is forced to expand (albeit in a limited way), and validity criteria are destabilized. Translation, though it does not resolve the aforementioned paradox, transforms it into a tactic: by negotiating with hegemonic structures without fully submitting to them, it paves the way for a gradual, if ambiguous, erosion of the coloniality of knowledge. This is a slow—and often ambivalent—shift, but it demonstrates how epistemic resistance can operate even within oppressive systems, converting the very tools of exclusion (academic language and the predominance of English) into instruments of insurgency.

A paradigmatic example of this epistemic insurgency is the case of Justino Rezende, mentioned earlier, who leverages the prestige and legitimacy of one of the world's leading scientific journals to reposition Indigenous knowledges as central to the global scientific debate, demonstrating how the knowledge systems of Indigenous peoples offer effective environmental management models that challenge conventional conservation science paradigms. Another relevant example is Ailton Krenak, who, by writing in a colonial language and textual genres, employs a form of epistemic anthropophagy—appropriating alphabetic writing, a technology historically used to inferiorize and silence Indigenous peoples, to reinscribe autochthonous knowledges into intellectual debates, not only in Brazil but globally. His books, translated into numerous languages, have created a new political-ecological lexicon that now influences traditionally Western disciplines such as anthropology, philosophy, and social sciences.

These authors demonstrate that transformative processes are not achieved through categorical rejection of the hegemonic system but through the strategic and subversive occupation of its institutional spaces. By appropriating Western languages and scientific methodologies, these agents function analogously to Trojan devices inserted into dominant academic mechanisms, substantively altering the cadence and trajectory of their epistemic functioning.

Thus, translation, more than a mere strategy, can be understood as a crucial device in the struggle to expand and legitimize plural epistemologies. This struggle manifests simultaneously in both the propositional content of knowledge and the structures of its validation and legitimation, challenging the monolithic paradigms of Western rationality and

its universalist pretensions. However, for this contestation to be effective, it is imperative to recognize that the deconstruction of colonial scientific paradigms cannot be the exclusive task of Indigenous peoples. On the contrary, it demands critical and self-critical engagement from non-Indigenous researchers. This alliance, though necessary, must be carefully constructed to avoid both the trap of epistemic appropriation—where Indigenous knowledges are co-opted without proper acknowledgment of their authorship or context—and the paternalistic stance in which non-Indigenous actors position themselves as "spokespersons." In this sense, the role of non-Indigenous academics in this process should be one of actively unlearning the colonialist assumptions that structure their disciplines, creating institutional spaces where Indigenous epistemologies can circulate on their own terms, free from distortive mediations.

This deconstructive effort transcends mere critical awareness, demanding the implementation of transformative practices capable of amplifying the visibility and circulation of ancestral Indigenous knowledges on a global scale. The materialization of initiatives led by non-Indigenous scholars—such as multilingual scientific journals specializing in Indigenous epistemologies, training programs for intercultural mediators attuned to the ontological and epistemic specificities of these situated knowledges—constitutes an insurgent potential in the destabilization of hegemonic cognitive hierarchies.

These interventions function as mechanisms for legitimizing and recognizing the centrality of Indigenous enunciations in the transnational academic sphere. Crucially, such actions must not be understood as paternalistic concessions or magnanimous gestures toward Indigenous peoples but as acknowledgments of the relational structure of coloniality—a system that subalternizes and dehumanizes all involved subjects, including non-Indigenous people, by reproducing epistemic and ontological violences that obstruct the construction of pluriversal ecologies of knowledge and alternative civilizational horizons beyond Western modernity.

Additionally, the implementation of editorial policies that encourage bilingual or multilingual publications constitutes a fundamental device for consolidating epistemic plurality, enabling the transversal circulation of Indigenous knowledges across different linguistic systems and cultural horizons. However, such initiatives must be critically guided to ensure that the disruptive potential of these knowledges is not neutralized or domesticated but preserved in its ontological radicality, challenging hegemonic epistemic paradigms and proposing alternative cosmologies for understanding and inhabiting the world. In this way,

these efforts not only expand the territories of Indigenous epistemologies but also open concrete possibilities for a substantive transformation of knowledge production, legitimation, and validation dynamics in the globalized academy.

There is no viable, authentic, or sustainable path for the internationalization of Brazilian scientific research that does not fully recognize Indigenous epistemic productions as essential elements of this process. The incorporation of these ancestral cosmologies and methodologies goes beyond compensatory representational policies, constituting a fundamental condition for the construction of a truly pluriversal and counter-hegemonic academia in Brazil.

In this context, the translation of these productions emerges as a device capable of subverting the epistemicidal homogenization imposed by Western linguistic hegemony—particularly English, which exerts imperial dominance over global scientific output. Through translation practices attuned to the specificities of Indigenous knowledges, the possibility arises to deterritorialize dominant languages, allowing these knowledges to resist uniformization and circulate globally on their own cosmological terms, preserving their transformative potency and unique enunciative character.

This epistemic-political mobilization not only expands the boundaries of conventional academic knowledge but also establishes genuinely inclusive spaces for horizontal exchanges, where Indigenous enunciations can reverberate in their full ontological depth, cosmological complexity, and capacity to challenge the colonial structures that persist in the contemporary geopolitics of knowledge.

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Revista leetra Indígena

A INTERNACIONALIZAÇÃO DAS PRODUÇÕES INDÍGENAS: TRADUÇÃO COMO UMA TENTATIVA DE REPARAR O SILENCIAMENTO

THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF INDIGENOUS PRODUCTIONS: TRANSLATION AS AN ATTEMPT TO REPAIR SILENCING

Patrick Rezende[1]

Resumo
Este artigo examina as intersecções entre produção científica, internacionalização e hegemonia anglófona, considerando as tensões epistemológicas derivadas da colonialidade do saber. Fundamentado no conceito de *mundialização* (Mongin, 2005), que ultrapassa a globalização econômica ao contemplar transições culturais e identitárias, analisa-se o paradoxo do inglês como língua científica global: enquanto facilita a circulação transnacional do conhecimento, perpetua assimetrias históricas, privilegiando perspectivas do Norte Global (Phillipson, 2008). No contexto brasileiro, a internacionalização universitária tensiona-se entre a adoção do inglês e a invisibilização de saberes locais, especialmente indígenas, que possuem sistemas próprios de registro e transmissão epistêmica (Rezende, 2019). Argumenta-se que práticas tradutórias críticas podem funcionar como mecanismos de emancipação epistêmica, ampliando a circulação de epistemologias indígenas. Conclui-se que a democratização científica requer não apenas inclusão de vozes subalternizadas, mas transformação dos critérios hegemônicos de validação científica.
Palavras-chave: Hegemonia do inglês; Colonialidade do saber; Epistemologias indígenas; Internacionalização científica; Tradução.

