



## Pataxó Hãhãhãe: Race, Indigeneity and Language Revitalization in the Brazilian Northeast

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PATAXÓ HĀHĀHĀE:  
RACE, INDIGENEITY AND LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION  
IN THE BRAZILIAN NORTHEAST

by

Jessica Fae Nelson

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SCHOOL OF ANTHROPOLOGY

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Graduate College

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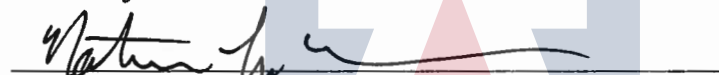
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THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA  
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## **Dedication**

To Oliver.

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## Abstract

Having pride in one's mixed racial heritage has been seen as an important part of being a good and patriotic Brazilian since at least the early 1900s. Recently, however, as part of Brazil's re-democratization and the rise of the New Left, communities have mobilized not only as landless (see Welch 2009) but also as indigenous and Afro-descendant (see Warren 2001, French 2009). Still, ideas about racial harmony in Brazil have remained much the same. Brazil's self-concept as a mixed-race nation is predicated on indigenous erasure: all Brazilians are imagined to share indigenous, African and Portuguese heritage, an understanding of race that restricts indigeneity to the past and reinforces racist stereotypes of Indians as primitive. This dissertation explores the efforts of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, a mixed-race indigenous group, to assert an indigenous identity and revitalize their heritage language in a state commonly considered to be "the most 'African' state in Brazil" (Weinstein 2015:226). Language is central to my approach. I compare the under-documented Hãhãhãe language with the Maxakalí language; explore the possibility that Hãhãhãe is a mixed language; and reconstruct some morphosyntactic and lexical aspects of Hãhãhãe for revitalization purposes. Then, I focus on everyday cultural and linguistic practices to explore how the Pataxó Hãhãhãe are reworking ideas about race and indigeneity in the Brazilian Northeast as they reclaim an indigenous identity and their heritage language.

## Preface

I first became familiar with Brazil in 2003, as an exchange student at the Federal University of Bahia (Universidade Federal da Bahia - Ufba), in the capital city of Salvador. I was majoring in Sociocultural Anthropology at the University of Michigan, and I decided to return to Salvador in 2005 to study urban indigenous identity for my undergraduate thesis. At the time, I had close friends in Michigan with indigenous heritage who claimed indigenous identities despite often being seen as white or Black by others. I also had conflicting feelings about my own heritage. Before she passed away when I was eleven, my grandmother had told us that we were part Lakota. Growing up as a white girl, I valued deeply my grandmother's memory and, by extension, our Lakota heritage, and I began to learn the Lakota language. At the same time, I had a strong desire to distance myself from other white people who participated in cultural appropriation, made what were seen as dubious claims to indigenous identities, or were accused of being, or even openly identified as, "wannabes." I was interested in learning more about how others understood and positioned themselves in relation to their indigenous heritage.

Possibly because of my familiarity with indigenous invisibility in the United States, I somehow took for granted that there must be indigenous people in the city of Salvador, Bahia. I soon learned that most Brazilians did not share this assumption when my research visa was denied. The officials at the Brazilian Consulate suspected that I actually wanted to do research on an indigenous reservation, but that I wanted to avoid the lengthy process that would be required to obtain the necessary permissions. After making three trips by train to the Consulate in Chicago, I finally succeeded in convincing the officials at the Consulate that I would not need to go to reservations to find indigenous people to work with, because not finding anyone in

Salvador would be a relevant result in itself for my research. In other words, they were so convinced that there were no indigenous people in Salvador that my research seemed impossible to carry out. Needless to say, I did find indigenous people in the city of Salvador, one of whom later introduced me to the Pataxó Hãhãhãe of the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation in rural Bahia who I have been working with since 2009. This initial experience in 2005 highlighted to me questions that continue to guide my research: Why is indigeneity so often erased, in Brazil and elsewhere? What is it about ideas of race, time and space that lead people to believe that the present, and especially an urban present, is not a normal place to be indigenous? How is language used to maintain and, potentially, reshape these ideas? I take these questions up in this dissertation.

## 1 Introduction

This dissertation explores the reclaiming of indigenous identity and heritage language by the Pataxó Hãhãhãe of Southern Bahia, Brazil. The Pataxó Hãhãhãe language is an under documented awakening<sup>1</sup> language that has not been fluently spoken since the 1920s. The Pataxó Hãhãhãe themselves are a racially and ethnically mixed indigenous group living in a region associated with African heritage and Brazil's colonial past. It is an especially interesting context in which to enrich our understanding of indigeneity. The fact that the Pataxó Hãhãhãe claim not just an indigenous heritage but an indigenous identity despite their racially mixed heritage runs counter to dominant imaginings of indigeneity as part of a shared past; the fact that they do so in a region associated with this past and with African heritage further highlights the ideological contradictions of Pataxó Hãhãhãe indigeneity. The fact that the Pataxó Hãhãhãe are also (re)learning and speaking a heritage language that some would consider to be extinct without hope of revival also requires us to rethink many commonly held assumptions about language use and revitalization, and what it means to speak a heritage language. In taking up these questions, I take a broad, anthropological view of language, conceptualizing it not only as a linguistic system and means of communication, but as a tool through which our social world is (re)imagined and (re)made.

This work also reaffirms the importance of bringing together work on language revitalization and race and racism. The revitalization of indigenous languages is inescapably accomplished within a broader framework within which indigeneity itself takes on meaning. For

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<sup>1</sup> I use the metaphor of sleep here to emphasize the potential for the Pataxó Hãhãhãe to be revitalized, the variety of potential linguistic goals in language revitalization work, and the fact that being in a constant state of change is a facet of all living languages. For a brief discussion of common metaphors of language revitalization ontologies see Perley 2013.

the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, the use and revitalization of their heritage language is understood to be one aspect of the *retomada*, or ‘retaking’, a collective struggle in which they work to reclaim reservation lands and assert their indigenous identity. Therefore, in order to understand the revitalization of Hãhãhãe, we need to understand how this struggle fits into broader frameworks within which indigeneity itself takes on meaning. In this dissertation, I attempt to shed light on this question by locating ideas about indigeneity within the broader context of ideas about race in Bahia, and in Brazil.

### **1.1 ‘The Indians here aren’t beautiful like that.’: Race and Indigeneity in Bahia**

I had just arrived on the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation when I caught a ride to the farm of an indigenous family with two non-indigenous women. One, a young mother who, judging from her clothing and comportment, was clearly university educated and an ally to indigenous causes, had just arrived in Caramuru-Paraguaçu herself. She had also been to the famous Xingu indigenous reservation in the Amazon region. “Do they wear clothes?” the other woman, a local from the neighboring city of Pau Brasil, immediately wanted to know. “No,” said the first, describing in some detail how good looking the men were, almost naked and “all tanned.” She half-jokingly added that she was looking for a husband, and the local woman told her she should go find a husband in Xingu: “The Indians here aren’t beautiful like that,” she explained. In some ways it was like so many other conversations between women in which the desirability of men as potential partners is half jokingly assessed, a common phenomenon in many places. In this time and place, the conversation reproduced not only ideas about masculine desirability but also ideas about what it means to be indigenous in Brazil according to which



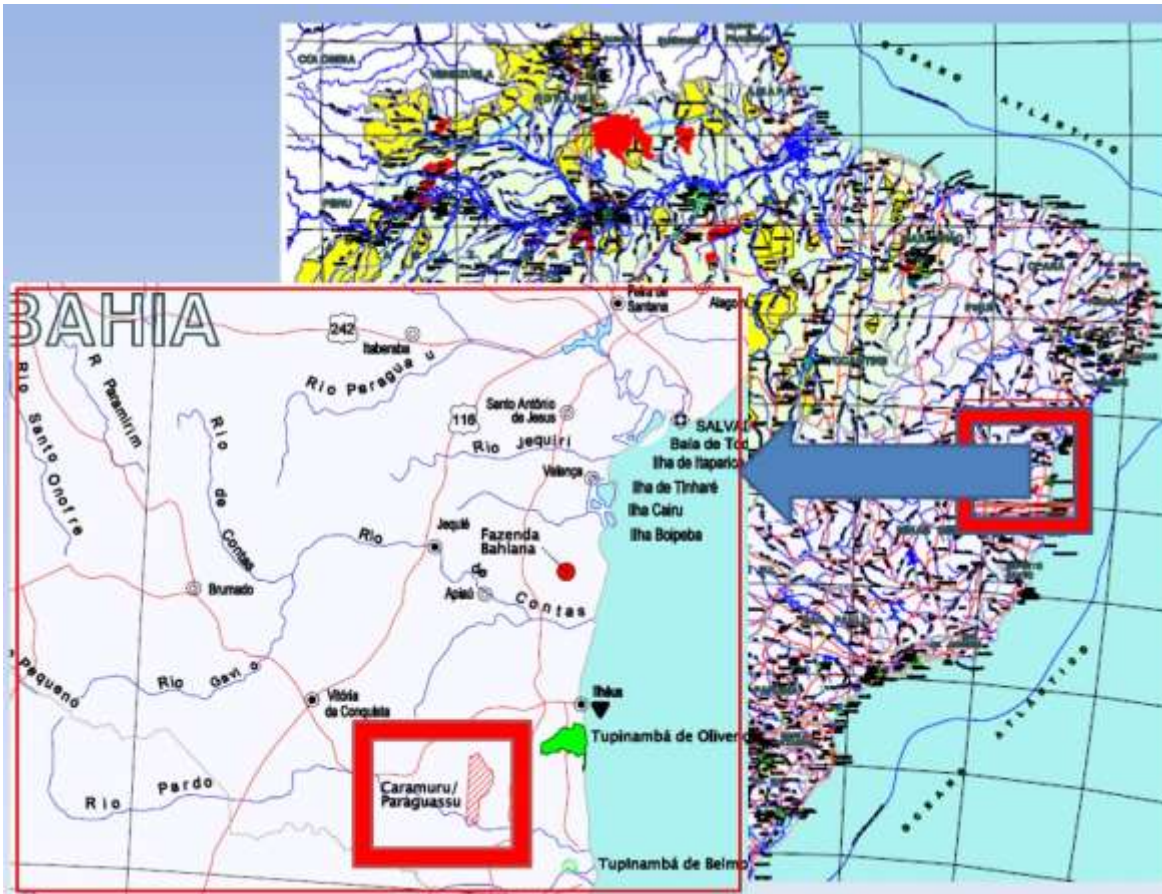
indigeneity is imagined to exist as a continuum, of desirable physical traits and also of authenticity. In Brazil, indigenous people from places like Xingu occupy one end of this spectrum of perceived indigenous ‘realness’, and indigenous people from the East or Northeast, like the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, the other. Figure 1.1, below, shows the location of the Caramuru-Paraguaçu “indigenous post”, or reservation near the Eastern coastline of Brazil, where most of Brazil’s major urban centers are concentrated. To the Northwest on the same map, yellow and red markings indicate the federally demarcated lands of indigenous groups located near the Amazon river basin.

Later that same year one of my main field contacts put this issue into his own words, as

we talked one evening in the kitchen of his home on the

Figure 1.1: Location of the Caramuru-Paraguaçu indigenous reservation in the state of Bahia, Brazil. Adapted from funai.gov.br.

Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation. I remember the conversation having a



comfortable and timeless campfire-like feel. With his face still painted after participating in a political mobilization event and smoking a pipe in dim candle light, as the reservation had lost power yet again, he explained that in the Northeast discrimination existed even among indigenous people, “*por parte dos proprios parentes indígenas*”, in which indigenous people in the Northeast are compared to indigenous people from the Amazonian regions like the Xavante and those who live in the Xingu park and are “*mais caracterizado mesmo, sem misturo*”, or ‘more characteristic, without mixture’:

*... vinte cinco anos atrás eles tinham assim, nós como nós não era índio, né, Nordeste não era índio porque índio do Nordeste não tinha olho rasgado, não tinha cabelo liso, escorrido na testa ... às vezes tinha pele diferente ... por isso que não chamava, considerava os índios daqui indígena. ... falava português, não tinha mais sua língua materna, aí tinha essa visão. Só que a realidade dos índios do Nordeste é diferente deles. Porquê? Porque o primeiro contato que teve com os europeus foi justamente aqui no Nordeste. ... o povo do Nordeste foi forte porque você anda por aí, você anda por aí no dia a dia você vê pessoas, né, que se vê na cara, ‘esse é índio.’ Mas se perguntar se é índio, fala ‘Eu não sou índio não’.*

... twenty five years ago they had this perspective, that we were not Indians, right, Northeastern [Indians] weren’t Indians because Northeastern Indians didn’t have slanted eyes, they didn’t have straight hair, cut into bangs ... sometimes they had different skin [i.e. the ‘wrong’ color] ... that’s why they didn’t call, didn’t consider the Indians from here to be indigenous. ... they spoke Portuguese, they didn’t have their mother language anymore, that was what people thought. Except that the reality for Northeastern Indians is different from theirs. Why? Because the first contact with the Europeans was right here in the Northeast. ... The people of the Northeast were really strong because you walk around, you walk around and you see people who you can see it in their face, that guy is an Indian. But if you ask them if they’re an Indian, they’ll say ‘No, I’m not an Indian.’

