

The state of the art of research on the Akwẽ-Xerente people

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Abstract

This article analyzes the academic production on the Akwẽ Xerente people, based on dissertations and theses addressing history, territory, health, education, language, and cultural practices. The objective was to map these works, understand their approaches, and identify contributions to the appreciation and preservation of ancestral knowledge, as well as highlight gaps in literature. The research consisted of a bibliographic survey in the Capes Theses and Dissertations Database, the Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations, and the Curt Nimuendajú Digital Library, identifying 90 works across different fields. The results show thematic diversity and the growing protagonism of Akwẽ researchers in scientific production. Despite this, the absence of specific studies on traditional Akwẽ Xerente songs stands out, revealing an important gap. It is concluded that although advances have been made, there is a need to expand research focused on documenting these songs, strengthening cultural preservation and Indigenous leadership.

KEYWORDS: Akwẽ-Xerente academic research, Traditional knowledge, Traditional Akwẽ-Xerente songs.

O estado da arte das pesquisas sobre o povo Akwẽ-Xerente

Resumo

Este artigo analisa a produção acadêmica do povo Akwẽ-Xerente, com base em dissertações e teses que abordam temas como história, território, saúde, educação, língua e práticas culturais. O objetivo foi mapear essas produções, compreender suas abordagens e identificar suas contribuições para a valorização e preservação dos saberes ancestrais, além de evidenciar lacunas na literatura. A pesquisa consistiu em um levantamento bibliográfico no Banco de Teses e Dissertações da Capes, na Biblioteca Digital Brasileira de Teses e Dissertações e na Biblioteca Digital Curt Nimuendajú, identificando 90 trabalhos em diferentes áreas do conhecimento. Os resultados mostram diversidade temática e o crescimento do protagonismo de pesquisadores Akwẽ na produção científica. Apesar disso, destaca-se a ausência de estudos específicos sobre os cânticos tradicionais Akwẽ-Xerente, evidenciando uma lacuna. Conclui-se que embora haja avanços significativos, é urgente ampliar pesquisas voltadas à documentação desses cânticos, fortalecendo a preservação cultural e o protagonismo indígena na produção de conhecimento.

Palavras-chave: Pesquisas acadêmicas Akwẽ-Xerente, Saberes tradicionais, Cânticos tradicionais Akwẽ-Xerente.

El estado del arte de las investigaciones sobre el pueblo Akwẽ-Xerente

Resumen

Este artículo analiza la producción académica sobre el pueblo Akwẽ Xerente, basada en disertaciones y tesis que abordan temas como historia, territorio, salud, educación, lengua

y prácticas culturales. El objetivo fue mapear estas producciones, comprender sus enfoques e identificar sus contribuciones para la valorización y preservación de los saberes ancestrales, además de evidenciar vacíos en la literatura. La investigación consistió en un levantamiento bibliográfico en el Banco de Tesis y Disertaciones de la Capes, en la Biblioteca Digital Brasileña de Tesis y Disertaciones y en la Biblioteca Digital Curt Nimuendajú, identificando 90 trabajos en diferentes áreas del conocimiento. Los resultados muestran diversidad temática y el creciente protagonismo de investigadores Akwẽ en la producción científica. A pesar de ello, se destaca la ausencia de estudios específicos sobre los cantos tradicionales Akwẽ Xerente, lo que evidencia una laguna. Se concluye que es urgente ampliar investigaciones orientadas a documentar estos cantos, fortaleciendo la preservación cultural y el protagonismo indígena.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Investigaciones académicas sobre los Akwẽ-Xerente, Saberes tradicionales, Cantos tradicionales Akwẽ-Xerente

Introduction

This text presents a survey of dissertations and theses that address the Akwẽ-Xerente people, examining the contributions of these works to the appreciation, documentation, and preservation of ancestral knowledge. The research is grounded in the recognition that academic literature on the Akwẽ-Xerente people has expanded over recent decades, yet still exhibits significant gaps, particularly regarding traditional Akwẽ songs. Thus, the theme of this investigation emerges from the need to identify, analyze, and reflect upon existing academic productions, as well as the absences that persist within the scientific field concerning the Akwẽ-Xerente people.