Abstract
This article examines the intersections between scientific production, internationalization, and Anglophone hegemony, considering epistemological tensions derived from the coloniality of knowledge. Grounded in the concept of *mondialisation* (Mongin, 2005), which transcends economic globalization by contemplating cultural and identity transitions, we analyze the paradox of English as a global scientific language: while facilitating transnational knowledge circulation, it perpetuates historical asymmetries, privileging perspectives from the Global North (Phillipson, 2008). In the Brazilian context, university internationalization is tensioned between English adoption and the invisibilization of local knowledge, especially indigenous epistemologies, which possess their own systems of epistemic registration and transmission (Rezende, 2019). We argue that critical translation practices can function as mechanisms for epistemic emancipation, expanding the circulation of indigenous epistemologies. We conclude that scientific democratization requires not only the inclusion of subalternized voices but also the transformation of hegemonic criteria for scientific validation.
Keywords: English hegemony; Coloniality of knowledge; Indigenous epistemologies; Scientific internationalization; Translation.

Produção científica, internacionalização e a língua inglesa

O escritor e editor francês Olivier Mongin (2005) observa que a globalização tem sido frequentemente concebida de forma reducionista, limitada a uma dimensão estritamente econômica e mercadológica, caracterizada por intensos fluxos financeiros, comerciais e tecnológicos. No entanto, o autor ressalta que os processos globais contemporâneos nos quais

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estamos inseridos configuram uma dinâmica significativamente mais complexa e multifacetada, marcada por profundos deslocamentos migratórios, hibridizações culturais, crises de identidade e o surgimento de novas formas de pertencimento. Tais transformações, segundo Mongin (2005), repercutem diretamente sobre nossas percepções de espaço e tempo, redimensionando os marcos tradicionais que estruturam a experiência social. Nesse contexto, o autor propõe a noção de *mundialização* para designar esse fenômeno ampliado e mais abrangente, que transcende as fronteiras da lógica meramente econômica.

Para Mongin (2007), os processos de *descentramento do mundo* têm suas raízes nos projetos coloniais dos séculos XV–XIX, os quais consolidaram uma narrativa binária de *centro* (Europa como metrópole civilizatória) e *periferia* (colônias como espaços subalternos). Esse paradigma, contudo, é radicalmente transformado ao longo do século XX, primeiro pela crise dos Estados-nação e pelos movimentos de independência das antigas colônias, depois pela reconfiguração técnica e financeira do capitalismo globalizado no final do século.

Na contemporaneidade, esse descentramento radicaliza-se por meio de duas dinâmicas aparentemente contraditórias. De um lado, observa-se uma tendência à homogeneização técnica e cultural, impulsionada pela financeirização dos fluxos, pela relocalização das cadeias produtivas industriais e pela difusão das tecnologias digitais. De outro, evidencia-se uma crescente fragmentação identitária, manifesta no ressurgimento de particularismos locais, religiosos e comunitários que desafiam a pretensa universalidade dos valores ocidentais. Mongin (2006) destaca que essa dualidade não configura uma etapa transitória da história, mas sim um paradoxo estrutural inerente ao processo de mundialização, cujas tensões moldam de forma decisiva as configurações sociais, culturais e políticas do mundo contemporâneo. O autor argumenta que tal dinâmica não se desenvolve de maneira linear ou progressiva: o descentramento não implica a substituição da tradicional lógica centro-periferia por uma nova hierarquia estável, mas instaura um espaço-mundo caracterizado por uma policentricidade paradoxal. A mundialização, nesse sentido, configura-se menos como um estágio evolutivo ou uma etapa histórica delimitada e mais como um processo contínuo de desterritorialização, que

redefine concomitantemente as categorias de global e local, tensionando suas fronteiras e interdependências.

Nesse cenário de descentramento global, a questão linguística assume contornos particularmente complexos, inserindo-se em uma agenda marcada por tensões entre dinâmicas dominantes e resistências locais. Por um lado, tem-se a inquestionável consolidação do inglês como *lingua hegemonica* dos fluxos transnacionais — econômicos, midiáticos, acadêmicos e tecnológicos — conferindo-lhe uma posição de centralidade funcional no espaço global. Por outro, observa-se o ressurgimento de identidades linguístico-culturais locais, que, em resposta à homogeneização simbólica imposta pelos centros globais, articulam estratégias de resistência e afirmação. Trata-se, portanto, de uma configuração paradoxal, na qual a universalização instrumental da língua coexiste com a revalorização de pertencimentos linguísticos situados, evidenciando as ambivalências que caracterizam os processos contemporâneos de globalização cultural.

Ainda na década de 1990, na primeira edição de sua obra seminal *English as a Global Language*, David Crystal (1997) refletia criticamente sobre os múltiplos vetores que sustentam a hegemonia contemporânea da língua inglesa. Segundo o autor, esse predomínio não pode ser atribuído exclusivamente a fatores históricos, como a expansão colonial britânica ou a consolidação dos Estados Unidos como potência global no pós-Segunda Guerra Mundial. Ele destaca, também, a centralidade de elementos econômicos, midiáticos, científicos e culturais que, articuladamente, contribuíram para a difusão do inglês como *lingua global* dos circuitos transnacionais. Crystal reflete, contudo, que tal supremacia linguística não é isenta de consequências, uma vez que acarreta riscos significativos de marginalização e erosão de outras línguas e culturas, comprometendo a diversidade linguística mundial.

Compreende-se que a hegemonização do inglês, intensificada sobretudo a partir do período da Guerra Fria, não pode ser compreendida unicamente sob a ótica da funcionalidade comunicativa. Torna-se imprescindível considerar, igualmente, as profundas assimetrias de poder que atravessam e estruturam as relações globais, uma vez que a difusão de determinadas línguas em detrimento de outras está intrinsecamente vinculada a dinâmicas geopolíticas,

econômicas e culturais que perpetuam hierarquias e desigualdades no sistema internacional. Nesse sentido, é necessário manter uma postura crítica e vigilante, por exemplo, diante da própria noção de *língua franca*, uma vez que essa designação, como adverte Phillipson (2008), pode induzir equivocadamente à ideia de neutralidade linguística. O autor ressalta que rotular o inglês como um "instrumento neutro para comunicação internacional entre falantes que não compartilham a mesma língua materna[2]" (Ibid., p. 251) não representa apenas um risco ideológico, mas configura, sobretudo, uma falsidade, na medida em que o inglês opera como um vetor de hierarquias que reproduzem assimetrias de poder herdadas das estruturas coloniais e reiteradas pelas práticas imperialistas do neoliberalismo contemporâneo. Phillipson (2008) enfatiza, ainda, que seu uso predominante nos âmbitos da economia, da diplomacia, da produção acadêmica e científica não decorre exclusivamente de critérios práticos ou de uma escolha equitativa, mas evidencia a consolidação de estruturas que favorecem os falantes nativos e as nações anglófonas, ao mesmo tempo em que marginalizam outras línguas e culturas.