(November 18, 2014)

Having a racially mixed heritage is a factor in the local anti-Indian racism that Northeastern indigenous people encounter in part because of ideologies of racial mixing that are central to how people imagine themselves as Brazilians. Ideologies of racial mixing, or *mestizaje/mestiçagem*, are a central component to National identity-making throughout Latin

America. In Brazilian everyday discourse and in pop culture, the concept of idealized racial harmony is often invoked through references to what Da Matta (1981) has called the “fable of the three races,” Brazil’s racialized origin myth in which the Nation and all Brazilians have been created through the mixing of three foundational races: indigenous, African and Portuguese. In Pau Brasil, a town neighboring the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation, for example, this metaphor is made explicit in the city emblem that is painted on government buildings that features three figures holding hands: one lighter skinned figure, and two darker skinned figures, one of whom holds a bow and arrow and wears a feather headdress and a grass skirt, all icons of indigeneity in the Northeast (see Figure 2, below). In everyday life in Brazil this metaphor is commonly



Figure 1.2: The symbol and slogan of the city of Pau Brasil, “transparency and sustainability”, painted on the side of a public school building. The shape of the background is meant to represent a cocoa fruit, which has historically been the source of much riches.

reproduced, especially in contexts

in which the idea of Nation is most explicit, such as the opening of the World Cup and the Olympic Games, held in Brazil in 2014 and 2016, respectively; but also in more everyday contexts in which nationhood is commonly reproduced, such as schools.

As a component of this racial metaphor, indigeneity was and continues to be seen as a transitory state (ibid 71, Ramos 1998). Ideologies of *mestizaje/mestiçagem*, or racial mixing,

commonly locate indigeneity as part of a shared national past. In Brazil, what has been seen as an inevitable transition from indigenous to non-indigenous, “civilized”, Brazilian involves an intermediate stage of becoming *caboclo*<sup>2</sup>. Originally a term coined by colonial intellectuals as part of their attempts to categorize racial mixture, the many different meanings of *caboclo* in different times and places reflect and have themselves been a part of the processes of erasure, assimilation, but also resurgence that are part of the indigenous experience in Brazil. As Jan French (2009) explains, “many indigenous peoples have disappeared into the caboclo category” as a consequence of processes of assimilation involving the taking of lands, economic coercion and forced labor, epidemics and mixed marriages (32). The identification of indigenous people in the Northeast as *caboclo* rather than Indian was not just a consequence of their disenfranchisement, it was sometimes employed as a tool through which this disenfranchisement could be accomplished. In Sergipe,<sup>3</sup> for example: “By the end of the nineteenth century, official registries no longer made reference to Indians ... but instead referred to *mestiços* and *caboclos* (categories that carried no rights to land or services)” (ibid, 55).

As a region, the Northeast is imagined as a place of colonial heritage and racial mixing, in contrast to a whiter south and more indigenous west. In her study of regional identity in Brazil *The Color of Modernity*, for example, Barbara Weinstein (2015) documents “... the racialization of regional origin, and the common use of apparently neutral referents as forms of stereotyping and disparagement” (226). As she explains, in São Paulo, which has become associated with both industry and whiteness, it became commonplace for *paulistas*, São Paulo locals, to call those who migrated from anywhere in the Northeast of Brazil *baiano*, the term for someone from

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<sup>2</sup> Carvalho (2011) cautions us, with good reason, against conceiving of *caboclo* as having “a unilinear aspect of regressive or involutive character” (15), explaining that both *caboclo* and the term *índio* itself are greatly variable according to context (16).

<sup>3</sup> Another state in the Northeast of Brazil.

the state of Bahia. Because of the association between Bahia and African heritage, as it is commonly considered to be “the most “African” state in Brazil”, using *baiano* as a blanket term works to racialize *nordestinos*, or Northeasterners, associating them with blackness regardless of phenotype. Through the use of jokes and anecdotes, the term *baiano* came to “... consolidate an



Figure 1.3: A cartoon depicting one of the most commonly circulated “baiano jokes:” [paulista] “Did you know, that sloth is one of the seven deadly sins?” [baiano] “Envy as well!”. Cosorine, accessed from [www.humortadela.com.br](http://www.humortadela.com.br) May 2018.

image of ‘the’ nordestino as backward, lazy, or unruly” (226), simultaneously reifying links between blackness and these qualities as well. One such commonly reproduced joke is depicted in Figure 1.3. While implicit links are enough for racialization, due to the “potential blackness” (Roth-Gordon 2017:148) of a mixed racial heritage, the shared understanding of São Paulo as white and Bahia as black is critical to the

interpretation of this joke. It is the fact that Bahia is known as a locus of racial mixture and blackness, and São Paulo with whiteness that facilitates the reification of links between race and secondary qualities reproduced in the joke and already associated with each region, and race: sloth or laziness, and hardworking-ness. The accompanying image varies, but the *paulista* is invariably whiter in both phenotype and by being associated with wealth and hard work, as he is here presumably dressed for, and on his way to, a non-menial job. The *baiano* does not need to

be visibly afro-descendant, although sometimes he is; invariably portrayed in a hammock, an item associated with Brazil's indigenous heritage, his comportment and association with Bahia are enough to (re)make and reinforce existing semiotic connections with blackness.

For indigenous people of the Brazilian Northeast, the semiotic links between the Northeast and blackness, and especially between Bahia and blackness, contribute to their erasure. To be Indian and *not* be from the Amazonian regions, and optimally from an isolated forest village, is already a semiotic contradiction, just as it is to be Indian and use technologies associated with modernity (see Conklin 1997) and therefore whiteness. To be Indian and also from Bahia, a state nicknamed the “mecca” of Brazil's African heritage, only deepens the layers of this semiotic contradiction.

The disappearance and reappearance, or “resurgence” of indigenous people as “Indians” or “indigenous” on the social landscape of Northeastern Brazil has been explored by Brazilian scholars since the 1970s (see, for example, Paraiso 1987, 1988; Rosario 1988; Grunewald 2005; Oliveira 2011; Pereira 2011, Paraiso 2014) and by North American scholars more recently (see Warren 1998, 2001; French 2009). Some of these scholars have included racism as a consideration in their exploration of indigeneity in Brazil (see Ramos 1998, Warren 2001), but most have considered indigeneity a question of ethnicity and few have explored indigeneity explicitly in terms of race and racism. Most scholars of race and racism in Brazil focus mainly on blackness in opposition to whiteness (see Skidmore 1993, Sheriff 2003, Hanchard 1999, Seigel 2011, Roth-Gordon 2017), only occasionally mentioning indigenous experiences with racism in the present tense. This is understandable, partly because of the fact that in Brazil, popular discourses (Sheriff 2001) and racial common sense focuses on race and racism in terms of blackness in contrast to whiteness. This erasure of indigeneity is meaningful, in fact

fundamental, to anti-Indian racism in Brazil. It also helps us to understand both blackness and whiteness. Why is it that racial mixture in Brazil is imagined to potentially blackness while indigeneity is seen as inevitably ‘lost’? Why does blackness seem difficult to escape (and to be something necessary to escape from), while (authentic) indigeneity is often romanticized and seemingly impossible to achieve? At the same time, at the local level indigenous people often encounter explicit anti-Indian racism. Exploring what indigeneity means in rural Bahia, a context in which racial mixture and African heritage is often emphasized, allows us to more fully understand race and racism in Brazil because blackness, whiteness and indigeneity are inextricably linked, even though at times these links are implicit. While I focus mainly on indigeneity in this dissertation, I do so with this broader context in mind and, at least at times, drawing parallels between indigenous and afro-descendent experiences in Bahia.

## **1.2 Methods**

I have collaborated with the Pataxó Hãhãhãe on the revitalization of their heritage language since I was introduced to the community by Paula Kalantã, a contact from the undergraduate research on urban indigenous identity that I carried out in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil, in 2005. My linguistics research related to the revitalization of Hãhãhãe has taken the form of archival research to locate all known documentation of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe language, as well as employing the Comparative Method in order to confirm the genealogical categorization of the language, carry out some internal analysis, and identify possible means of reconstruction for revitalization purposes.

My exploration of the social context of this revitalization work is informed by 12 months

of field research carried out from June 2014-June 2015. For most of this period I lived in the town of Pau Brasil, which lies adjacent to the Pataxó Hãhãhãe reservation, Caramuru-Paraguaçu. I traveled to the reservation 1-2 times a week to meet with research participants, often staying at their homes for days at a time. I also met with research participants in town, spending time with them as they went about their daily business. While in the field, I conducted informal recorded interviews in which we discussed topics such as the importance of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe language, how others view the language, and their personal experiences as indigenous people. I also recorded public performances in which Pataxó Hãhãhãe community members gave speeches and/or participated in traditional Toré<sup>4</sup> dance performances.

As a participant observer and applied researcher, I also shared my knowledge of their language, linguistics and pedagogical strategies and theory. For example, I led and audio-recorded workshops and trainings as a language revitalization consultant. I also took part in the meetings of teachers and youth dance groups, who were interested in learning and using the language in songs, and of community members working to write their own children's book.

Traveling between spaces on and off of the reservation became a meaningful part of my research. It contributed to my understanding of everyday difficulties, provided opportunities for participatory observation of everyday interactions, and also allowed me small opportunities to repay the kindness of those who welcomed me into their homes by offering, for example, to pick up subscriptions, local herbs or groceries in town, or to deliver messages between friends. I learned to recognize bus stops, schools, health centers and the weekly market as the most indigenous spaces in town, something that had previously been invisible to me as an outsider. I also gained an appreciation for the stamina required to take the slow, crowded and stuffy market

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<sup>4</sup> The Toré is a widespread tradition among Northeastern indigenous groups. It is at once a game, a dance, and a prayer, and is iconic of indigeneity in the region. It has also been integral to the Federal recognition of some groups.



bus between the town and the reservation, especially in the case of the elderly, pregnant women, and young children. I also learned of the difficulties people experience in the rainy season, when the roads become difficult and even dangerous to navigate between ever changing patterns of mud puddles and potholes. Sometimes the river that flows along the road in the Água Vermelha region of the reservation rises and becomes uncrossable, trapping people on their farms for days at a time. The mud itself is another problem, both physical and social, and children take pains to somehow arrive at school without ankles and shoes covered in it. In the spring, semi-wild cattle, especially young bulls and cows protective of their calves, are another obstacle that must be navigated when traveling between houses or getting to the road. I walked with others, learning to duck under fences, carry sticks, walk with dogs, or merely sing nonchalantly in order to navigate around or through herds of cattle, something that children must often do, for example, in order to get to school.

These everyday factors that inhibit movement on the reservation take on a more serious light in terms of limiting access to quality health care. When I was on the reservation in 2014-2015, the only health center on the reservation had been burned down, making the situation worse. Hãhãhãe community leaders teamed up with nurses and a local dentist to provide some care to residents in their homes but were still working on a long-term solution. Even in town access to healthcare is limited. While prescriptions and tests might be ordered at a local *posto de saúde*, or 'health post', getting them filled or completed might take months of waiting nor not be possible locally. Those who can afford it travel to the neighboring city of Camacã, or even the larger Itabuna, around an hour and a half away. Gaining access to quality healthcare and education, along with language and culture, are commonly framed as part of a shared Pataxó Hãhãhãe struggle.

While the reservation itself is still dotted with non-indigenous farms, ranches and plantations, outsiders rarely enter the areas of the reservation that have been re-occupied by Pataxó Hãhãhãe families without invitation. Other than those traveling through the reservation as bus drivers, moto-taxi drivers, etc., or those who have married into a Pataxó Hãhãhãe family, formally or informally, these outsiders, like myself, are mostly limited to researchers, activists, healthcare workers and government officials. At one time, I was told, there was a council whose approval was needed for an outsider to gain entrance to the reservation. Some community members, especially who have been involved in community activism and indigenous mobilization, are more accustomed to receiving these outsiders and traveling sometimes long distances themselves to be part of protests and other kinds of mobilization events. The fact that I was invited by one such family shaped my experience, and my research. Many of the elders that I worked with are well known as leaders in the initial (re)occupation of the reservation in the 1980s. I worked most closely with the Titiá family, whose matriarch, Maura Titiá, was a leader in this mobilization. Most of her children, now middle aged, have taken part in indigenous mobilization actions since they were young. Part of this activism has involved interacting with researchers, “indigenist” activists, and other such outsiders like myself.