The central problem guiding this study is to understand the contributions academic research has offered to the strengthening of Akwẽ culture, especially with respect to the documentation of traditional knowledge, and to identify the gaps that remain in relation to the recording of songs associated with male and female naming rituals, log-carrying races, and other musical expressions.

The objective of the study is to map and analyze dissertations and theses that address the Akwẽ-Xerente people, identifying their contributions to Indigenous studies and to the preservation of ancestral knowledge.

The research began with a survey in the Theses and Dissertations Database of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) and was complemented by consultations in other academic repositories, such as the Curt Nimuendajú Digital Library and the Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations. In the survey conducted, 67 master's dissertations and 23 doctoral theses related to the Akwẽ-Xerente people were identified, although some had restricted access, which made it impossible to fully consult certain works. Additional relevant productions were also found on institutional websites and in various digital libraries, expanding both the scope and depth of the mapping.

During the analysis, it was observed that most of the academic works are still authored by non-Indigenous researchers. Nevertheless, the expressive growth of Akwẽ leadership in academic research stands out, with a significant number of Akwẽ scholars—master's and doctoral graduates—contributing studies of great relevance, particularly in the field of Indigenous school education.

The justification for this study rests on the urgent need to expand and strengthen the documentation of Akwẽ knowledge, including that transmitted orally, such as ritual songs. As a people historically resistant to colonial pressures, the Akwẽ have kept their culture alive, and academic production has emerged as an instrument of defense, visibility, and continuity of this collective memory. By committing to conduct research on the Akwẽ people, I acknowledge that this work represents not only a scientific contribution but also a political and cultural act, aligned with ancestral struggles and with contemporary demands of specific and differentiated Indigenous school education.

The methodology adopted is based on qualitative bibliographic and documentary research aimed at surveying, selecting, organizing, and analyzing dissertations and theses that address the Akwẽ-Xerente people.

The survey of academic productions began with the Capes Theses and Dissertations Database, as it is the main national repository of master's and doctoral research. The initial search was conducted using descriptors such as "Akwẽ-Xerente," "Xerente," "Akwẽ people," "Tocantins," "Indigenous peoples of Central Brazil," and related terms were also used. Although most works were available for consultation, some had restricted access, which made it impossible to read the full texts. To address this limitation, the search was complemented with consultations in other academic repositories and digital libraries, institutional university websites, and independent repositories where Indigenous authors often make their work available.

After locating the works, the stages of cataloging and organizing the data were initiated. Each dissertation and thesis was recorded in a spreadsheet containing essential information such as author, year, title, institution, and type of work. This process enabled a broad visualization of the available material and made it possible to identify thematic recurrences as well as gaps within the scientific production.

Next, the abstracts were read—an essential step for understanding the focus, research problem, objectives, and results of each work. In cases where the abstract did not provide sufficient information, partial or full readings of the text were conducted, especially when the research addressed themes such as language, culture, territory, health, educational practices, or ritual aspects of the Akwẽ people. This qualitative approach allowed for a deeper and more contextualized analysis of the contributions and limitations of each production.

The methodology also included a process of qualitative content analysis, seeking to identify how Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers approached Akwẽ culture and how they contributed to the documentation and appreciation of traditional knowledge. Attention was given to the presence or absence of studies on Akwẽ ritual songs, which

constitute a cultural heritage still scarcely documented in academic literature.

Furthermore, the methodology considered the framework of Indigenous authorship, identifying how many Akwẽ researchers have entered *stricto sensu* graduate programs and which themes they have prioritized in their academic work. This step was essential for understanding the growth of Indigenous protagonism in academic research, evidenced by the presence of Akwẽ master's and doctoral graduates who have contributed investigations focused on Indigenous school education, territory, culture, and social organization.

Analyses and Discussions of Academic Production on the Akwẽ-Xerente People

The analysis of the dissertations consulted reveals a broad, complex, and multifaceted panorama concerning the Akwẽ-Xerente people, encompassing linguistic, sociocultural, educational, health-related, public policy, and intercultural dimensions. The systematic reading of these works shows that research conducted by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous authors constitutes a significant body of records that document and interpret Akwẽ realities across different historical and contemporary contexts. However, this diversity also presents methodological and epistemological challenges, requiring researchers to handle information with care—particularly given the need to respect Akwẽ cultural specificity and avoid interpretations that reproduce colonial or reductionist perspectives.