No contexto da hegemonia linguística do inglês, é pertinente destacar que renomados estudiosos da área, como Pennycook (2006), Canagarajah (2012) e Jenkins (2015), sustentam, contudo, que tal processo não deve ser compreendido como um sistema monolítico ou unidirecional. Em outras palavras, o inglês não se configura como um instrumento imposto de maneira homogênea, mas sim como uma língua constantemente reconfigurada e ressignificada por seus usuários, os quais mobilizam repertórios híbridos e múltiplos na construção de significados situados. Essa perspectiva evidencia a natureza dinâmica da linguagem, ao demonstrar como as práticas linguísticas dos falantes incorporam e adaptam elementos provenientes de distintos sistemas comunicativos, gerando formas de expressão que transcendem as normatividades prescritivas.

Tal abordagem desloca o inglês de seu tradicional status de língua imperial, revelando como ele é continuamente *desterritorializado* e *relocalizado* nas práticas cotidianas — seja por meio de empréstimos lexicais, alternância de códigos ou adaptações gramaticais. Para

[2] Tradução nossa de: "[...]is a neutral instrument for 'international' communication between speakers who do not share a mother tongue[…]".

Canagarajah (2017), esses fenômenos não devem ser interpretados como meros desvios em relação a uma norma centralizada, mas sim como performances linguísticas legítimas que subvertem as hierarquias tradicionais. Dessa forma, embora o inglês ainda opere inserido em estruturas de poder globais, sua materialidade discursiva vem sendo continuamente ressignificada por sujeitos que o utilizam — não como agentes passivos, mas como protagonistas de práticas linguísticas que desafiam a autoridade historicamente conferida aos chamados "falantes nativos". As reapropriações locais, que subvertem os legados linguísticos das empreitadas coloniais, também contribuíram para a consolidação do inglês, ao longo das últimas décadas, como a principal língua de comunicação em escala global. Tal condição reproduz-se de maneira evidente no campo acadêmico, no qual o idioma assume um papel central na produção e na circulação de saberes. A predominância do inglês nesse contexto decorre, em grande medida, da ampliação das possibilidades de interlocução entre pesquisadores oriundos de diferentes formações linguísticas e culturais, o que o torna um instrumento privilegiado para a disseminação internacional do conhecimento.

Nesse contexto, o inglês ocupa um papel central na promoção da integração entre comunidades científicas globais, ao facilitar colaborações, publicações conjuntas e o acesso a redes internacionais de pesquisa. Importa reiterar, entretanto, que essa centralidade do inglês não implica, necessariamente, a supressão das línguas nacionais ou comunitárias, tampouco a anulação das identidades culturais dos povos que o utilizam em contextos acadêmicos. Ao contrário, pode ser compreendida como uma estratégia de projeção de saberes e produções científicas para além dos limites locais, superando barreiras linguísticas que, de outra forma, poderiam restringir sua circulação. Assim, o inglês — tal como discutido anteriormente, com suas múltiplas variações e sotaques — pode, paradoxalmente, contribuir para a valorização e o fortalecimento das identidades e culturas locais no próprio processo de internacionalização (Knight, 1999).

Todavia, essa dimensão aparentemente inclusiva e funcional do inglês no espaço acadêmico não deve obscurecer as tensões que atravessam seu uso como língua franca da ciência. Ao mobilizar o conceito de *locus de enunciação*, conforme proposto por Walter Mignolo (2003), torna-se evidente que a língua inglesa — apesar do desejo ocidental de neutralidade universal — é sempre produzida a partir de coordenadas históricas, sociais e

culturais específicas. Para Mignolo, todo conhecimento é enunciado a partir de um lugar determinado, e a ocultação desse lugar — prática recorrente na tradição científica ocidental — constitui uma das estratégias da colonialidade do saber. Assim, o inglês utilizado nas publicações acadêmicas não é um idioma transparente ou desinteressado, mas uma linguagem carregada pela geopolítica do conhecimento, herdeira de um projeto colonial que buscou se universalizar. Tal perspectiva desestabiliza a noção de que o inglês científico seja um meio neutro da racionalidade, revelando, ao contrário, que ele está impregnado por visões de mundo situadas, que refletem interesses, silenciamentos e exclusões. Reconhecer essa marcação é fundamental para problematizar a hegemonia linguística e epistêmica que o inglês representa e, ao mesmo tempo, abrir espaço para outras formas de enunciação, muitas vezes marginalizadas, mas igualmente legítimas e potentes na produção de conhecimento.

O papel desempenhado pela língua inglesa na contemporaneidade constitui um dos múltiplos reflexos do processo de mundialização descrito por Mongin (2006), sendo a própria língua atravessada por uma tensão inerente entre tendências homogeneizantes e movimentos de fragmentação identitária. Essa tensão se torna particularmente visível no caso de línguas com trajetória colonial, como o inglês, que — conforme argumenta Mariani (2004) — carrega consigo uma memória institucionalizada: “a memória do colonizador sobre a sua própria história e sobre sua própria língua” (p. 24). Em outras palavras, mesmo quando mobilizado para nomear ou representar outras realidades, o inglês permanece ancorado em uma lógica semântica moldada por categorias e sentidos historicamente produzidos no contexto colonial.

Nesse sentido, Mariani (2004) ressalta que os sentidos previamente institucionalizados pela língua dominante tendem a persistir, uma vez que as práticas discursivas locais, ao buscarem nomear novos contextos ou ressignificar acontecimentos, acabam, ainda que de modo implícito, operando dentro de uma política de sentidos organizada a partir da língua da metrópole. Assim, mesmo quando subvertido ou resignificado nas produções acadêmicas globais, o inglês continua a reproduzir efeitos de uma herança colonial que se manifesta nas formas pelas quais a ciência e o conhecimento são organizados, validados e disseminados.

É, portanto, imprescindível reconhecer as tensões que atravessam o uso do inglês como língua franca da ciência, recusando sua concepção como um mero instrumento neutro de comunicação ou como simples meio de ampliação do alcance das produções acadêmicas. O

paradoxo entre o impulso à universalização e a persistência das marcas coloniais evidencia a urgência de uma vigilância epistemológica constante, bem como de uma reflexão crítica contínua acerca das práticas linguísticas que hegemonizam os espaços de produção do saber.

Nessa perspectiva, cabe enfatizar que o inglês, enquanto idioma hegemônico da ciência global, vai além de um simples meio técnico de comunicação, configurando-se como um campo de disputa epistemológica onde, constantemente, se atualizam relações de poder históricas. A desconstrução das estruturas coloniais do saber exige, portanto, não apenas a ampliação das vozes e das práticas discursivas que desafiam a centralidade do inglês, mas também o reconhecimento das marcas simbólicas que esse idioma carrega, as quais continuam a moldar as fronteiras do conhecimento acadêmico em escala global.