I also learned about local perceptions of class and race first hand through my experiences as a white foreigner living in the town of Pau Brasil. It is a small enough town that most people have been part of the same social circles since childhood. It was obvious when I arrived with my husband that we were outsiders, to the extent that even the gossip that circulated about our origins was transparent to us. I have blue eyes, and a fair complexion that would not be out of place in Ireland or Finland but is certainly unexpected in rural Bahia. During our first few weeks in Pau Brasil, before the more accurate story that I was a foreign researcher working with the

Pataxó Hãhãhãe could fully circulate, people I met would tell me they had heard I was from São Paulo. This was not surprising to me given that the city of São Paulo is one of two regions associated with Brazilian whiteness, as discussed above, the other being Southern Brazil. It was probably considered unlikely to locals that a foreigner would come to stay in Pau Brasil, which, being rural and far from both the coast and Bahia's famous *Chapada da Diamantina* nature reserve, is not a major tourist destination. After a while the rumors about São Paulo stopped, and I would occasionally overhear references to the *gringa*, a slightly pejorative term for 'foreigner', though never to my face. In contrast, my husband seemed to be less remarkable to locals, who came to refer to him just within earshot as the young man who had come with the *gringa*. My husband's parents, like so many others, emigrated to the city of Salvador from rural Bahia. His medium toned skin and dark eyes reflect his own Afro-indigenous heritage and match the complexion of most rural Bahians.

The expectations of our neighbors in town also taught me about how my white foreignness was perceived to fit into the local economy. As a potential source of income, neighbors would offer to wash my clothes or drive me to the other side of town (a ten-minute walk) for a fee, services that they provided to others in order to supplement their income. One woman resold bread, candy and snack items from her home just down the street from the house we rented. We often chatted when I would come by to buy bread, and one day we discussed some training courses available locally and the possibility of taking one together. I mentioned my interest in a breadmaking course, which is a hobby of mine. Oh yes, she responded, you will need to be able to tell people how to make your bread. At the time, I found her response surprising. Later, I understood it to be how she made sense of my interest in learning to do something that wealthy people would usually employ others to do. On the reservation, some of the children were more

playful about my race and class status. They found it highly amusing, for example, when they heard me use the marked pronunciation of *mesmo*, or ‘really’, by replacing the alveolar fricative /s/ with a glottal fricative /h/. A result of my having gained fluency in Brazilian Portuguese among working class residents of the Northeastern city of Salvador, this pronunciation is marked as lower class and local in the sense of the Northeast and, especially, the rural Northeast, and highly contrastive with my status as a wealthy foreigner. My pronunciation therefore resulted in much good-natured teasing. I was also asked questions about my income, standard of living, and possession of electronics - questions that would have been considered impolite for adults to make.

While more subtle, questions by adults about the United States, and their disbelief, for example, that rural roads with potholes or brooms made from natural materials might exist here revealed a perception of the United States as relatively more modern and advanced. While this is a common perception in many places, on the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation, and arguably Brazil more broadly (see, for example, Ramos 2004), such ideas about development and modernity are inseparable from ideas about indigeneity. The perceived link between indigeneity and backwardness was highlighted to me at a community meeting that took place on the reservation in 2014. At the meeting, people were discussing the possibility of working with a government housing program. One elderly man asked if the homes would have bathrooms or outhouses. The room, almost entirely filled with Pataxó Hãhãhãe community members, erupted in laughter. ‘Only Indians have those’, they teased him, referring to the outhouses that are common throughout the reservation. At the same time, the Pataxó Hãhãhães’ mobilization for community rights, including rights to housing, potable water, trash pickup, etc., are predicated on an indigenous identity and framed as part of a shared indigenous struggle. As in many places, on

and around Caramuru-Paraguaçu romanticized ideas about Indians co-exist with negative stereotypes that associate indigeneity with poverty and backwardness. While the Pataxó Hãhãhãe have never lost Federal status as an indigenous group<sup>5</sup>, many make efforts to continue to improve what was only recently an explicitly anti-Indian local context. The (re)claiming of an indigenous identity by the Pataxó Hãhãhãe is in this way, and others, necessarily a reshaping of what it means to be indigenous. This reshaping is an ongoing and complex process, and is part of what the Pataxó Hãhãhãe frame as a broader, shared struggle. In this dissertation, I address aspects of this struggle related to language and identity both historically and in the present.

### **1.3 Structure of the Dissertation**

This dissertation is divided into two larger sections. The first, “*Retomando Hãhãhãe: Reclaiming the Hãhãhãe Language*”, focuses on my linguistic research in support of the revitalization of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe language. In Chapter 2, “The Languages of Caramuru-Paraguaçu”, I provide a genealogical background on each of five heritage languages of the different ethnic groups who comprise the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, as well as their histories of documentation and shift to Brazilian Portuguese. In Chapter 3, “Comparing Hãhãhãe and Maxakalí”, I describe the results of a comparison that I carried out between the Pataxó Hãhãhãe language and the still spoken and more extensively documented Maxakalí language. These results confirm the relation between the two languages, and raise the question of whether Hãhãhãe may have been a mixed language at one time. In this chapter I explore this question in

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<sup>5</sup> There was pressure in the 1970s and 80s to dissolve the reservation. This effort was thwarted by a study carried out by a team of anthropologists from the Federal University of Bahia that asserted the ongoing presence, and indigeneity, of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe (see Paraiso 1988). I discuss this in more detail in Chapter 5.

terms of the fragmentary nature of existing documentation and the possibility that a shift to Brazilian Portuguese prior to or while the language was documented may have led to a false impression of Hãhãhãe as a mixed language. For many reasons, this historical question has contemporary relevance; to name only a few: The fact that the Pataxó Hãhãhãe are a multi-ethnic indigenous group, the racially mixed heritage of most of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and existing ideas about race that enable indigenous erasure, concerns about linguistic purity and/or being perceived as legitimate but also the widespread practice of borrowing linguistic and cultural items in the region, especially from other indigenous groups considered to be ‘relatives’ all highlight the contemporary relevance of this historical question. I engage with these questions in the second section of this dissertation. In Chapter 4, the final chapter of this section, “Hãhãhãe Morphosyntax”, I use the information gained in the comparison to Maxakalí to analyze the Hãhãhãe language more fully and identify aspects of the language that might be reconstructed, extended or elaborated for revitalization purposes. However, as I argue in Chapter 7, discussed in more detail below, the Pataxó Hãhãhãe are already using their language and other semiotic resources in meaningful ways, contributing to our understanding of language revitalization goals beyond increasing community-wide linguistic fluency (see Hinton 2001, Meek 2010, Leonard 2011).

I explore the current social context of the revitalization of the Hãhãhãe language in the second section of the dissertation, “Reclaiming Identity: The Ideological Shift of Being Indian (Again)”, especially in terms of how the Pataxó Hãhãhãe are reclaiming an indigenous identity within an ideological context of racial mixing. In the first chapter of this section, Chapter 5, “‘*Cabocos Que Sabe Historiar*’: Memory and Identity in Hãhãhãe Narratives”, I draw from historical documents and secondary sources to contextualize Pataxó Hãhãhãe narratives about the

struggle to reclaim reservation lands, and examine how individual speakers construct and align themselves with a shared history as indigenous people. In Chapter 6, ‘*A luta sempre continua.*’: Racialized Solidarity Stances in Rural Bahia”, I explore the close relationship between indigeneity and political mobilization in the Northeast and examine how the discursive mechanics of stancetaking contributes to the (re)making of understandings of race in Bahia. While on the surface most of their talk emphasizes solidarity in defense of collective rights and the environment, speakers struggle with how to (re)frame concepts of race in the context of their mobilization. Finally, in Chapter 7, “Everyday Hãhãhãe: Semiotic Repertoires of an Awakening Language”, I look at how the Pataxó Hãhãhãe use linguistic and nonlinguistic signs to rework concepts of indigeneity in a context of local anti-Indian racism and broader indigenous erasure. In doing so, I contextualize current use of the Hãhãhãe language as part of a semiotic repertoire (Agha 2005) of “retaking”. I argue that the revitalization of Hãhãhãe is more productively understood not as an effort to increase our knowledge of the language and speaker proficiency as much as it is a furthering of this ongoing semiotic project

Together, these chapters provide a glimpse into who the Pataxó Hãhãhãe are as an indigenous people of the Brazilian Northeast, from the point of most intensive contact and shift to Portuguese, to the critical moment in which they returned to reclaim land and identity, to the present continual (re)claiming and (re)shaping of identity and language. While these chapters could not encompass all aspects of what the Pataxó Hãhãhãe view as their broader struggle, it is an exploration of what it means to be indigenous in a context in which indigeneity is both hyper visible (see, for example, Ramos 1994) and rendered invisible. It is also an exploration of what it means to revitalize a language, not necessarily by reconstructing some past form but by using the language in ways immediately relevant to the Pataxó Hãhãhãe. It is not a story only of loss, or of

some clear ideological or other victory, but of ongoing resistance to erasure and other processes of exclusion and racialized oppression.



## **Part I**

### **Retomando Hãhãhãe: Reclaiming the Hãhãhãe Language**

## 2 The Languages of Caramuru-Paraguaçu

*O que é o povo Pataxó Hãhãhãe? É a união né de de várias etnias (...) que tiveram de se juntar formar esse povo (...) esse único povo, para defender a vida de todos, né.*

What is Pataxó Hãhãhãe? It's the union of various ethnicities (...) who had to come together to form this group (...) this single group, to defend the life of everyone, right.

Fábio Titiá, Hãhãhãe community activist, 2014

The Pataxó Hãhãhãe indigenous group is actually an alliance between various indigenous *etnias*, or “ethnicities”, each with their own heritage language and history. In fact, it is most likely no coincidence that the word Hãhãhãe itself can be translated as “group” in Pataxó Hãhãhãe. The first Hãhãhãe alliance was between the Baenã and the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, who have traditionally lived in the Caramuru-Paraguaçu region (see Paraiso 1988, Monteiro 2002) and consider themselves to be relatives of both the Maxakalí in nearby Minas Gerais and the coastal Pataxó of the extreme south of Bahia, whose heritage language is related to or even potentially a dialect of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe language (see Urban 1985). The Baenã and Pataxó Hãhãhãe were brought from their forest villages to the reservation when it was first established in the 1920s (Paraiso 1988, 53). Members of other ethnicities who had already been in more intensive contact with non-indigenous Brazilians, such as the Kamakã, participated in the demarcation of the reservation itself before settling there (Monteiro 2002, 369). The Tupinambá and Kariri-Sapuyá came to the Posto Indígena (PI) Caramuru-Paraguaçu and were incorporated into the Pataxó Hãhãhãe indigenous group some years after the reservation began to be demarcated (see Paraiso 1988, 53). Some people from other indigenous groups such as the Fulni-ô and Maxakalí have also come to live on the reservation through intermarriage or other alliances, and people sometimes say that there are now seven or eight Pataxó Hãhãhãe ethnicities. Sometimes this is

said as a joke, sometimes as a description, and sometimes as a complaint, with the implication that things are getting out of control. The underlying context is that while Pataxó Hãhãhãe has been in some ways a surprisingly inclusive identity, in ways that have helped entire groups of people in concrete ways and in times of real need, this is not accomplished without some social tension, as, perhaps, alliances never are.

While people from the five main ethnicities, at least, consider themselves to be Pataxó Hãhãhãe (the larger, multi-ethnic group), they also might distinguish their ethnic identification by referring to themselves as “Baenã Hãhãhãe”, or “Tupinambá Hãhãhãe”, for example. This can be especially confusing; for example, I know at least one person who is Sapuyá Hãhãhãe and has the surname Pataxó, as it is common for indigenous Brazilians to use their ethnic identity as a surname. Even in the academic literature it is common to find confusions between the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and the coastal Pataxó, though the two groups live hundreds of kilometers apart and have different histories of contact, and different situations of language shift and revitalization (see, for example, Paraiso 1988, Agostinho 1988, Urban 1985, Bomfim 2012). Linguistic work is also sometimes complicated by confusion between the names of different ethnicities. As Campbell (2012, 60) points out about indigenous languages of South America in general:

The identification of SA Indian languages is complicated at times on the one hand by instances where a single language has a variety of names and on the other hand where a single name sometimes refers to multiple languages. Perhaps most SA languages have (or have had) more than one name.

This is certainly true of the Pataxó Hãhãhãhãe, due in some part also to the historical mobility of Northeastern indigenous groups and the realities of naming in times of contact. Below, I will provide a brief history and linguistic background for each of what are currently the main five<sup>6</sup> Pataxó Hãhãhãe ethnicities (in alphabetical order): Baenã, Kamakã, Kariri-Sapuyá,

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<sup>6</sup> There is some variation in which ethnicities are typically listed as Pataxó Hãhãhãe in the literature. Paraiso

Pataxó Hãhãhãe and Tupinambá.

## 2.1 Baenã

The process of demarcation of the Caramuru-Paraguaçu indigenous reservation began in 1925, during a period of agricultural expansion and increased inter-ethnic conflict in the region and as part of the so-called “attraction” and “pacification” of the Baenã and Pataxó Hãhãhãe that I discussed in the introduction (Paraíso 1988, 53). Loukotka (1968, 78) classifies the Baenã language as an isolate, while Campbell (2012) suggests that it would be more appropriate to consider it unclassified considering that so little documentation of the language exists. In 1961, linguist Wilbur Pickering was only able to find one Baenã person: Rosalinda, married to Titiá, who was a speaker of Pataxó Hãhãhãe. Unfortunately she was either unwilling or unable to provide them with any words in the Baenã language at that time (see Meader 1978). However, Loukotka (1968, 74) later wrote that the language was still spoken by “a few individuals on the Posto Paraguaçu.” He includes a list of nine words that he explains had been included in one of Kurt Nimuendajú’s unpublished manuscripts from 1938 entitled “Kamakan - Material II” but that the SPI inspector in Recife, R.D. Carneiro, thought was probably Baenã (1963, 54). I include a list of these words in the Appendix, but not in the Pataxó Hãhãhãe Dictionary because of their uncertain origin.