Beginning with works authored by non-Indigenous researchers, it becomes evident that many seek to engage with Akwẽ culture respectfully and ethically, though some interpretations still bear traces of an external viewpoint that does not always fully grasp the internal dynamics of social

organization, symbolic systems, or the particular logic that structures collective life among the Akwẽ. Studies on women's reproductive health (Rodrigues, 2014) and on processes of illness and healing (Ferreira, 2016), for example, demonstrate attempts at intercultural dialogue between Western medical models and traditional knowledge. Such works contribute to expanding the understanding Akwẽ health practices, but they also highlight the risk of interpretations that, even when well-intentioned, may frame ancestral practices within categories external to the Indigenous way of life.

This interpretive difficulty becomes evident when some authors suggest, in a generalized manner, that the openness of the Akwẽ to contact with non-Indigenous people could lead to cultural loss and pose a threat to the language. Although such concerns are meaningful within anthropological debates, the analysis of historical data shows that, despite centuries of contact—more than 275 years—the Akwẽ people have maintained solid resistance, supported by their own strategies of cultural preservation, identity construction, and intergenerational transmission of knowledge. This resistance is especially visible in organizational aspects, in the dual system, in the participation of elders, and in the centrality of the *Warã* as a space for learning, dialogue, and strengthening community life.

The set of dissertations analyzed also reveals that several researchers have sought to document specific dimensions of Akwẽ cultural life through the description of linguistic practices (Frazão, 2013; Souza, 2008), the analysis of symbolic systems (Raposo, 2009), the study of social dynamics in transformation (Paula, 2000), and the examination of public policies (Braga, 2019). Each of these works, with its own methodology, contributes to a broader understanding of Akwẽ-Xerente society, while also demonstrating how processes of contact and external intervention can provoke internal reconfigurations without, however, eliminating the strength of tradition.

In the linguistic field, the research conducted by Rodrigo Mesquita (2009), Kê Simas Frazão (2013), and Shelton Lima de Souza (2008) is

particularly relevant, as it demonstrates that the study of the Akwẽ language requires sensitivity to internal variations among villages and territories, such as the Xerente and Funil Indigenous Lands, which present phonetic and lexical differences. Mesquita identifies Portuguese loanwords in the Akwẽ language, but his analysis shows inconsistencies when territorial and dialectal variations are disregarded. Frazão, in turn, by investigating syllabic structure through acoustic analyses, contributes to correcting earlier inaccuracies and reinforces the need for detailed phonological studies. These works show that the Akwẽ language not only resists but also transforms and adapts, maintaining vitality and complexity—clear indicators of cultural continuity.

Research on pedagogical practices and Indigenous school education (Guimarães, 2002; Melo, 2007; Costa, 2022) points to tensions between the Western school model and traditional Akwẽ culture. A central finding of these investigations is that the school, when it does not respect the cultural logic of the people, tends to reproduce colonizing practices that weaken Indigenous identity. However, when led by Akwẽ teachers, education becomes an instrument of resistance, cultural continuity, and identity affirmation. This is also confirmed in dissertations addressing access to and retention of Akwẽ students in universities (Soares, 2022; Souza, 2022), which reveal structural challenges still marked by the colonality of knowledge. Indigenous presence in higher education, however, is strengthened precisely because it represents a political act of transformation, confrontation, and the construction of new formative horizons.

About gender relations, Milhomem's (2010) dissertation presents an external perspective on the experiences of Akwẽ women, interpreting certain dynamics as expressions of symbolic violence. Although the study offers important contributions to the discussion of gender in Indigenous contexts, its interpretation does not fully correspond to the lived experience of those who belong to the community. The collaborative relationship

between men and women, women's participation in cultural, sporting, and ritual spaces, as well as men's support for schooling and professional training, demonstrate that the role of Akwẽ women is marked by protagonism, reciprocity, and complementarity. Thus, the Indigenous analysis contrasts with the external reading, highlighting the need to consider the native perspective when interpreting the internal dynamics of the culture.

Another fundamental aspect revealed by the set of dissertations is the role of ancestral memory, rituals, songs, and the dual system in maintaining community identity. Studies on traditional games (Lopes, 2022), food practices (Schmidt, 2011), and processes of oral transmission show that everyday practices that may appear simple are, in fact, profound mechanisms of cultural preservation. Each gesture, each narrative, each song, and each ritual expresses belonging, spirituality, balance, and continuity.