A centralidade do inglês como língua científica reflete-se de maneira inequívoca no processo de internacionalização das universidades brasileiras, fenômeno que ganhou expressivo impulso nas últimas décadas e que vem contribuindo para a inserção do país em circuitos globais de produção do conhecimento (Morosini; Nascimento, 2017). Nesse contexto, a produção acadêmica em inglês configura-se como uma das principais estratégias de inserção nas redes internacionais de pesquisa, favorecendo a circulação de saberes e a colaboração entre pesquisadores de distintas regiões do mundo. No entanto, esse processo de internacionalização — fortemente atravessado pela questão linguística — não se dá de forma isenta de tensões, uma vez que se situa na interseção entre as exigências globais e as especificidades das realidades locais. A adoção do inglês como língua predominante para publicação e colaboração internacional, embora consolidada como uma estratégia institucional (Knight, 2003), impõe desafios significativos, especialmente ao marginalizar pesquisas que não se alinham aos padrões linguísticos e epistemológicos globais ou que enfrentam dificuldades de acesso a recursos adequados, evidenciando as limitações dessa dinâmica de internacionalização.

Desta forma, os pesquisadores situados além dos muros desse centro científico encontram-se frequentemente em posição de subalternidade epistêmica na produção global do conhecimento, de modo que suas investigações, desenvolvidas em idiomas não-hegemônicos, ainda que pertencentes ao cânone linguístico europeu, carecem de ampla difusão e, consequentemente, tendem a assumir caráter endêmico, circulando predominantemente em circuitos locais. Em contrapartida, quando optam pela produção científica em língua inglesa, submetem-se necessariamente aos protocolos normativos e paradigmáticos impostos tanto pelas

políticas de sentido do inglês quanto por questões estruturais, como as normativas dos periódicos acadêmicos transnacionais, o que implica não apenas uma translação linguística, mas também pode significar uma conformação aos arquétipos epistemológicos e metodológicos hegemônicos, frequentemente desvinculados das especificidades socioculturais e contextuais de suas realidades autóctones. Tal processo, não obstante potencialize a projeção internacional desses pesquisadores, impõe-lhes desafios substanciais ao demandar sua adequação a um sistema científico que, intrinsecamente, pode não contemplar integralmente suas perspectivas teóricas e abordagens investigativas.

Produção Indígena e os Desafios da Divulgação Acadêmica

Em amplos segmentos da sociedade brasileira, persiste a concepção equivocada de que os povos indígenas constituem sociedades ágrafas, desprovidas de sistemas de escrita e, por conseguinte, destituídas de mecanismos de preservação historiográfica, memória coletiva ou acervos documentais. Tal pressuposição fundamenta-se em uma epistemologia eurocêntrica que estabelece uma falsa dicotomia entre oralidade e escrita, na qual a dimensão oral é redutivamente compreendida como mera expressão fonética, enquanto a escrita é restritivamente concebida apenas em sua manifestação alfabética ocidental (Rezende, 2019).

É fundamental desconstruir a concepção recalcitrante, construída pela discursividade ocidental, segundo a qual, no contexto das sociedades ameríndias, a ausência histórica — ou ainda atual, em determinados grupos étnicos — de uma escrita alfabética de matriz ocidental configuraria uma limitação comunicacional. Ao contrário, conforme argumentado em estudo anterior (Rezende, 2019), observa-se uma miríade de expressões gráficas dotadas de intencionalidade comunicativa, materializadas em sofisticados sistemas de registro que atravessam a diversidade cultural dos povos originários no território brasileiro.

Conforme discute Souza (2006), a escrita pode ser concebida como uma modalidade interacional que transcende o sistema alfabético, manifestando-se através de marcas manuais deixadas em diferentes superfícies, representando conceitos, princípios culturais ou narrativas. Sob esta perspectiva mais abrangente, a autora argumenta que os povos indígenas brasileiros sempre desenvolveram práticas escriturais, evidenciadas nos grafismos presentes em cerâmicas, têxteis, artefatos de madeira, trançados e inscrições corporais.

Nesse sentido, é relevante destacar que “as comunidades indígenas brasileiras, portanto, não se mostram carentes de escrita, mas independentes de um alfabeto” (Rezende, 2019, p.100); seus acervos mnemônicos têm sido historicamente resguardados por meio de práticas orais, ao mesmo tempo em que são preservados por formas de registro que extrapolam os modelos alfabéticos ocidentais.

Um caso ilustrativo de sistema escritural indígena é a arte *kusiwa* dos Wajãpi, conjunto sofisticado de padrões gráficos corporais que transcende a mera ornamentação ritual. Conforme aponta Vivas (2008), trata-se de uma tradição estética e criativa incorporada ao cotidiano familiar, composta por padrões denominados e reconhecidos coletivamente, referenciando elementos da fauna ou adornos materiais. Este repertório gráfico, dinâmico e em constante expansão, constitui efetivamente uma modalidade de escrita não-alfabética, já que produz significações culturalmente compartilhadas, funcionando como veículo expressivo das cosmologias Wajãpi, mesmo antes da adoção recente da escrita alfabética por este povo.

O caso dos Wajãpi, situados contemporaneamente no Amapá, exemplifica entre diversos outros possíveis, como as práticas escriturais podem se manifestar por meio de sistemas representacionais distintos do paradigma alfabético. Ao se endossar esta concepção de escrita, propõe-se necessariamente a dissolução das fronteiras artificialmente estabelecidas entre oralidade e escrita. Embora as sociedades originárias brasileiras tenham sido classificadas como ágrafas ou orais pelos colonizadores devido à ausência de alfabeto, sustenta-se um deslocamento epistemológico, alinhado à perspectiva de Tania Clemente de Souza (2017), que as reconhece como *sociedades de oralidade*. Tal reposicionamento conceitual não apenas valoriza a oralidade enquanto traço constitutivo da identidade desses povos, mas fundamentalmente possibilita a compreensão dessas culturas a partir de suas próprias materialidades discursivas, e não mediante parâmetros comparativos com as sociedades letradas ocidentais. Clemente de Souza (2017) propõe uma reconceptualização da oralidade como fenômeno historicamente constituído e como espaço sócio-histórico de produção semântica, configurando-se como prática social linguística dotada de materialidade específica. Tal perspectiva, contudo, não implica a ausência de sistemas escriturais nessas sociedades, conforme anteriormente evidenciado.

> Ao entendermos os indígenas como membros de sociedades de oralidade, a ambição é pensá-los não de uma perspectiva externa, a partir do olhar ocidental da falta, mas de um ponto de vista que parta de suas próprias formas de significação, enxergando a presença de diferentes formas de inscrição na oralidade. (Rezende, 2019, p.101).