## 2.2 Kamakã

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(1988), for example, includes the Botocudo, while some historical documents refer to the Mongoyó in addition to the Kamakã. I have chosen as “the main five” those ethnicities that are, in my experience, invariably mentioned when the Pataxó Hãhãhãe describe them.

According to Paraíso (1988, 53), the Kamakã were *aldeado*, or compulsorily ‘settled in villages,’ along the Pardo and Cachoeira or Colônia rivers, following the “violent persecution” that resulted from the early 19th century expansion of the economic exploitation of Southern Bahia. They were used as a free source of labor and military force, in the construction of roads, the opening of fields, and in conflicts with the Baenã and Pataxó Hãhãhãe (ibid). Paraíso explains that they were subjected to “all historically known forms of coercion” until, finally, they were driven from their villages to the surrounding forests, again and again being forced to abandon their homes each time settlers became interested in their places of settlement (ibid). The city of Camacan, established in the final years of the 1800s as a result of the expanding cocoa production in Southern Bahia, was named for the Kamakã after they had been forcibly removed from the area. However, still managing to remain the region in the 1920s when the demarcation of the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation began (ibid), the Kamakã were included in what would become the larger Pataxó Hãhãhãe group.

The Kamakã language is classified as one of three languages of the Kamakanan family, tentatively placed in the more controversial Macro-Jê stock. It is possible that Mongoyó, Kotoxó and Kamakã are dialects of each other, forming one of three branches of the Kamakanan family. All Kamakanan languages are currently dormant. (Campbell 2012, 94)

While Paraíso (1988) refers to the Kamakã and Mongoyó as distinct groups, others use the names interchangeably to refer to the same group (see, for example, Dória 1988, 87). Currently there are no known fluent speakers of Kamakã. However, Kurt Nimuendajú was able to elicit roughly 300 words from speakers on his visit to the region in 1938, and at least one elderly man, Marinho Pereira dos Santos, still remembered a few words of Kamakã during my

fieldwork in 2014 which I added to the Pataxó Hãhãhãe dictionary. There is some documentation of the language, providing hope for revitalization in some form despite its currently dormant status (see Meader 1978 for a comprehensive list of prior documentation).

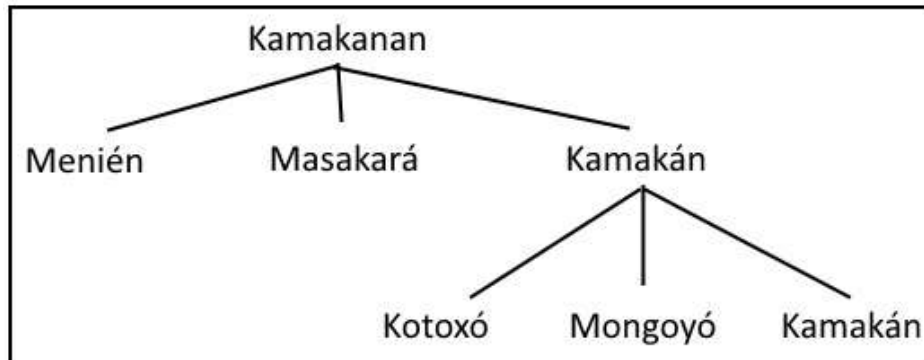


Figure 2.1: A representation of the Kamakanan language family as classified by Campbell (2012, 94).

### 2.3 Karirí-Sapuyá

The Kariri-Sapuyá (sometimes referred to as the Kiriri-Sapuyá) were driven from the Pedra Branca region West of Salvador, Bahia, in 1834. They were then “systematically expelled” from Valença, the Santa Rosa *aldeia*, or ‘village,’ near Jequié, and São Bento, at which time they were convinced by Kurt Nimuendajú to come to Caramuru-Paraguaçu, when he visited the region in 1938. (Paraíso 1988, 53) I attempt to provide a visual reference for this trajectory in Figure 2.2 below. Kariri-Sapuyá elders and others consider themselves to have come from Pedra

Branca.

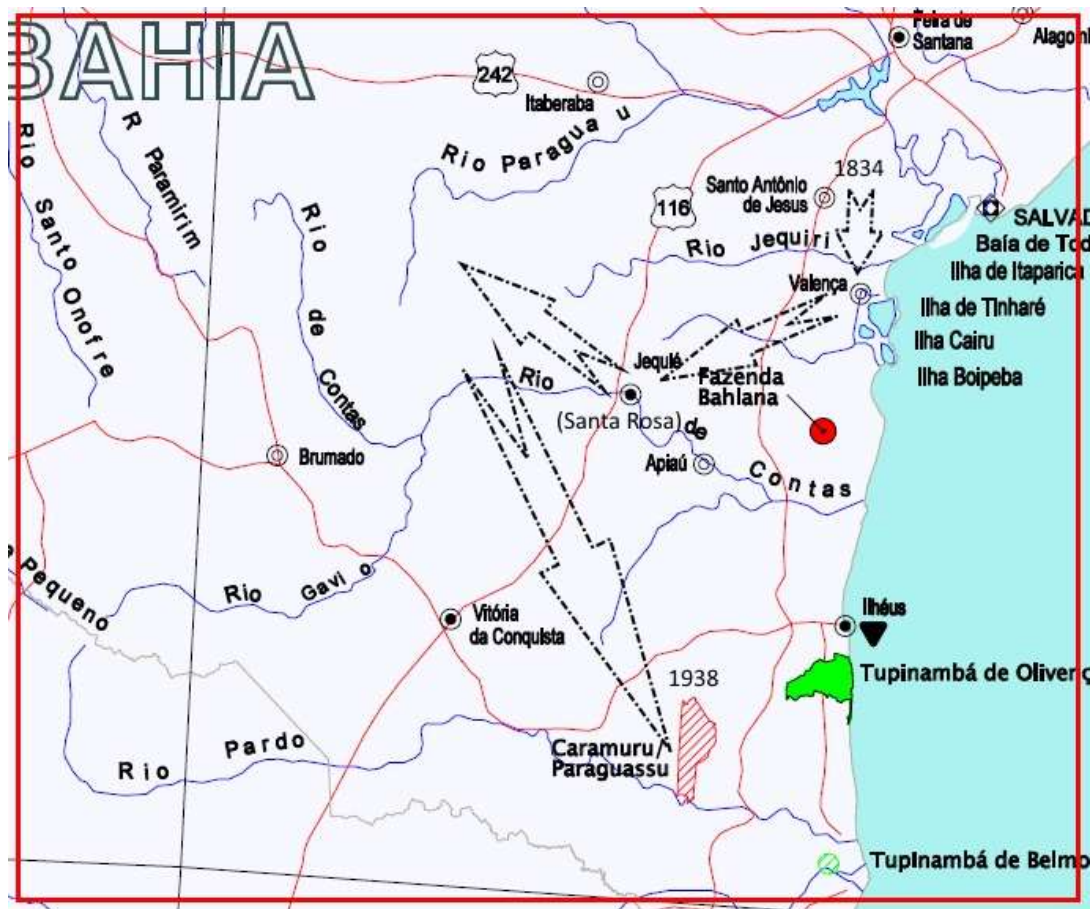


Figure 2.2: The path taken by the Kariri-Sapuyá in their century-long “systematic expulsion” between 1834 and 1938, when they finally settled on the PI Caramuru-Paraguaçu, more than 400 km from their homeland in the Pedra Branca region (see Paraíso 1988).

Kariri-Sapuyá is unfortunately a good example of how linguistic under documentation can lead to confusion and difficulty for future research. South America in general has been described as a “textbook example” of an area of great linguistic diversity that has had extremely high rates of language loss, with many regions, including Eastern Brazil,<sup>7</sup> having “lost almost all

<sup>7</sup> There is significant overlap between the areas referred to as Eastern Brazil and those referred to as Northeastern Brazil. In terms of social geography and the history of indigenous groups, Bahia is included in either reference. The greatest current distinction between these labels is related to the social and economic divide between “Southeastern” cities such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and the arid regions of the “Northeast,” which have become icons of poverty, suffering and racially mixed heritage, as I discuss elsewhere. In the context discussed here, the terms “Eastern” and “Northeastern” are practically interchangeable.

their indigenous languages, mostly without previous documentation of any significant kind (Adelaar 2010, 86). As Ribeiro (2009, 63) points out of Eastern Brazil, “Besides hampering attempts at genetic classification of the languages of the region, the lack of linguistic data seriously limits our knowledge of possible cultural contacts ...”. Documentation of the Kariri-Sapuyás’ heritage language exists but is difficult to identify with certainty. For example, Simons and Fennig (2017) classify “Sapujá”, or “Pedra Branca”, as one dialect of the Karirí-Xocó language, the heritage language of the Karirí-Xocó indigenous group of Alagoas, Brazil, two states to the north of Bahia (see Figure 2.3, below). This seems possible, given the large distances that indigenous groups were often forced to travel to escape violent conflicts with both non-indigenous settlers and other indigenous groups.

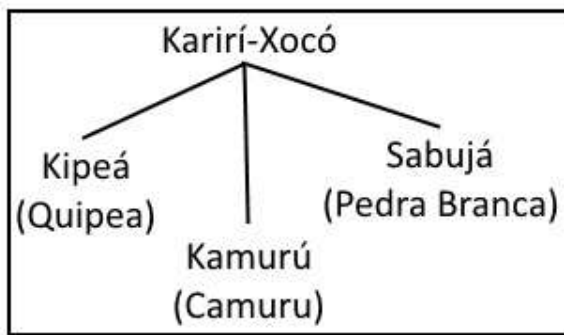


Figure 2.3: A representation of the Karirí-Xocó language varieties, as classified by Simons and Fennig (2017). Sabujá potentially represents the Kariri-Sapuyás’ heritage language.

However, according to Campbell’s (2012) classification, the Karirían family, which is included in the Macro-Jê stock, is made up of four distinct languages: Kipeá (Karirí or Kirirí), Dzubikuá (Kiriri or Dzubucua), Sabuyá (or Sapoyá), and Kamurú (Camurú or Pedra Branca) (94) (see Figure 4, below). According to this

classification, it is difficult to tell which might refer to the Kariri-Sapuyás’ heritage language, Sabuyá or Pedra Branca.<sup>8</sup> Notice, also, the absence of any reference to Karirí-Xocó. Campbell explains that “there has been some confusion about the names” (95), pointing, for example, to a

<sup>8</sup> Unlike the majority of non-Tupi languages of the Brazilian Northeast, two of the Karirían languages, Kipeá and Xzubikuá, are “fairly well-documented” (Ribeiro 2009, 63). It should be possible, through comparative research, to increase our knowledge of Kariri-Sapuyá. In the meantime, I include only the existing documentation in the Pataxó Hãhãhãe Dictionary (see Appendix).



lack of evidence of a connection between the Karirí and Kiriri groups of Bahia and the “Carirí” of colonial Ceará Brazil. As one possible contributing factor to this confusion he explains that *kiriri* is a Tupí word for “shy, taciturn” and “was probably applied to different tribes” (95). It is also possible that the Kariri-Sapuyá were originally two distinct groups who merged during their (at least) century-long process of systematic expulsion. Indeed, Dória (1988) refers to the Karirí

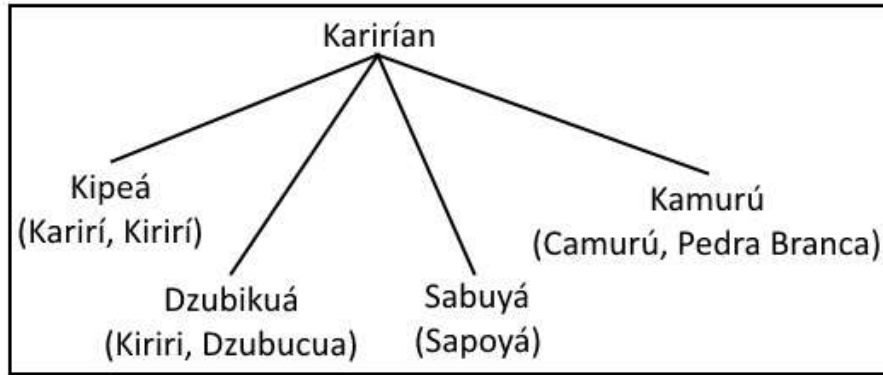


Figure 2.4: A representation of the Karirí language family as classified by Campbell (2012). It is unclear whether Sabuyá or Kamurú (Pedra Branca) would represent the Kariri-Sapuyá’s heritage language.

and “Sabujá” as distinct groups (87).

Sapuyá was documented in 1818 by the German botanist Karl Friedrich von Martius during his

famed trip to Brazil (see Martius 1867). During my fieldwork I was able to interview one elderly man, Seu Buti, who remembered a few words, although it still needs to be determined whether these words were Kariri-Sapuyá or whether he had been able to learn some Pataxó Hãhãhãe or another language during the early days of the reservation.