The analysis of works produced by Indigenous Akwẽ researchers reveals a significant shift within the academic field. Authors such as Ercivaldo Damsõkẽkwa Calixto Xerente (2016) demonstrate that, when research is conducted from within the cultural logic of the community itself, new understandings emerge, bringing to light aspects that often go unnoticed by external perspectives. The comparison between the traditional model of formation—based on oral transmission and anchored in the *Warã*—and Western schooling reaffirms that Indigenous education not only transmits knowledge but also shapes people, molding behaviors, responsibilities, and senses of belonging.

This Indigenous production shows that the Akwẽ do not wish to be merely objects of study, but protagonists in the construction of knowledge about themselves. This epistemological movement reinforces intellectual autonomy, values traditional knowledge, and strengthens self-determination within the scientific field.

In summary, the analysis of the dissertations allows us to affirm that academic production on the Akwẽ people is rich and diverse, yet it also reveals tensions between internal and external perspectives. When these viewpoints are confronted, the nuances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous interpretations become evident, highlighting that only the Akwẽ voice can accurately and profoundly explain the real meanings of the cultural, social, linguistic, and cosmological practices that structure their existence.

Perspectives of Indigenous Researchers: Advances and Future Directions

The reading and analysis of dissertations produced by Akwẽ researchers reveal a significant movement of epistemological reclaiming, appreciation, and re-signification within the Indigenous academic field. This body of work demonstrates not only the individual effort of each author to document fundamental aspects of Akwẽ culture, but also a collective process of identity and intellectual strengthening among the Xerente people in the contemporary context. The studies analyzed constitute an important milestone in the history of institutionalized Indigenous knowledge, given that, in previous decades, research on the Akwẽ was predominantly conducted by non-Indigenous scholars, which limited the interpretation of cultural and social phenomena to external perspectives. Thus, the entry of Akwẽ researchers into graduate programs inaugurates a new cycle in which community leaders, teachers, and cultural masters become protagonists in the production of knowledge about themselves.

The reading of dissertations written by Akwẽ authors is described as a privilege, precisely because it provides access to reflections constructed from within their own cultural experience. This perception aligns with a fundamental point in Indigenous academic discourse: the legitimacy of the

native voice. For the Akwẽ, culture cannot be approached in an arbitrary manner, as it is guided by specific norms, clan-based forms of belonging, and knowledge transmitted ancestrally.

The first study analyzed, by Ercivaldo Damsõkẽkwa Xerente (2016), deepens the relationship between the traditional system of formation and the Western school. By comparing the oral model of the *Warã'* with the written model of the school, the author highlights historical tensions and challenges faced by Indigenous peoples: the conflict between two educational systems that often do not engage in balanced dialogue. The author emphasizes that sacred knowledge cannot be directly transferred to the school environment due to a factor frequently overlooked by external researchers. His analysis reveals the difficulty some elders experience when they do not feel comfortable transmitting their knowledge to people from other clans, due to cultural norms that regulate the circulation of knowledge. Even so, a contemporary movement toward integrating this knowledge into the school can be observed, provided that its limits and meanings are respected.

Next, the dissertation by Rui Carlos Brurêwa Xerente (2023) presents an urgent discussion on the socio-environmental impacts of agribusiness expansion in Akwẽ territory. The research highlights severe environmental losses, particularly related to river contamination and the intensive use of pesticides, which directly affect the health and quality of life of families. The study reveals how environmental degradation also disrupts cultural and food practices, demonstrating that the defense of the territory is not only a political struggle but also a cultural and spiritual one. This dissertation reaffirms the close connection between the environment and Akwẽ cosmology, a theme that consistently reappears in other works analyzed.

The dissertation by Afonso Tiikwa Xerente (2020) highlights the centrality of the *Dasĩpê* ritual and the log-carrying race in maintaining identity and social cohesion. As with other authors who address ritual

aspects—such as Silvino Sirnãwẽ, Aparecida Pereira da Silva Xerente, and João Kwanhã—Afonso Tiikwa Xerente (2020) focuses on documenting traditional practices and strengthening collective memory. This body of research demonstrates that the documentation of rituals is a strategy of resistance in the face of the weakening of oral transmission caused by social transformations, such as the reduction of intergenerational coexistence.