Constatam-se, portanto, diversas modalidades de expressão linguística entre os povos indígenas, marcadas pela fluidez entre oralidade e escrita, bem como entre o verbal e o não-verbal. Tais manifestações se concretizam em narrativas orais, grafismos corporais, artefatos, danças, cerâmicas, plumárias e outros suportes semióticos, por meio dos quais sujeitos historicamente situados expressam suas visões de mundo, formas de organização social e posicionamentos ideológicos.

Tania Clemente de Souza (2017) argumenta que, para compreender a discursividade nas sociedades de oralidade, é necessário reconhecer que estas operam de maneira integrada entre os domínios verbal e não-verbal, sem se circunscreverem a um único sistema de significação. As narrativas tradicionais de cada comunidade indígena, por exemplo, são performadas a partir da oralidade e articulam-se a gestualidades, pinturas corporais, instrumentos musicais, vestimentas e diversos outros modos expressivos que funcionam como suportes de memória e transmissão cultural.

Munduruku (2006) observa que, nas sociedades de oralidade indígenas, a escrita não se restringe à materialidade gráfica reconhecida pela racionalidade ocidental. Trata-se de uma escrita outra — invisível aos códigos urbanos — que articula dimensões espirituais, cosmológicas e existenciais. Essa forma de inscrição, inscrita no próprio corpo e na memória coletiva, sustenta modos de vida, saberes e resistências, configurando-se como expressão de um pensamento indígena que desafia os limites epistêmicos do Ocidente e afirma outras ontologias possíveis.

Assim, a não presença de uma escrita alfabética entre os povos ameríndios não deve, em nenhum momento, ser interpretada como carência, mas como a expressão de uma não necessidade, na medida em que essas culturas desenvolveram, historicamente, sistemas simbólicos próprios para interpretar, representar e transmitir a realidade. Nessa perspectiva, impõe-se uma postura crítica capaz de reconhecer que as formas de preservação das memórias, narrativas, saberes e aspectos culturais das civilizações indígenas não dependem — nem dependiam — da escrita alfabética para sua legitimação ou continuidade (Rezende, 2019).

Na contemporaneidade, os povos indígenas vêm ressignificando o uso desse recurso tecnológico exógeno, imposto de maneira violenta há mais de cinco séculos, apropriando-se dele como uma ferramenta política para a preservação de suas memórias coletivas. Ao fazerem isso, esses povos fortalecem seus mecanismos de resistência cultural, utilizam-no como meio

de circulação de seus saberes e buscam garantir sua autopreservação frente às reiteradas formas de violência, tanto física quanto simbólica, que continuam a enfrentar.

Nesse processo, é imprescindível destacar, conforme defendido em pesquisa anterior (Rezende, 2019), que as sociedades de oralidade não compreendem a escrita alfabética como uma mera representação da fala, mas sim como um "suplemento" (*supplément*) no sentido proposto por Derrida (1967[2011]), isto é, não como uma complementação de algo supostamente pleno, como se a escrita representasse de forma secundária uma fala originária e autossuficiente. O suplemento, nessa perspectiva, evidencia que a fala nunca foi plenamente autônoma, de modo que, como destacado anteriormente, as sociedades indígenas sempre recorreram a diferentes formas semióticas para a comunicação. Todavia, a escrita alfabética, ainda que historicamente empregada para subjulgar sociedades independentes dela, também não escapa da lógica da insuficiência, na medida em que tanto a fala quanto a escrita são atravessadas pela diferença (*différance*) e pelo adiamento do sentido, não existindo, portanto, qualquer instância de plenitude ou presença absoluta. Assim, em Derrida (1967[2011]), fala e escrita não constituem instâncias independentes ou hierarquizáveis; ambas são manifestações de uma mesma estrutura fundamental de significação marcada pela diferença e pela ausência de origem plena.

À luz dessa compreensão, observa-se que os povos indígenas, ao adotarem a escrita alfabética como um modo de suplementação, não apenas ressignificam uma tecnologia historicamente utilizada para sua desqualificação, mas também a incorporam como um meio de reinscrição e intensificação de suas práticas semióticas. Dessa maneira, o que se verifica é uma apropriação que não se configura como mera adaptação às normas ocidentais, mas como uma prática de subversão e transformação, na qual a escrita se torna um espaço fluido, multimodal e atravessado pela oralidade, possibilitando a recuperação, a preservação e a reinvenção contínua das tradições indígenas, sem jamais se fixar em uma origem plena ou estável.

Não obstante a potente reapropriação da escrita alfabética pelas sociedades indígenas, é imprescindível reconhecer que essas populações continuam a enfrentar formas persistentes de violência epistêmica, inclusive nos âmbitos acadêmico e científico contemporâneos. Tal persistência decorre, em grande medida, da exigência de que a produção e a circulação de seus saberes não apenas se realizem por meio da escrita alfabética — tecnologia já incorporada de modo crítico e criativo, como se demonstrou — e do processo de gramatização de suas línguas

originárias, mas, sobretudo, da necessidade de que esses saberes sejam articulados nas línguas coloniais: primeiramente, no contexto brasileiro, o português, e, mais recentemente, o inglês, em função das dinâmicas de internacionalização do conhecimento científico, conforme discutido na seção anterior. Essa imposição linguística atua como um renovado dispositivo de exclusão, na medida em que instaura filtros e hierarquias que deslegitimam epistemologias indígenas em seus próprios marcos de referência, forçando-as à tradução e à conformação a modelos discursivos ocidentais. Desse modo, a colonialidade do saber se reinscreve, deslocando-se das práticas explícitas de silenciamento para mecanismos mais sutis de normatização e padronização linguístico-discursiva, os quais seguem obstaculizando o pleno reconhecimento da pluralidade epistêmica e ontológica que constitui as cosmologias indígenas.

Neste cenário de tensões e contradições, observa-se uma presença indígena crescente no campo acadêmico, o que evidencia a força, a resistência e a vitalidade de suas epistemologias, mesmo em contextos historicamente marcados por processos sistemáticos de exclusão e silenciamento. Justino Rezende (2024), por exemplo, figura como coautor do artigo "Indigenizing conservation science for a sustainable Amazon", publicado na *Science*, uma das revistas científicas de maior prestígio mundial, reafirmando a centralidade dos saberes indígenas na construção de alternativas para a sustentabilidade planetária. Outro exemplo significativo é o trabalho de Trudruá Dorrico, que se sobressai no campo das investigações literárias e críticas ao articular memória, resistência e identidade a partir de perspectivas originárias. Essas experiências atestam a potência das epistemologias indígenas na reconfiguração dos espaços de produção do saber. Contudo, pesquisadores indígenas continuam a enfrentar barreiras estruturais que incluem a dificuldade de acesso a financiamentos, a precariedade de recursos para publicação e a necessidade de conformação a critérios editoriais que privilegiam formatos acadêmicos eurocêntricos. As revistas científicas e editoras universitárias, mesmo aquelas comprometidas com a diversidade epistemológica, operam predominantemente sob lógicas que favorecem metodologias, estilos de escrita e formas de argumentação alinhadas a paradigmas ocidentais, frequentemente incompatíveis com as estruturas de pensamento, temporalidade e expressão das culturas indígenas. Esse quadro evidencia a necessidade premente não apenas de ampliar os mecanismos de visibilização das produções indígenas, mas também de desconstruir criticamente os próprios critérios de legitimação do conhecimento vigentes nos espaços acadêmicos.