## 2.4 Pataxó Hãhãhãe

The Pataxó Hãhãhãe have been in the Caramuru-Paraguaçu region, an expanse of hundreds of kilometers between the Pardo and Cachoeira rivers, since at least 1610 (Paraíso 1988, 53). In the second half of the 19th century, with the expansion of cocoa production in the region, the conflicts between the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and those who would encroach on their lands

intensified to such an extent that the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios ('Indian Protection Service,' or SPI) demarcated the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation as part of an effort to “pacify” them (ibid). In Bahia and elsewhere throughout Brazil, the SPI “prided itself on mastering the art of “pacification” through non-violence ... the agency’s motto, frequently incanted, was “Die if necessary; never kill.”” (Garfield 2001, 49; in relation to the “pacification” of the Xavante in Mato Grosso, Brazil). While certainly preferable over violent conflict, such methods of “pacification” and “attraction,” as initial attempts at contact with indigenous groups have been framed, have since been criticized as patronizing and self-serving on the part of the State, and in general as an extension of processes of colonization and ethnocide (see, for example, Ramos 1998; Garfield 2001, 51). In Southern Bahia, the ability of SPI officials to mitigate anti-indigenous violence was limited, as I will discuss in more detail elsewhere (see, for example, Carvalho 1988, Paraiso 1988), though it was clear that SPI officials were, at least, steadfast in upholding their principles of nonviolence “under any circumstances” (Monteiro 2002, 369).

Processes of “attraction” and “pacification” were also processes of both spatial control and the intentional restructuring of social organization, including habits of dress, living structures, activities, foodstuffs and, of course, language. The Pataxó Hãhãhãe describe their ancestors as being fluent in their heritage language prior to the establishment of the reservation, after which they would only speak privately amongst themselves, risking physical punishment for doing so. Younger generations might have heard the language spoken at times until the mid-1900s, when there were still numbers of Hãhãhãe speakers around who had grown up before the establishment of the reservation, but with such restricted use, younger generations were not able to learn the language fluently themselves. In the late 1970s and early 80s, recordings of roughly 100 words were made by Maria Hilda Paraíso, Aracy Lopes da Silva, and Greg Urban, with the

last documented speaker of this generation, Bahetá. A primer was developed from these recordings (Silva et al 1982) that continues to be of great symbolic value to the Pataxó Hãhãhãe. It is also the only access that many have to their heritage language. Other documentation of the language includes an unpublished list of 70 words elicited by Colonel Antônio de Azevedo in 1936 (see Urban 1985), a 162-word list elicited by Wilber Pickering from Titiá in 1961 (Meador 1978), as well as unpublished lists of roughly 200 words in total collected by Kurt Nimuendajú in 1938.

Although sometimes confused or conflated in the literature with Pataxó, the Pataxó Hãhãhãe language is consistently placed in the Maxakalí language family, which is in turn placed in the tentative Macro-Jê stock (see Loukotka 1931, Davis 1968, Urban 1985, Campbell 2012, Rodrigues 2013). Sources disagree on the number and the names of dormant languages to include in the Maxakalí family (see Campbell 2012, 98), but invariably include the Maxakalí, Pataxó and Pataxó Hãhãhãe languages, although the latter are sometimes described as dialects of each other (see Loukotka 1963, Urban 1985). Loukotka (1968, 69-70) describes Maxakalí (Mashakali or Maxacari) as a “western” language in a Maxakalí stock, and Pataxó (Patasho) and Pataxó Hãhãhãe (Hahaháy) as two different “eastern” languages of this stock.

The relationship and status of both of these languages, Maxakalí and Pataxó, is relevant to the revitalization of Pataxó Hãhãhãe in both linguistic and ideological senses, as I will explore in more detail later. The Maxakalí language is still spoken by more than 1,000 speakers in the neighboring state of Minas Gerais (Simons and Fennig 2017), including young children. Urban (1985) makes a convincing argument for the dialect relationship of Pataxó Hãhãhãe and Pataxó, though he qualifies it as “based on now permanently fragmentary data” (1985, 605). Pataxó, though previously dormant and with little documentation, is currently being re-elaborated and

revitalized as Patxohã (see Bomfim 2012).

## 2.5 Tupinambá

The Tupinambá of Olivença, also known as the Tupikinim, had been *aldeado*, or “settled”, since 1700 along the eastern coast of Bahia just south of Ilheus (Paraíso 1988, 53). The other Pataxó Hãhãhãe ethnicities had been able to remain inland in what had been nearly impenetrable lands for non-indigenous settlers until the mid-1800s, in part because of their ongoing resistance to settler encroachment (see Barickman 1995). The Tupinambá, as “tame” Indians, had been subjected to the methods of forced acculturation and coerced labor as developed by the Portuguese Crown since the 1700s (ibid). First made to produce handicrafts for the Jesuits, they were later used as a source of free labor for foreign lumber companies in the clearing of their own lands. Under pressure from powerful cocoa farmers, locally known as the *coroneis do cacau*, or “cocoa colonels”, their *aldeia*, or reservation (lit. “village”) was officially dissolved. After a failed attempt to regain control of their lands in 1935, some fled to Caramuru-Paraguaçu. (Paraíso 1988, 53).

The Tupinambá language, also known as *Tupí antigo*, or “Old Tupí”, is classified within the Tupí branch of the Tupi-Guaranian subfamily of Eastern Tupí languages of the Tupían language stock (Campbell 2012, 110; Rodrigues and Cabral 2012, 498). According to Rodrigues (1986, 20-1 and 100-1), Tupinambá, once spoken by numerous Tupí indigenous groups along the Eastern coast of Brazil, ceased to be a predominantly indigenous language in the 16th and 17th centuries, when it developed into the contact language known as *Língua Geral*, ‘general’ or ‘common’ language. Portuguese settlers were a small minority compared to their Tupinambá

speaking allies in the early centuries of the colonization of Brazil. Their children, many of whom had Tupí heritage, grew up speaking Tupinambá, which at the time was also known as “Língua Brasília,” or the ‘Brazilian Language’ (101). Increased immigration from Portugal and the ‘decimation’ of local indigenous populations fueled a shift to Portuguese near the colonial administrative center of Salvador, Bahia (ibid). In the frontier regions of the Colony, however, the Brazilian Language (Tupinambá) was the common language used between:

... the Portuguese and their descendants - predominantly *mestiços* [of mixed heritage] - and slaves (including African [slaves]), the Tupinambá and other Indians incorporated into missions, farms and troops: to summarize, the entire population, regardless of origin, who came to be integrated into the colonial system. (ibid)

Varieties of Tupinambá that arose from the intense interethnic contact of colonial times were so widely-spoken as to be considered the predominant language among neo-Brazilians for nearly three centuries (Bacelar and Góis 1997, 107-8), such that the Portuguese Crown prohibited its use in the 18th century (Rodrigues 1986, 21). Considering this history of contact, it is not surprising that varieties of Tupinambá have been the source of many loans into Brazilian Portuguese (hereafter “BP”). These are not limited to the more expected names for local flora, fauna and geography, although those are numerous (ibid). One classic example is the famous arid vegetation of the *Sertão*, or ‘big desert,’ of the Brazilian Northeast, referred to as *caatinga*, from Tupinambá *kaɔa tɪŋa*, or ‘white vegetation’.<sup>9</sup> BP *jacaré*, or ‘alligator’ is a direct loan from Tupinambá *jacaré* (Rodrigues 1986, 21). Place names of Tupinambá origin throughout Brazil are innumerable. In Figure 5, below, I list a small number of examples of such locations in Bahia (see Rodrigues 1986, 22).

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<sup>9</sup> This example is commonly known in the Brazilian Northeast. My gloss here is based on Rodrigues’ (1986, 22) translations.

Placename	Tupinambá Source Word	Gloss
a. Iguaçu	ý-guaçu river-large	‘large river’
b. Itinga	ý-tíng-a river-white-?	‘white river, white water’
c. Ibipeba	yby-péb-a land-flat-?	‘flat land’
d. Itauna	itá-ún-a rock-black-?	‘black rock’
d. Jaguaripe	jaguár-ý-pe jaguar-river-? <sup>10</sup>	‘jaguars’ river’

Figure 2.5: Tupinambá source words for a few examples of place names in Bahia, Brazil.

The examples are so numerous that, in Bahia, at least, one seems to be surrounded by Tupinambá linguistic heritage, from the beach names in Salvador, to the innumerable small towns in the inland countryside, to the names of apartment buildings and corporations, such as the *Itaú* bank, from Tupinambá *itá-ý*, or ‘river of stones’ (ibid). The name *Cauã*, popularly translated as ‘hawk’ and attributed to Tupinambá, is increasingly popular among indigenous and non-indigenous Brazilians alike. Rodrigues estimates that about one third of the roughly 1,000 popular names for birds are of Tupinambá origin, while the same is true for almost half of the popular names of fish (ibid). The loans also include words relating to beliefs, daily habits, and instruments; and some loans even became productive for the formation of compounds and derivatives (Bacelar and Gois 1997, 110). BP *capim*, or ‘grass,’ for example, which is used generally to refer to the taller grasses of uncleared lands and is also an element of numerous compounds such as *capim cidreira*, or ‘lemongrass,’ has its origins in Tupinambá *caá pi?i*, or ‘slender leaf’ (111). Bacelar and Góis provide 63 examples of compounds with *capim* as the

<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately Rodrigues does not provide a morpheme by morpheme gloss for these words, though he marks the morpheme boundaries.

lexical nucleus (111-2). They also provide the example of Tupinambá [pi'pɔka], or 'popping the skin', as the origin for the BP word *empipocar*, or 'to form eruptions on the skin' (111). It is also the origin of the BP word for 'popcorn': *pipoca* [pi'pɔka] (Glosbe 2018). The Tupinambá loan [si'pɔ], a type of vine, is a component of 56 BP words, including the verb *cipoar*, or 'to beat with cipó' (Bacelar and Góis 1997, 113), and *cipoada*, 'a beating with cipó' or, more generally, 'a difficulty' or 'a criticism' (Glosbe 2018). Bacelar and Gois even call Tupinambá "the great substrate of Brazilian Portuguese," crediting it with both lexical and semantic distinction from European Portuguese (ibid), although this under values the influence of African languages (see, for example, Castro 2001). The Amazonian variety of *Lingua Geral*, also known as "modern Tupí" or *Nheengatú* (lit. "good speech") is still spoken by various indigenous groups,<sup>11</sup> where it certainly continues to influence the local Portuguese (116). In Bahia, however, the latest reference to the widespread use of a variety of Tupinambá dates to 1794 (see Navarro 2012, 245).

Some Tupinambá borrowings into BP are well-known and yet still carry symbolic meaning associated with indigeneity. Some examples are *óca*, or 'house', which is understood to be specifically a traditional indigenous structure of some kind; *pajé*, the BP equivalent of the English 'shaman'; *maracá*, or 'rattle'; *curumim*, defined as 'boy' by Rodrigues (1986, 22) but in my experience often used to mean 'child;' and *Tupã*, used interchangeably with *Deus*, or 'God,' although that was not its meaning in Tupinambá. Some such words are commonly found in Brazilian pop culture, for example in names for schools or commercial products. Such loans, and also some that are less commonly known outside of indigenous Brazil, are popular choices for code-switching among the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, as I will discuss in more detail later. Much more

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<sup>11</sup> For more on the ideological context of the current use of *Nheengatú*, see Shulist 2013.

extensive documentation exists of Tupinambá than of the other Hãhãhãe languages, including online dictionaries (see, for example, Glosbe 2018), making it comparatively accessible.

## 2.6 The Pataxó Hãhãhãe of Posto Indígena Caramuru-Paraguaçu

All five of the main Pataxó Hãhãhãe ethnicities currently speak BP as a first language, and consider themselves to be Pataxó Hãhãhãe. However, differences in linguistic and contact history and ethnic identification continue to have significance in everyday life. The contact histories between some ethnicities are two centuries apart, but are otherwise strikingly similar in detail, such as the parallels in form, practice and motive between the planned Tupinambá villages of the 1700s and the *rancho queimado*, or ‘burned ranch’, settlement at Caramuru-Paraguaçu where the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and Baenã were made to live 200 years later (see Barickman 1995, Monteiro 2002), as I discuss in more detail elsewhere. For the Tupinambá, intensive contact had already begun in the 1700s (Paraiso 1988, 53); for the Kariri-Sapuyá and Kamakã, it would not begin until the 1800s. Still, all three communities most likely shifted to BP sometime in the 1800s, considering the historically widespread use of the Tupinambá language among frontier populations in Brazil (see Bacelar and Góis 1997). The history of more intensive contact with non-indigenous settlers is much more recent for the Baenã and Pataxó Hãhãhãe, who were able to maintain relative autonomy until the 1920s; but their transition to speaking BP was also very abrupt: generations born after the move to the reservation were raised speaking BP.