Another important axis of the dissertations analyzed concerns the Akwẽ language. The studies by Valteir Tpêkru Xerente (2019), Sinval de Brito Xerente (2022), and Armando Sõpre Xerente (2019) reveal a growing concern with linguistic preservation. Together, these works show that the language is not merely a tool for communication, but a foundational element of identity—one that structures worldview and social relations.

Other dissertations expand the dialogue between traditional knowledge and contemporary education. João Kwanhã Xerente (2020) discusses the centrality of the *Warã*² as a formative and cultural space, noting that the school can act as a partner in the preservation of traditional knowledge, provided that it values the spiritual and social meanings that structure these practices. Complementarily, the research of Antônio Samuru Xerente (2021) analyzes the impacts of the arrival of modern technologies in the villages. The author shows that, although they bring benefits, these technologies also transform forms of social interaction, language use, and cultural practices. The challenge, therefore, is to find ways for modernity to be incorporated without threatening traditional ways of life.

The relationship between cosmology, spirituality, and the environment is further explored in the dissertation of Alexandre Chaparzane Xerente (2022). The study analyzes how the Akwẽ interpret celestial bodies and understand the universe through ethnoastronomy. This cosmology guides everyday practices, rituals, and environmental management decisions, demonstrating that the relationship with the territory is profoundly spiritual. It is a fundamental contribution to the field of

environmental sciences and to the appreciation of ancestral wisdom in the face of contemporary ecological challenges.

The theme of ritual and cultural practice reappears strongly in the works of Silvino Sirnãwẽ Xerente (2022) and Aparecida Pereira da Silva Xerente (2023), both centered on the *Dasĩpê* ritual. These studies document songs, dances, naming rituals, and spiritual practices, reinforcing the importance of safeguarding elements at risk of disappearing, especially due to the loss of elders.

Finally, the dissertation of Paulo Waĩkarnãse Xerente (2021) revisits a broad approach to territory, cosmology, and cultural resistance. His study integrates oral narratives, personal observations, and historical ethnographic references, constructing a robust analysis of cultural values, transformations, and the challenges faced by the Akwẽ people. The research demonstrates that the struggle for territorial preservation is directly linked to spiritual, cosmological, and identity preservation.

In summary, the dissertations analyzed reveal a consistent academic movement of cultural affirmation, linguistic strengthening, territorial protection, and the documentation of ancestral knowledge. They point to an intellectual production that emerges from lived experience, belonging, and an ethical responsibility toward Akwẽ culture. At the same time, they highlight important challenges: the lack of public policies, scarcity of didactic materials, the loss of elders, and increasing environmental impacts.

Taken together, these studies demonstrate that the Akwẽ not only occupy the university but transform it, introducing their own epistemologies, ways of interpreting the world, and forms of cultural resistance.

The reading of theses and dissertations concerning the Akwẽ-Xerente people reveals a broad, diverse, and continuously expanding field of study, marked by multiple disciplinary approaches ranging from education to linguistics, anthropology to sociology, and decolonial studies. This body of

research makes it possible to identify theoretical and methodological advances, but also gaps and tensions, especially regarding Indigenous authorship, intercultural dialogue, and the preservation of traditional knowledge.

In this context, the work of Ercivaldo Damsökëkwa Calixto Xerente (2024) stands out, as its relevance marks the entry of the Akwẽ into academic production at the doctoral level. His study on the contradictions between the traditional model of education—based on orality and the *Warã*—and the school model—grounded in writing—introduces an internal perspective that challenges the structure of Indigenous education. The elders' mistrust toward the school, contrasted with the efforts of Indigenous teachers, reveals the need for autonomy, community consensus, and strengthened dialogue between school and community.

This tension also appears in the dissertation of Raquel Castilho Souza (2019), which highlights the persistence of colonizing pedagogical practices in Indigenous schooling, even in the presence of intercultural guidelines. Daily school life often fails to reflect the local cultural reality, resulting in processes of distancing and weakened belonging. In this sense, interculturality is still not fully realized in practice.