Diante desse panorama crítico, os processos tradutórios surgem como uma ferramenta potencialmente transformadora para a visibilização e legitimação da produção acadêmica indígena no cenário internacional. Para além de simples operações linguísticas, as práticas de tradução, quando abordadas a partir de uma perspectiva intercultural e pós-colonial, desempenham o papel de verdadeiras pontes epistêmicas. Elas possibilitam que saberes, cosmovisões e metodologias indígenas ultrapassem as fronteiras geopolíticas e disciplinares, ainda que, inevitavelmente, envolvam negociações com diferentes graus de domesticação e apagamento que são intrínsecos a qualquer processo tradutório. Trata-se, portanto, de conceber a tradução não apenas como uma ferramenta técnica para a internacionalização da produção indígena, mas como um exercício político e ético que facilita a circulação de epistemologias historicamente marginalizadas, desafiando as estruturas hegemônicas da academia global. Ao permitir que esses discursos transitem por diferentes contextos linguísticos e culturais, a tradução não só favorece a disseminação dos autores indígenas, mas também promove uma reconfiguração dos parâmetros epistemológicos dominantes nos âmbitos acadêmico e científico globais, ampliando os horizontes para uma efetiva pluralidade de saberes.

Tradução e violência epistêmica: tentativas de reparação

Desde os primórdios da colonização brasileira, os processos tradutórios constituíram instrumentos fundamentais de dominação e controle territorial. Longe de configurarem-se como uma atividade puramente linguística — o que nunca ocorre —, as práticas tradutórias funcionaram como ferramentas de mediação assimétrica, facilitando a imposição de valores e o estabelecimento de estruturas de poder europeias sobre as populações indígenas. Vale pontuar que a figura do "língua" – interprete que mediava a comunicação entre colonizadores e povos originários – emerge como peça-chave neste contexto, não como mero facilitador de diálogos interculturais, mas como agente estratégico do projeto colonial (Wyler, 2003; Rezende, 2023). Esses intérpretes eram, em sua maioria, portugueses degredados que, abandonados no Brasil durante os primeiros anos da invasão colonial, estabeleceram prolongado contato com as populações autóctones, adquirindo proficiência em línguas nativas. Sua atuação revelou-se fundamental para a consolidação das estratégias colonizadoras do Império Português, na medida em que proporcionaram uma vantagem tanto linguística quanto cultural. Ao servirem como mediadores, facilitaram processos de negociação, firmaram alianças estratégicas e

viabilizaram a coleta de informações essenciais acerca dos territórios, seus recursos naturais e as dinâmicas sociopolíticas das populações indígenas. Desse modo, tornaram-se agentes indispensáveis à expansão e à consolidação do domínio colonial português na América. A tradução, portanto, não se configurava como um gesto de respeito à alteridade linguística, mas como uma sofisticada manobra política que visava acessar os sistemas de subjetivação indígenas para melhor implementar as políticas de dominação lusitanas e, posteriormente, a catequização católica, instrumentalizando as próprias línguas nativas contra seus falantes originários.

Ao longo do período colonial, os processos tradutórios, portanto, configuraram-se como dispositivos centrais daquilo que Mignolo (2000) conceitua como *colonialidade do saber*. A submissão das línguas indígenas às estruturas gramaticais europeias, bem como a tradução de suas cosmologias para categorias cristãs, exemplificam práticas que operaram aquilo que Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2000) denomina "epistemicídio" — ou seja, o apagamento sistemático de saberes locais por epistemologias alheias, neste caso, de matriz europeia. Nesse sentido, "a prática da tradução viabilizou aos invasores uma engenharia das formas de conhecimento e pensamento dos povos indígenas em consonância com os paradigmas ocidentais" (Rezende, 2023), buscando, assim, consolidar a dominação intelectual como extensão e aprofundamento do projeto colonial.

A promulgação do Diretório dos Índios, em 1757, provocou uma reconfiguração ainda mais profunda das dinâmicas linguísticas no interior da colônia. Entre as medidas impostas, estabeleceu-se a obrigatoriedade do uso exclusivo da língua portuguesa nos territórios coloniais, o que resultou na diminuição significativa do papel da tradução no contexto colonial. A tradução, que até então exercia uma função estratégica na imposição e reorganização dos sistemas de comunicação entre europeus e indígenas, perde parte de sua centralidade, enquanto o português consolida-se não apenas como língua administrativa e religiosa, mas também como instrumento de assimilação forçada e de homogeneização cultural das populações indígenas.

Diante desse cenário histórico, os processos tradutórios sofreram uma notável reorientação, voltando-se majoritariamente para as relações entre o português e os idiomas hegemônicos europeus, com destaque para o francês e o inglês. Esta configuração, que privilegia o eixo lusófono nas práticas tradutórias, persiste como paradigma dominante contemporâneo e representa um dos desdobramentos de políticas sistemáticas que visaram à

incorporação forçada das populações originárias ao projeto de identidade nacional brasileira, processo que não apenas marginalizou suas línguas e saberes, mas também lhes subtraiu o direito essencial de determinarem seus próprios destinos culturais e políticos.

A partir da década de 1990, é possível observar movimentos contestatórios à hegemonia do português que conferem crescente visibilidade às línguas indígenas no contexto brasileiro. O processo de recuperação e reelaboração de narrativas originárias exemplifica esse fenômeno, oferecendo novas abordagens tradutórias. Essas iniciativas emergem da resistência e articulação dos próprios povos indígenas, que conquistaram maior protagonismo político ao final do século XX. Nesse cenário, a União das Nações Indígenas exerceu papel decisivo para os avanços presentes na Constituição de 1988, que reconheceu o multiculturalismo e assegurou direitos fundamentais aos povos originários, como a posse territorial tradicional e a preservação de suas manifestações culturais nos ambientes necessários à sua reprodução (Rezende, 2023).

No contexto dessa crescente articulação política indígena e do reconhecimento constitucional de seus direitos, a tradução começa a ser reposicionada como instrumento potencial de visibilidade epistemológica. Essa reconfiguração emerge não como simples continuidade das práticas tradutórias históricas, mas como sua crítica radical e ressignificação. Diferentemente das práticas coloniais que instrumentalizavam a tradução como veículo de domesticação e apagamento, as iniciativas contemporâneas tentam buscar estabelecer processos dialógicos que reconhecem as ontologias e epistemologias indígenas em seus próprios termos, ainda que cruzadas pelos sentidos das línguas coloniais, questionando a suposta universalidade do pensamento ocidental.