I attempt to visually represent the histories of intensive contact and language shift for each of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe ethnicities in Figure 6, below. While it is unknown when the last fluent speaker was lost for each language, I represent each ethnicity’s shift to BP as a transition



from yellow to blue. These shifts are according to my own estimates based on what is known about each community's history and are not intended to be exact. Also, note that for Kamakã and Pataxó Hãhãhãe, the language was last documented decades after each community shifted to BP. In these cases, the last documented speaker remembered at least some of the language but had not been able to speak with another fluent speaker for years.

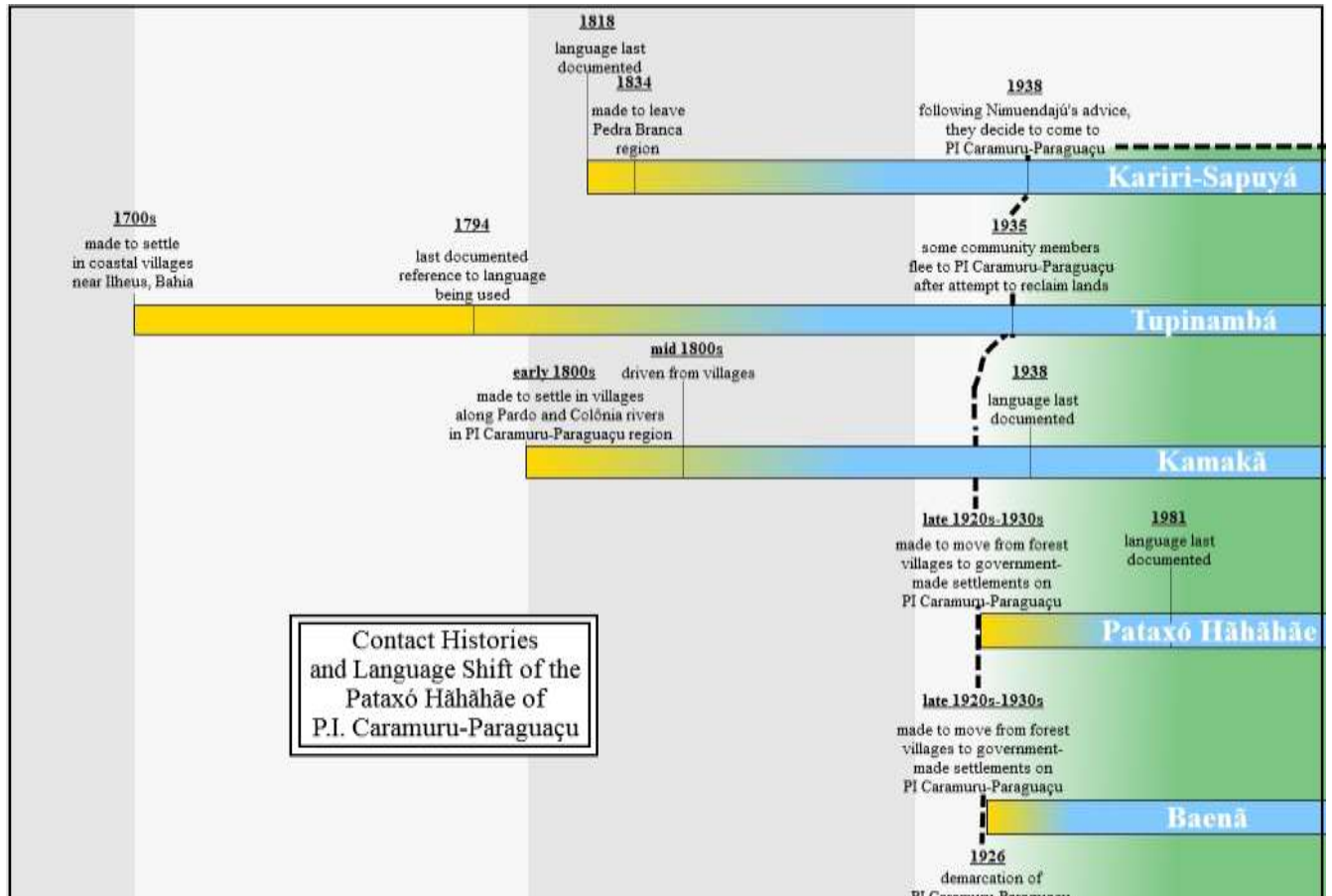


Figure 2.6: A visual representation of the contact histories and shift to BP for five Pataxó Hãhãhãe ethnicities: the Baenã, Pataxó Hãhãhãe, Kamakã, Tupinambá, and Kariri-Sapuyá. Each bar, from left to right, represents the history of more intensive contact with non-indigenous settlers and Brazilians. The transition in color from yellow to blue on each bar represents my own rough estimate of when each community shifted to BP.

In the above figure, the ethnicities are organized from top to bottom according to when each moved to the PI Caramuru-Paraguaçu, where they would eventually become Pataxó Hãhãhãe. The Kariri-Sapuyá and the Tupinambá were previously settled in the inland region west of Salvador, Bahia, and on the southern coast of Bahia, respectively. The Kamakã, Pataxó

Hãhãhãe, and Baenã had been in the Caramuru-Paraguaçu region for a much longer time, though the Kamakã had been settled into villages and incorporated into the fringes of colonial society since the early 1800s. Even today, people see and organize themselves according to ethnicity, or “ethnically and genealogically defined families”, in terms of political organization and spatial organization on the PI Caramuru-Paraguaçu (see Souza 2002, 14). Each ethnicity also has its own *cacique*, or political leader, and many extended families have “community centers” and “community organizations” that are inescapably associated with their ethnicity, and through which they petition for access to different kinds of government services. Possibly these forms of community organization will shift with the coming generations, most of whom are multi-ethnic.

Pataxó Hãhãhãe is the language most recently documented, by Silva and Urban (see Silva et al. 1982) in 1981, as well as by Dr. Maria Hilda Paraiso, an anthropologist who is still remembered as the “mother of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe” for her role in the recognition of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and organizing to reclaim reservation lands, in 1979. The most recently documented Hãhãhãe words were provided by Bahetá, a woman who had come to Caramuru-Paraguaçu as an adult in the 1920s (see Coqueiro 2002). Perhaps in part because this documentation occurred during a critical time in the Pataxó Hãhãhães’ struggle to reclaim land and identity, Bahetá and the resulting primer (see Silva et. al. 1982) are claimed and held in high esteem by people of all Pataxó Hãhãhãe ethnicities. However, people are also aware of their own linguistic heritage, and while they might claim an association with the Bahetá primer, and even the Pataxó Hãhãhãe language, they may at the same time not consider it to be their own language. Figure 7, below, is a representation of the different heritage languages of PI Caramuru-Paraguaçu and their relation to each other and other known languages. As you can see, apart from being included in the Macro-Jê hypothesis, a distant relationship at best, none of the languages of Caramuru-

Paraguaçu are related, at least to our current knowledge.

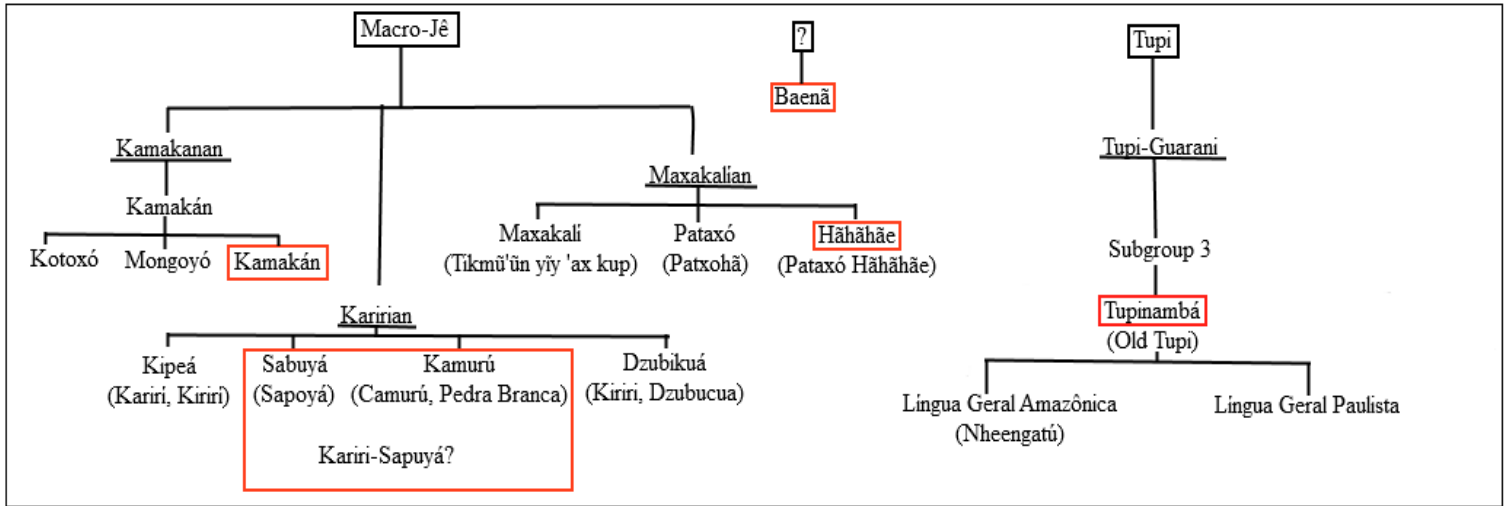


Figure 2.7: The heritage languages of the five main Pataxó Hähähäe ethnicities. Each heritage language in question is enclosed in a red quadrangle. In the case of Kariri-Sapuyá two different possible documented heritage languages are indicated, as discussed above. For the sake of clarity and economy of space, I only include other related languages only at the family level, and of these, only those most often included in each language family. Like Campbell (2012), I consider Baenã to be unclassified due to a lack of reliable documentation. Also, note that while I include current-day Patxohã (see Bomfim 2012), its location in the above representation is based on what is known of historical Pataxó, as documented in the 1800s. Of these languages, only Maxakalí and Nheengatú (see Shulist 2013) are currently spoken, though Patxohã and Hähähäe are both awakening languages. (see Loukotka 1968, Rodrigues 1986, Campbell 2012, Simons and Fenig 2017).

I was first invited to work with the Pataxó Hähähäe on the reclaiming of their heritage language by the only remaining Baenã “family”, whose genealogical heritage is tied to one of the last documented speakers of Pataxó Hähähäe, who was also an important community leader during the early decades of the reservation, Titiá. This resulted in my linguistic research being focused largely on the Pataxó Hähähäe language, and my field experience being anchored in my relationship with the extended Titiá family. In my future research, I hope to add Tupinambá to the Pataxó Hähähäe Dictionary, and to expand our knowledge of the Kamakã and Kariri-Sapuyá languages, and perhaps even the undocumented Baenã language, through comparative research.

## 2.7 The Making of the Pataxó Hähähäe Dictionary

The Pataxó Hãhãhãe Dictionary contains lists of Hãhãhãe, Kamakã, and Kariri-Sapuyá words (REF section that describes their relationship here) and their glosses in Brazilian Portuguese. Each language has its own section, with a brief explanation about extant documentation and what might be known about pronunciation. This separation was important to community members, so that the *raíz*, ‘root’ or ‘origin,’ of the words remain clear. The Baenã language does not have its own section, as there is currently no reliable documentation of the Baenã language. However, the Hãhãhãe section is titled “Baenã-Hãhãhãe” in recognition of the close historic alliance of these groups. There is currently only one extended family that is recognized as Baenã, who is also Hãhãhãe. The Tupinambá language has not (yet) been included, as there are already dictionaries in that language that are accessible to the Pataxó Hãhãhãe community.

Prior to this Pataxó Hãhãhãe Dictionary, the main access that community members had to their heritage language was the primer *Lições de Bahetá*, or “Bahetá’s Lessons” (see Silva et al 1982). This primer is of great symbolic importance to community members. However, it has a few drawbacks for language revitalization. First, the words are not in alphabetic order, and instead are organized according to semantic domain, which makes looking up words more time-consuming and difficult. More importantly, and despite its symbolic value, the fact that it contains words in the heritage language of only one Pataxó Hãhãhãe ethnicity has at times caused some to hesitate to use it. Everyone might consider themselves to be Pataxó Hãhãhãe, but they also might be Kamakã, for example, and not see the primer as representing their language. In this way the Pataxó Hãhãhãe Dictionary was both an improvement and a controversial step, as

it made this tension in community unity explicit. Still, many were glad that their language had been included.

I of course also expanded the Hãhãhãe section to include words found on the Hãhãhãe lists from sources other than the Bahetá Primer, though it has been important to emphasize that the dictionary does *also* include the words from the Bahetá Primer. For this reason, and following the advice of one community leader, I added the following sentence to the cover of the dictionary: “With all of the words from the Primer, and more!” The cover also features an image of Bahetá herself, and in the background, a landscape feature that is culturally significant and symbolic of Hãhãhãe origins. For consistency, I translated entries in the Hãhãhãe section of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe Dictionary into the community orthography used in the Bahetá primer. As discussed in more detail above, my comparison with Maxakalí not only confirmed the relationship between the two languages but also allowed for the addition of a partial grammar of the language to be added to the dictionary. Whenever possible, I used words from the most reliable Hãhãhãe list, as discussed in the methods section of the Comparison of Pataxó Hãhãhãe and Maxakalí. This comparison also made possible an internal analysis of Hãhãhãe that guided such decisions and revealed some previous errors in documentation.