In the field of decolonial studies, the dissertation of Danillo Macedo Lima Batista (2023) expands the debate by emphasizing Indigenous literature as a space of resistance and epistemological reconfiguration, reinforcing the need to include culturally grounded perspectives within the school environment.

Discussions on territory and environmental impacts appear in the dissertations of Layanna Giordana Bernardo Lima (2016), Rosemary Negreiros de Araújo (2016), and Marcelo Venâncio (2020), which highlight the effects of developmentalist projects on Akwẽ ways of life. The construction of the Lajeado Hydroelectric Plant (UHE Lajeado) and programs such as Procambix are identified as factors that contributed to

social and environmental vulnerability, directly affecting cultural organization. In this context, territory reaffirms itself as a central element of identity, articulating physical, social, and cosmological dimensions.

The relationship between culture, identity, and everyday practices is addressed by Khellen Soares (2017) and Luana de Souza Oliveira (2021), who demonstrate how leisure and food practices constitute forms of knowledge transmission and collective strengthening. These studies show that Akwẽ culture is dynamic and continuously re-signified.

In the field of health, the dissertation of Rogério Marquezan (2019) identifies the coexistence of traditional and biomedical care systems, still marked by challenges in intercultural dialogue. In education, Elisângela Melo (2016) highlights the importance of pedagogical practices that articulate traditional and school-based knowledge.

Linguistic research, such as that of Rodrigo Mesquita (2015) and Jayme Célio Furtado dos Santos (2007), reveals the complexity of the Akwẽ-Xerente language and its relationship with teaching processes and identity. Other studies, including those of Valéria Coelho de Melo (2016), Rodrigo Cotrim (2011), and Sinval Martins de Souza Filho (2007), reinforce the importance of linguistic documentation as a strategy for cultural preservation.

Finally, the analysis by Elaine Caldeira Gonçalves (2016) highlights that Akwẽ identities are constructed amid tensions between colonial discourses and practices of resistance, revealing language as a central tool in cultural affirmation.

Final Considerations

The survey of dissertations and theses on the Akwẽ-Xerente people made it possible to understand the breadth, relevance, and limitations of the existing scientific production concerning Akwẽ culture, social organization, language, territory, and ancestral knowledge. By analyzing works

catalogued in different academic databases, it was possible to recognize a continuous effort by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers to record, interpret, and contribute to the strengthening of the memory and cultural identity of the people.

The studies identified highlight the historical resistance of the Akwẽ in the face of colonial processes and external pressures, demonstrating that their culture remains alive, dynamic, and deeply rooted in orality, rituals, songs, the dual system, and community practices. Despite the thematic diversity found, the absence of specific studies on traditional Akwẽ songs was noted—particularly the male and female naming songs, the log-carrying race songs, and other ritual chants that constitute the spiritual and identity foundations of the people.

Thus, the analyses presented in this work reaffirm that knowledge produced about the Akwẽ people must be developed with respect, ethics, and commitment to sociocultural truth. More than recording, it is necessary to understand the internal logic of Akwẽ organization, its values, narratives, and ways of existing.

Another relevant result concerns the growing emergence of Indigenous Akwẽ researchers in the academic sphere, even though their number remains smaller than that of non-Indigenous authors. This emerging protagonism reinforces a movement of cultural strengthening, epistemic affirmation, and autonomy in knowledge production.

In this way, the present research fulfills its purpose by synthesizing the state of the art on studies related to the Akwẽ-Xerente people, while also highlighting the urgency of new works that contribute to the appreciation and preservation of ancestral knowledge—especially those related to traditional songs, which constitute the spiritual and identity foundations of the Akwẽ people.

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¹According to Ercivaldo Damsökekwa Xerente, the Warã is a central educational space, a “house of the youth” (wapte), which is in fact a public courtyard that functions as a kind of forum where public matters are collectively discussed and decided (2016, p. 34).

²According to the elder Getúlio, “the Warã is a place of communication for the formation of young people, ensuring the continuity of the cultural tradition of the people; and around it there is a public space, the courtyard, where all matters of daily coexistence in that space are discussed. [...] The composition of the Warã’s members is formed by elders from all clans. They hold a lifelong position. To become a lifelong member of the Warã, a person must have undergone their formation within the Warã and must have reached the six degrees of the Warã. Once in the Warã, always in the Warã” (Kwanhâ Xerente, 2019, p. 55).