Entretanto, permanece um desafio estrutural: embora a tradução seja hoje, em grande medida, mobilizada como ferramenta de resistência e visibilização, a maioria das pesquisas produzidas por intelectuais indígenas no Brasil ainda é publicada majoritariamente em língua portuguesa. Essa escolha, longe de ser meramente uma questão prática ou voluntária, decorre de uma exigência institucional dos periódicos acadêmicos nacionais, que demandam a produção textual em português para viabilizar a avaliação por pares. Em um país cuja elite acadêmica ainda é, em sua maioria, alheia às línguas indígenas, o português surge como meio inevitável de circulação do saber no espaço universitário. Tal configuração, contudo, evidencia uma dupla tensão: por um lado, a necessidade pragmática de utilizar o português como meio de inserção e reconhecimento institucional; por outro, a manutenção involuntária da colonialidade linguística

que, ao privilegiar um idioma europeu de baixo prestígio no cenário global, limita o alcance internacional das epistemologias indígenas.

Essa realidade implica que muitos saberes indígenas, mesmo quando reescritos e reivindicados em a partir de uma ótica pós-colonial, continuam restritos a circuitos nacionais, sem o mesmo impacto ou reconhecimento que pesquisas difundidas em inglês inevitavelmente alcançam. Conforme discutido na primeira seção deste artigo, o inglês ocupa posição hegemônica como língua de produção e legitimação do conhecimento acadêmico contemporâneo, fenômeno que aprofunda a assimetria epistêmica global. Nesse contexto, traduzir para o inglês os trabalhos produzidos por pesquisadores indígenas brasileiros torna-se, paradoxalmente, um gesto estratégico de reapropriação: não se trata de uma impensada submissão à lógica colonial do inglês como língua franca da ciência, mas da instrumentalização crítica dessa posição para fazer ecoar vozes historicamente silenciadas em um circuito global. Assim, a tradução para o inglês pode operar como tática de insurgência epistemológica, ampliando a circulação de saberes outros, deslocando os centros de produção de conhecimento e, em última instância, tensionando as hierarquias linguísticas e epistêmicas que sustentam a colonialidade contemporânea.

Portanto, reconhecer a complexidade da tradução nesse cenário multifacetado revela-se absolutamente fundamental: ela não apenas atravessa as tensões dialéticas entre local e global, entre resistência epistêmica e reprodução de estruturas coloniais, mas também oferece possibilidades concretas de subversão crítica dessas dinâmicas hegemônicas historicamente consolidadas. Ao ser ressignificada e reposicionada como prática insurgente, a tradução transcende sua condição instrumental de mera mediação comunicativa e se afirma como ato político e estratégico, dotado de potencialidade transformadora no âmbito das geopolíticas do conhecimento. Essa reconceptualização da prática tradutória possibilita a emergência de um espaço enunciativo contra-hegemônico capaz de desestabilizar os regimes de invisibilidade sistematicamente impostos às epistemologias indígenas na ordem mundializada e hierarquizada do saber acadêmico. A tradução, assim compreendida, reconfigura-se como dispositivo de intervenção nas relações de poder que estruturam a produção e circulação de conhecimentos, viabilizando a criação de zonas de contato onde saberes diversos podem estabelecer diálogos não subordinados aos parâmetros epistemológicos eurocêntricos.

Notas finais: tentativas de ampliar as vozes

A produção científica contemporânea permanece estruturada a partir de moldes que privilegiam o pensamento ocidental como *locus* de enunciação legítimo, configurando-se, majoritariamente, como prática discursiva masculina e ancorada na centralidade da escrita como norma epistêmica hegemônica. Tal configuração reforça o que Spivak (1988 [2010]) identificou como a exclusão epistêmica do *subalterno* — sujeitos cujas formas de conhecimento são sistematicamente silenciadas. A primazia da escrita, enquanto tecnologia de poder, não apenas marginaliza tradições orais e saberes corporificados, como também naturaliza hierarquias que associam a produção científica a um modelo específico de racionalidade, masculinizado e vinculado às instituições do Norte Global. Desse modo, as ciências contribuem para a supressão de epistemologias dissidentes, perpetuando a colonialidade do saber mesmo em contextos pós-coloniais.

Essa lógica configura-se como um círculo vicioso epistêmico: ao recusarem reproduzir os parâmetros estabelecidos pelo cânone ocidental, pesquisadores dissidentes são excluídos dos principais mecanismos de validação científica — periódicos indexados, agências de fomento, espaços acadêmicos —, tornando suas críticas invisibilizadas justamente por não se adequarem às regras do jogo que denunciam. À luz de Spivak (1988 [2010]), pode-se argumentar que o problema não reside apenas no silenciamento do subalterno, mas na deslegitimação estrutural de seus modos de conhecimento, sistematicamente classificados como "não científicos" por se distanciarem dos critérios dominantes de validade. Supostos princípios acadêmicos, como o rigor metodológico, a linguagem neutra e técnica e os formatos padronizados de produção científica, operam como filtros epistêmicos que excluem saberes não alinhados à racionalidade ocidental, abrangendo desde conhecimentos indígenas ancorados na oralidade até epistemologias feministas que contestam a pretensa neutralidade científica. Dessa forma, sujeitos situados nas periferias dos circuitos acadêmico-científicos enfrentam o dilema de que, para serem reconhecidos, devem aderir a protocolos que, em si mesmos, perpetuam a exclusão das epistemologias dissidentes. Tal dinâmica não apenas reforça a colonialidade do saber, mas também naturaliza a marginalização sob o pretexto de uma suposta "inadequação metodológica". O resultado é a manutenção de um sistema que se autolegitima enquanto

inviabiliza alternativas, criando a ilusão de que não há produção de conhecimento válido fora de seus moldes.

Diante desse cenário, os processos tradutórios emergem como um vetor potencial de transformação, atuando nos interstícios das próprias estruturas coloniais. Ao traduzir saberes subalternos para os códigos hegemônicos, sem, contudo, reduzi-los a esses parâmetros, cria-se uma fissura no sistema: conhecimentos anteriormente marginalizados ganham inteligibilidade acadêmica, mas mantêm as marcas de sua diferença. A tradução, dentro dessa lógica, não apaga as assimetrias, mas as torna evidentes, transformando a própria linguagem científica em um campo de disputa. Quando, por exemplo, uma epistemologia indígena sobre relações ecológicas é traduzida para os artefatos científicos, preservando seus conceitos-chave não ocidentais, ocorre uma dupla subversão: o cânone é forçado a se expandir, ainda que de maneira limitada, e os parâmetros de validade são tensionados. A tradução, embora não resolva o paradoxo anteriormente exposto, transforma-o em uma tática: ao negociar com as estruturas hegemônicas sem se submeter integralmente a elas, abre-se caminho para uma erosão, ainda que gradual, da colonialidade do saber. Trata-se de uma mudança paulatina — e frequentemente ambígua —, mas que evidencia como a resistência epistêmica pode operar mesmo dentro de sistemas opressivos, convertendo a própria ferramenta de exclusão, no caso, a linguagem acadêmica e a predominância do inglês, em instrumento de insurgência.