For example, the Bahetá primer (Silva & Urban 1982) provides different words for ‘cup’ and ‘pan,’ shown as a and b, below. The words for ‘pan’ and ‘cup’ seem to differ in onset, with ‘pan’ beginning with /k/ and ‘cup’ with /h/. However, the word provided for ‘pan’ on three other lists is very similar to Bahetá’s word for ‘cup,’ while no other word has been documented for ‘cup.’

(1)	Azevedo	Nimuendajú	Scheibe	Pickering	Silva & Urban	Gloss
a.	-	hamtoáy	hamtoái	hãmpɽfũʔai	kaptfuai	‘pan’

b.           -                           -                           -                           -                           habtʃuái           ‘cup’

In comparing the words with Maxakalí, it becomes clear that the Hãhãhãe word for ‘pan’ is composed of the root ‘carry,’ a generalizing prefix hãm-, and a nominalizing suffix -ʔai (see a-c below). These affixes are found on other Hãhãhãe words as well. It is interesting to note that this is not the strategy used in forming the Maxakalí words for ‘cup’ or ‘pan.’ If /kaptʃuai/ had been provided for ‘cup’ and /habtʃuái/ for ‘pan,’ there would be more doubt that possibly there was a prefix in Hãhãhãe or some another morphosyntactic feature that might explain the difference between the words. However, considering that there is agreement between three other lists that the word for ‘pan’ does indeed begin with /h/, it seems more likely that the /k/ is the result of documentation error.

(2)	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	hãm-	generalizing prefix
b.	ʃuk	‘carry in a bag’
c.	-ʔaj	nominalizing suffix
d.	kõnãg tatʔaj	‘cup’ (water carry.liquid-nom.suffix)

As with any dictionary, the Pataxó Hãhãhãe Dictionary will need to be updated as the languages continue to be analyzed, used, and potentially elaborated by the Pataxó Hãhãhãe community. The Pataxó Hãhãhãe may or may not also wish to simplify the orthography used in the Hãhãhãe section of the dictionary, a possibility I discuss in Chapter 2. More information may also become available on the Kamakã and Kariri-Sapuyá languages, possibly also through comparative research. In the meantime, the dictionary is a practical resource for the use and revitalization of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe languages that expands community access to the language.

### 3 Comparing Hãhãhãe and Maxakalí

#### 3.1 Introduction

In this section, I will present the results of a comparison between the Maxakalí and Pataxó Hãhãhãe languages. I have two purposes for doing so: (1) to provide further insight into the relationship between the two languages, and (2) to lay the groundwork for a more detailed description of Hãhãhãe, as well as a more ambitious (re)construction of the language for revitalization purposes. Despite the fragmentary nature of current documentation, the Hãhãhãe language can give us insight into the potential effects of simultaneous language change, contact, and shift, and how we might be able to decipher the results. Comparing the Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe languages raises the question not only of the relationship between the two, but the possibility that Hãhãhãe is actually a mixed language (see Bakker 1994 for a discussion and case studies of mixed languages). Considering the intensity of contact between indigenous languages in the two hundred years (at least) prior to the earliest documentation of Hãhãhãe, and the potential for more rapid language change as escalating inter-ethnic and indigenous-settler conflicts caused communities to become ever more fragmented and mobile, this would not be a surprising scenario. On the other hand, the Hãhãhãe language was also documented during a time of extreme language shift, in which speakers may not have been using the language for decades. This may have caused some rememberers of the language to draw on other languages to fill in the gaps as they struggled to remember words that they had not used in years. Or, they may have been at least partially multilingual, or have had partial access to multiple languages at that point. I will explore these scenarios in more detail in my discussion in this section.

The Hãhãhãe language also has obvious significance for the Hãhãhãe themselves, both in terms of symbolic value and on a deeper, more personal level, as is the case with any heritage language. However, there are practical obstacles to using the language extensively. The fact that documentation of Hãhãhãe is currently limited to nouns means that making sentences is difficult, even for the verbal artists who compose lyrics for the Toré, a traditional dance accompanied by call and response style singing<sup>12</sup>. While the language is already being used in meaningful ways, as I discuss elsewhere, many people express the desire to be able to speak the language more fluently and to make it more of a part of everyday communication. It is my hope that this research will offer some practical tools to do so. I also hope that it provides the reassurance that there are ways to (re)construct the language that reflect its history, and in that way reinforce the highly-valued connection with Hãhãhãe ancestors. I will provide a description of Hãhãhãe and propose methods for (re)constructing the language in the following section. Of course, however they choose to use the language would be legitimately Hãhãhãe, regardless of how closely it reflects past use of the language.

The Pataxó Hãhãhãe language is placed in the Maxakalí language family of the hypothesized Macro-Jê language stock, invariably along with the Maxakalí and Pataxó languages, the latter of which also being considered to have a dialectal relationship with Pataxó Hãhãhãe, and sometimes also with a range of languages such as Malalí and other under-documented languages that are considered to possibly belong to the family (see Loukotka 1931, Davis 1968, Urban 1985, Campbell 2012, Rodrigues 2013) While Pataxó Hãhãhãe is sometimes referred to as “Northern Pataxó,” and Pataxó is sometimes called “Pataxó of the Extreme South,”

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<sup>12</sup> Toré lyrics are composed in Brazilian Portuguese and/or one or more indigenous languages. Often, specific Torés will be borrowed and shared between indigenous communities of the Northeast. I discuss Toré lyrics in more detail in Chapter 7.



at least when referring to the speaking community, there is occasionally confusion between the two in the literature. I will refer to Pataxó Hãhãhãe as “Hãhãhãe,” and Pataxó as “Coastal Pataxó,” a reference to the location of the speaking community, in order to disambiguate my references to these different varieties of Pataxó. Greg Urban (1985) compared Coastal Pataxó and Hãhãhãe, identifying 26 cognates out of 35 words available for comparison, and concluded that the languages are dialects of each other. Since Urban’s study, a Maxakalí dictionary produced by the SIL phonologists Popovich and Popovich (2005) has become available, greatly facilitating access to the Maxakalí language. I focus here on the relationship between Pataxó Hãhãhãe and Maxakalí, the latter of which is the only language in the family that is still spoken as a first language.<sup>1</sup> I do not include Pataxó in my focus, though it is certainly of interest for future research.<sup>2</sup>

### 3.2 Methods

Documentation of the Hãhãhãe language consists of five lists: (1) 70 words collected by a Brazilian colonel, Antônio Medeiros de Azevedo in 1936; (2) 170 words collected 1945 by Curt Nimuendajú (formerly Unckel), the self-taught German anthropologist and famed “Indianist” later naturalized as Brazilian; (3) 40 words collected by Paulo Scheibe in 1957 and published by

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<sup>1</sup> Not only is Maxakalí still spoken as a first language, but it is spoken by all generations in the community, many of whom are monolingual speakers. Even many bilingual Maxakalí-Portuguese speakers prefer the Maxakalí language whenever possible. Understanding why this might be so considering that they have a similar contact history to the coastal Pataxó, and especially the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, is an interesting question for future research.

<sup>2</sup> I do include Pataxó in a separate column in the comparison list I include in the appendix. Also, I refer in this section to historical documentation of the Pataxó language, as spoken prior to contact, the community’s shift to Portuguese, and its subsequent revitalization as “Patxohã”, which I discuss elsewhere. Current documentation of this older variety of Pataxó consists of a list of 90 words collected by the German naturalist Prince Wied-Neuwied during his trip to Northeastern Brazil in 1815-1816, and a list of 7 words collected by the German botanist Von Martius in 1867.

the Czechoslovak linguist Čestmír Loukotka; (4) a list of 162 words provided by the speaker Titiá and documented by SIL linguist Wilbur Pickering in 1961; and (5) 121 words provided by the last recorded speaker, Bahetá, recorded by Aracy Lopes da Silva and Greg Urban, and later analyzed and published as a primer called *Lições de Bahetá: sobre a língua Pataxó Hãhãhãĩ*, or “Lessons from Bahetá: about the Pataxó Hãhãhãĩ language,” in 1982. This primer is of great symbolic value to the Hãhãhãe and provides the only access that many currently have to the language. Together these lists provide 288 words in Hãhãhãe, counted according to their gloss in Brazilian Portuguese. Two sentences are provided in the Bahetá primer, but with only a broad gloss in Portuguese it is impossible at this point to analyze their meaning beyond the phrase level. Out of the total 288 words, 194 could be compared with Maxakalí words that shared the same Brazilian Portuguese gloss<sup>13</sup> in the dictionary developed by Popovich and Popovich (2005).

The reliability of the Hãhãhãe lists varies. Very little information is available about Colonel Azevedo, or about the context in which his list of 70 words was collected. He appears to have used an orthography based on Brazilian Portuguese as spoken at the time. Following Urban’s (1985) example, I interpreted initial r and intervocalic rr as /h/, for example. The words from this list were not necessary for this comparison, as in every relevant case there was another example from another, more reliable, list. Still, Azevedo’s list remains important both as a confirmation of the information on other lists, and for a comparison of which words were recalled by potentially different speakers in each time period, and to gauge the extent of variation between the lists. I will discuss these questions in more detail later in this section, when discussing the possibility that Hãhãhãe is a mixed language.

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<sup>13</sup> I translated the glosses used in the Nimuendajú lists from German with the kind assistance of my German colleague Brigitte Huber, for which I am very grateful. All errors are my own.

Much more is known about Curt Nimuendajú, the self-taught anthropologist and famed “Indianist.” While he did not use IPA himself, his orthography was both consistent and relatively detailed (see Araujo 1996). A list of 37 words in Hãhãhãe collected by Nimuendajú were subsequently published by Čestmír Loukotka (1963:32-33). However, the words used in this comparison are from my own analysis of 170 Hãhãhãe words documented in Nimuendajú’s original, unpublished notes kept at the Archives of the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro.

I have not been able to discover any information about the training or methods of Paulo Scheibe. My only access to the list of words he documented has been the 40 words published by Čestmír Loukotka (1963), who provides no background information on Scheibe but does cite the list as being part of Scheibe’s unedited manuscript held in the library of well-renown Brazilian anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro. Loukotka, himself a well-renown linguist, does not provide information about what symbols may have been used in the original list, or in his own publication, but does seem to use the IPA of the times. As with the Azevedo list, the words in the Scheibe list were documented on other, more reliable, lists, with the only exceptions being the words for “sun” and “moon.”

The 162 words provided by Titiá and documented by Wilbur Pickering are most reliable in the sense that Pickering, a trained linguist, documented the words using a detailed, narrow phonetic transcription using IPA symbols. Pickering was one of a team of eight linguists doing fieldwork in the region from August until October of 1961 (Meader 1978:8). According to Meader, Brazilian Portuguese was the language of communication among all of the communities in which his team was doing fieldwork, include the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, and few speakers were located who remembered some words of their heritage language. Titiá was 45 at the time (45), so there should not have been any effects of aging on his pronunciation, although it may have been

decades since he had openly spoken the language. He would have been around 15 when the Posto Indígena (henceforth PI) Caramuru-Paraguaçu was established. According to my collaborators, speakers of his generation continued to speak the language among themselves, especially outside the hearing of non-speakers, but it is difficult to estimate what his fluency might have been at that point.

In contrast, Bahetá was already in her 80s by the time she recorded the 121 words collected by Silva and Urban in 1982 (Silva et al 1988:1). Another factor in the reliability of Bahetá's list, is that while audio recordings were made, the tapes were sent away to São Paulo to be analyzed, so that the linguist analyzing the tapes was not actually present to hear in person and visually witness the pronunciation and elicitation context of each word. While this may have introduced some errors, the recordings themselves, digitized by Greg Urban in 2009, are an invaluable resource for studying the Hãhãhãe language. Listening to the recordings, it is clear that it was either difficult for Bahetá to remember many words and/or she was ambivalent about working with the researchers to document the language. Wind and other environmental factors also affected the quality of the recordings. It is fortunate that many of the words provided by Bahetá and Titiá are the same, allowing for a comparison of the audio from Bahetá's recordings and Pickering's phonetic transcription. This combination provides us with a fairly reliable idea of what most of the documented Hãhãhãe words sounded like. And, in addition to the words that Bahetá provided in Hãhãhãe, the Hãhãhãe L1 influence on her L2 Brazilian Portuguese is an important topic for future research that, I think, will shed more light on Hãhãhãe phonetics and phonology. I discuss additional phonetic considerations in more detail below.