Como exemplo paradigmático dessa insurgência epistêmica, destaca-se o caso de Justino Rezende, anteriormente mencionado, que se utiliza do prestígio e da legitimidade de uma das principais revistas científicas mundiais para reposicionar os saberes indígenas como centrais no debate científico global, ao evidenciar como os sistemas de conhecimento dos povos originários oferecem modelos eficazes de manejo ambiental que desafiam os paradigmas convencionais da ciência da conservação. Outro exemplo relevante é o de Ailton Krenak, que, ao escrever em uma língua e em gêneros textuais coloniais, emprega uma espécie de antropofagia epistêmica. Ou seja, ele se apropria de uma tecnologia — a escrita alfabética — historicamente utilizada para inferiorizar e silenciar os povos indígenas, para reinscrever saberes autóctones no debate intelectual, não apenas no contexto brasileiro, mas global, com seus livros sendo traduzidos para inúmeras línguas e criando um novo léxico político-ecológico

que, atualmente, influencia diversos saberes tradicionalmente ocidentais, como a antropologia, a filosofia e as ciências sociais.

Esses autores demonstram que os processos transformativos não se efetivam mediante a negação categórica do sistema hegemônico, mas através da ocupação estratégica e subversiva de seus espaços institucionais. Ao apropriarem-se dos idiomas ocidentais e de suas metodologias de produção científica, estes agentes operam analogamente a dispositivos troianos inseridos nos mecanismos acadêmicos dominantes, modificando substantivamente a cadência e a trajetória de seu funcionamento epistemológico.

Assim, a tradução, mais do que uma mera estratégia, pode ser entendida como um dispositivo crucial na disputa pela ampliação e pelo reconhecimento de epistemologias plurais. Esse embate se manifesta simultaneamente tanto na dimensão dos conteúdos proposicionais quanto nas estruturas de validação e legitimação do conhecimento científico, desafiando os paradigmas monolíticos da racionalidade ocidental e suas pretensões universalistas. No entanto, para que essa disputa seja efetiva, é imprescindível reconhecer que a desconstrução dos paradigmas científicos coloniais não pode ser encarada como uma tarefa exclusiva dos povos indígenas. Ao contrário, ela demanda um engajamento crítico e autocrítico por parte dos pesquisadores não-indígenas. Essa aliança, embora necessária, deve ser construída com cuidado para evitar tanto a armadilha da apropriação epistemológica – em que saberes originários são cooptados sem o devido reconhecimento de sua autoria ou contexto – quanto a postura assistencialista, na qual os não-indígenas são tomados como "porta-vozes". Nesse sentido, o papel dos acadêmicos não-indígenas nesse processo deve ser o de desaprender ativamente os pressupostos colonialistas que estruturam suas disciplinas, criando espaços institucionais onde as epistemologias indígenas possam circular em seus próprios termos, sem mediações distorcivas.

Esse esforço de desconstrução transcende a mera conscientização crítica, demandando a implementação de práticas transformadoras capazes de potencializar a visibilidade e circulação dos saberes ancestrais indígenas em uma escala global. A materialização de iniciativas lideradas por acadêmicos não-indígenas – como periódicos científicos multilíngues especializados, programas de formação de mediadores interculturais indígenas e não-indígenas sensibilizados às especificidades ontológicas e epistemológicas desses conhecimentos situados

– configura-se como uma potencialidade insurgente neste processo de desestabilização das hierarquias cognitivas hegemônicas.

Essas intervenções se constituem como mecanismos de legitimação e reconhecimento da centralidade das enunciações dos povos originários no contexto acadêmico transnacional. É imprescindível ressaltar que tais ações não devem ser entendidas como concessões paternalistas ou gestos magnânimos direcionados aos povos indígenas, mas como um reconhecimento da estrutura relacional da colonialidade, que se configura como um sistema que subalterniza e desumaniza todos os sujeitos envolvidos – incluindo os não-indígenas – ao reproduzir violências epistêmicas e ontológicas que obstaculizam a construção de ecologias de saberes pluriversais e horizontes civilizatórios alternativos à modernidade ocidental.

Adicionalmente, a implementação de políticas editoriais que incentivem publicações bilíngues ou multilíngues constitui um dispositivo fundamental para a consolidação da pluralidade epistêmica, possibilitando a transversalidade do conhecimento indígena por meio de distintos sistemas linguísticos e horizontes culturais. No entanto, tais empreendimentos devem ser orientados criticamente para garantir que a potencialidade disruptiva desses saberes não seja neutralizada ou domesticada, mas preservada em sua radicalidade ontológica, desafiando os paradigmas epistêmicos hegemônicos e propondo cosmologias alternativas de compreensão e habitação do mundo. Dessa forma, essas iniciativas não apenas expandem os territórios de circulação das epistemologias indígenas, mas também abrem possibilidades concretas para uma transformação substancial das dinâmicas de produção, legitimação e validação do conhecimento na academia globalizada.

Não há caminho possível, verdadeiro e sustentável para a internacionalização das pesquisas científicas brasileiras que não reconheça plenamente as produções epistêmicas indígenas como elementos essenciais desse processo. A incorporação dessas cosmologias e metodologias ancestrais vai além de políticas representacionais compensatórias, configurando-se como uma condição fundamental para a construção de uma academia verdadeiramente pluriversal e contra-hegemônica no Brasil.

A tradução dessas produções, nesse contexto, surge como um dispositivo capaz de subverter a homogeneização epistemicida imposta pela hegemonia linguística ocidental, particularmente pela língua inglesa, que exerce um poder imperial sobre as produções científicas globais. Por meio de práticas tradutórias sensíveis às especificidades dos saberes

originários, abre-se a possibilidade de desterritorializar as línguas dominantes, permitindo que esses saberes resistam à uniformização e circulem globalmente em seus próprios termos cosmológicos, preservando sua potência transformadora e seu caráter enunciativo único.

Essa mobilização epistêmico-política não apenas amplia as fronteiras do conhecimento acadêmico convencional, mas também estabelece espaços genuinamente inclusivos para intercâmbios horizontais, nos quais as enunciações originárias podem reverberar em toda sua densidade ontológica, complexidade cosmológica e capacidade de desafiar as estruturas coloniais que ainda persistem na geopolítica do conhecimento contemporâneo.

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