In general, I favored words from either the Pickering or Silva & Urban lists as being the most reliable, phonetically and otherwise. I considered ʌ'iptʃui ('bone') as documented by

Pickering to be more likely accurate than either p̃o(b)t̃óy or amot̃óy, the two entries provided on the Nimuendajú lists (for many words Nimuendajú provided multiple entries. When there were differences between the Pickering and Silva & Urban lists, I favored the Pickering list for phonetic accuracy, due to it being transcribed by a trained linguist as the words were said by the speaker, and the relative youth of Titiá as a speaker, unless Bahetá’s audio recordings clearly suggested an error in transcription in the Pickering list. To return to the ‘bone’ example, I considered Pickering’s ʌ'ipt̃fui more likely to be phonetically accurate than aupt̃fui as documented by Silva & Urban. Often a consensus between the lists guided my decision. More rarely, a word that seemed to be cognate with Maxakalí only appeared on one list.

Sometimes, the variation between the Hãhãhãe list, often in combination with the comparison with a Maxakalí cognate, revealed a feature of the internal structure of a word. In 3.1a below, the Hãhãhãe word documented by Scheibe and the Maxakalí word seem to share a diminutive suffix, represented in bold. A cognate form of the root ‘bird’, underlined below, was found on three of the four Hãhãhãe lists. I chose p̃ʌk̃əi from the Silva & Urban list as the most likely accurate version to use in the comparison. The word provided on the Pickering list, while different from the other words glossed as ‘bird’ (it was glossed as ‘another kind of bird’ itself), appears to be composed of the Hãhãhãe prefix ʌ- (discussed in more detail below and in Chapter 4) and the cognate word ‘to fly’, illustrated below in 3.1a and b, in italics. So, the variation between the words glossed as ‘bird’ and ‘another kind of bird’ on different Hãhãhãe lists additionally provided evidence for a diminutive suffix, a pronoun prefix, and a Hãhãhãe word for ‘to fly’.

<b>Hãhãhãe</b>	<b>Hãhãhãe</b>	<b>Hãhãhãe</b>	<b>Hãhãhãe</b>	<b>Hãhãhãe</b>	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
Azevedo	Nimuendajú	Scheibe	Pickering	Silva & Urban	Popovich & Popovich	

	1936	1938	1957	1961	1982	2005	
a.	-	<u>pekáy</u>	<u>pekáy-não</u>	Λ-ηkopa bird-dim. 3p-fly (?)	<u>πακəi</u>	<u>puutwi-nãŋg</u>	‘(little) bird’ bird-dim.
b.	-	-	-	-	-	topa, topaha	‘to fly’
c.	itahap	daḥàbm?	itahábm	tʃahab <sup>ə</sup>	tahab	kwutʃap	‘fire’

Figure 3.1: Three words as they appear on each Hãhãhãe list and as documented in Maxakalí, to illustrate variation between lists. All documented words in (a) were glossed as ‘bird’ or ‘little bird’.

In 3.1c, above, the documentation of the Hãhãhãe word seems to be similar on each list. In this case, I used the Pickering word for the comparison as the most phonetically reliable. I am not concerned about the lack of palatal fricative in the example from Silva & Urban’s list, as there seems to be some loss of this fricative elsewhere in the Hãhãhãe data as well. Also, Bahetá’s recorded speech does show some evidence of, if not a clear fricative, at least aspiration and some palatalization in this word. The presence of /i/ on the three earlier lists is interesting, and points to an intermediate stage of change in which the vowel remained after the initial /k/ was deleted. It is unsurprising that the vowel would eventually dropped from this peripheral location in the word. As in the example for ‘fly’, discussed above, ‘fire’ seems to have (had) a long and short form in both Hãhãhãe and Maxakalí. The final /ə/ in the word documented by Pickering is most likely allophonic variation, as it is the only such example in the Hãhãhãe data.

I include as a supplemental document all of 194 comparable Hãhãhãe words, from each list, along with the Maxakalí words they were compared to, independent of whether or not I classified them as cognate. Included in this list are the corresponding words in Pataxó, whenever possible, though they are not my focus here. The words from each of the Hãhãhãe lists that I used in the comparison are highlighted green. Below, I discuss the results of this comparison in more detail.

### 3.3 Results

Of the total 194 comparable words, I found 76, or 39%, to be cognate. This estimate includes what I call “morphological cognates,” words that contain at least one cognate morpheme but the full word is not cognate. When counting morphological cognates, I was sure to avoid counting the same morpheme more than once. This includes the morphemes of words such as ‘*cachaça*’, illustrated in (2), below:

(2) **Morphological Cognate: *Cachaça***

	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hãhãhãe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	keibuk	mip <sup>Λ</sup> b <sup>?</sup> -heb <sup>?</sup> sugarcane-liquid	‘ <i>cachaça</i> ’ (hard liquor made from sugarcane)
b.	mīt-kup wood-bone	mip- <sup>Λ</sup> b wood-bone	‘sugarcane’
c.	hep	heb	‘liquid’

In the above example, I considered the Hãhãhãe word for *cachaça* to be a morphological cognate because it composed of two morphemes that are cognate (2b-c, above), even though it is not itself cognate with the Maxakalí word for the same concept (2a, above). As I will discuss below, M: /k/ corresponds to H: /∅/ or /ʔ/ in initial position (as in the second morpheme of 2b), whereas in final position M: /p/ often corresponds to H: /b/ (2b-c). The initial morpheme ‘wood’ in 2b is underlyingly /mĩm/ in Maxakalí; in Hãhãhãe the final consonant /m/ seems to have assimilated to the following glottal stop, which was itself eventually deleted, becoming the voiceless consonant /p/. I discuss these sound correspondences in more detail below. In Figure 3.2, below, I illustrate the proportion of the comparable Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe words that I found to be cognate.

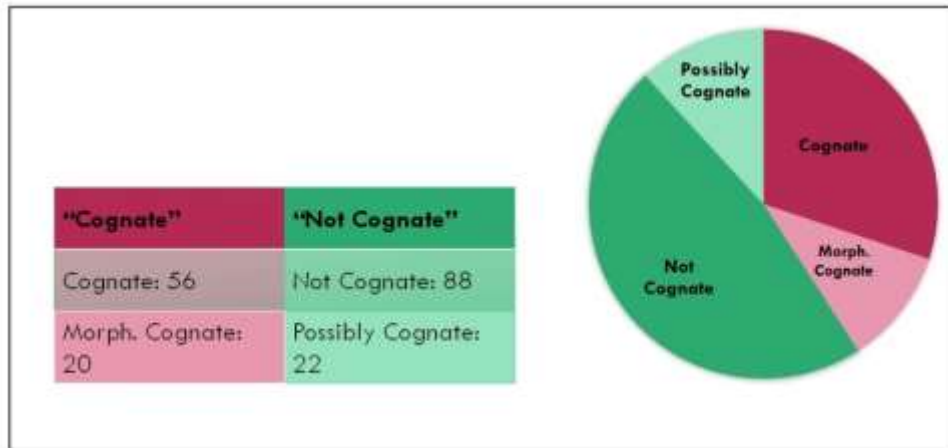


Figure 3.2: The number of words counted as “cognate,” “morphological cognate,” “not cognate,” and “possibly cognate,” out of 194 total words compared between Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe.

Twenty two of the words that I counted as noncognate, or 25% of the total number of words compared, seemed similar to

the corresponding Maxakalí word,

but did not show all of the expected sound correspondences despite having some overlapping segments. For example, the final syllable of Hãhãhãe p’a’ai, or ‘stone’, would seem to be cognate with the final syllable of Maxakalí mĩkai because of the H: /ʔ/ - M: /k/ correspondence pattern in initial position. However, we would have expected mĩ to remain stable between the two languages. In other words, because the words do not demonstrate systematic correspondences they cannot be taken as further evidence of a genetic relationship between Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe (see Trask 2013, 254). In some cases, I may have been overly conservative in considering some words to be non-cognate. I discuss this possibility in more detail in section 3.4, below. 75% of the noncognates seem to be clearly unrelated to the corresponding Maxakalí words. One word, /topa/, is a known loan from Tupí, and, as expected, does not follow the pattern of sound correspondences of the cognate set, in this case M: /t/ - H: /k/.

Most of the words on the list are nouns, and many of them refer to agricultural flora, fauna, and tools and other cultural items. In other words, they belong to categories of lexical items that are known to be more vulnerable to borrowing in situations of contact. Only roughly



26% of the comparable words correspond to items on the 200-word Swadesh list of basic vocabulary less likely to be borrowed, and 20% correspond to items on the more restrictive 100-word Swadesh list. However, this proportion is substantially different for words in the cognate set compared to non-cognate words: while almost half of the cognate words are basic vocabulary items, only a small proportion of the non-cognates are basic vocabulary according to the Swadesh lists. It seems reasonable to assume that a higher proportion of cognates would have been revealed if it had been possible to compare 200 basic vocabulary words.

### 3.3.1 Sound Correspondences: Consonants

The pattern of sound correspondences between the Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe cognates is regular and fairly straightforward. I illustrate an overview of the sound correspondences between Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe consonants in Figure 3.3, below. A full list of sound correspondences, including exceptions and the numbers of cognate pairs, is available in the Appendix.

initial consonants		coda consonants	
Maxakalí	Hãhãhãe	Maxakalí	Hãhãhãe
/t/	/k/	/p/	/p/, /b/, /bm/, /mp/, /m/, /ø/
/k/, /g/	/ʔ/, /ø/	/n/	/ŋ/, /g/, /ø/
/p/	/p/, /b/, /mb/	/t/	/t/, / <sup>h</sup> t/, /i/, /ø/
/ɲ/	/ɲ/, /ŋ/, /g/, /n/	/ʔ/, /h/, /k/, /g/	dropped in all examples <sup>12</sup>
/n/	/ɲ/, /ŋ/, /g/, /n/		

<sup>12</sup> Because coda stops are commonly dropped in Maxakalí, this shows us is that this is likely a feature of Hãhãhãe phonology as well. However, it also leaves us without enough data to know whether these stops are stable across the languages.

/b/	/w/		
stable: /m/, /h/, /tʃ/		stable: /m/, /ŋ/	

Figure 3.3: Consonant sound correspondences between Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe.

The clearest pattern between Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe consonants is a correspondence between M: /t/ - H: /k/, and M: /k/, /g/ - H: /ʔ/ or /ø/, in initial position. There is only one exception to this pattern, though it is exceptional also in being a case in which at least some of the Maxakalí word for ‘cold weather’ appears to be cognate with the Hãhãhãe word for ‘cold,’ rather than a more exact comparison in terms of structure and semantic meaning (see 3g, below). Note that the initial M: /tʃ/ - H: /t/ correspondence is not unexpected, as I will discuss below. It is the initial /t/ of the second syllable that would be expected to correspond to /k/ in Hãhãhãe, according to this pattern of sound correspondences.

(3) **M: /t/ - H: /k/ and M: /k/, /g/ - H: /ʔ/ or /ø/ in Initial Position**

	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hãhãhãe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	pu <sup>h</sup> to <sup>h</sup> hok	bukuhu	‘gray, ashes’
b.	top	kobm	‘fat’
c.	toj	kui	‘long’
d.	ku <sup>h</sup> gõj	ʔuʔuI	‘smoke’
e.	te <sup>h</sup> ej	ke <sup>h</sup> e	‘rain’
f.	te <sup>h</sup> pta	ke <sup>h</sup> bka	‘banana’
g.	tʃ <sup>h</sup> ap <sup>h</sup> te <sup>h</sup> p-tei cold-rain (?)	tap <sup>h</sup> tẽbm	M: ‘cold weather’ H: ‘cold’

/m/ remains stable between the languages, as does /h/ in initial position (see a, below).

The dropping of /h/ in coda position is not surprising, as the deletion of coda consonants is a known feature of Maxakalí phonological variation. Also, /h/ in coda position occurs rarely in Maxakalí, and in the Popovichs’ (2005) dictionary is only found in two examples: /baih/, or

‘good’, and ‘tortoise’ (4b, below). In fact, according to the community grammar developed in 2013, /h/ does not occur in Maxakalí in coda position at all, although it has become popular to use the letter “h” to represent a glottal stop (Equipe Maxakalí 2013:8). In this grammar, ‘good’ appears as /baiʔ/. There is further reason to suspect that there might be something different about the word ‘tortoise,’ which I will discuss in more detail below.

/tʃ/ remains fairly stable, though on the Nimuendajú list it often appears as /t/. It is possibly the case that in morphologically complex words /tʃ/ is more often realized as /t/ in Hãhãhãe. However, most of the morphologically complex Hãhãhãe words are found on the Nimuendajú list. Also, in some cases a word appears with /t/ on the Nimuendajú list and /tʃ/ on (an)other list(s). The Nimuendajú list is neither the earliest nor the most recent list documented, so it would not seem to reflect a broader direction of sound change. For all of these reasons, I suspect that this difference is due to variation across lists, transcribers, or potentially speakers, and is not a true sound correspondence between the languages.

(4) **/m/, /h/ and M: /tʃ/ - H: /tʃ/, /t/**

	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hãhãhãe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	<b>mõʔhap</b>	<b>mohab</b>	‘to roast meat’
b.	<b>kε(g)baih</b>	<b>εwáy</b>	‘tortoise’
c.	<b>tʃoʔop</b>	<b>tʃohob</b>	‘to drink’
d.	<b>tʃok</b>	“A-tó. <sup>4</sup> ” 3p-die	M: ‘to die’ H: ‘He died.’

In both initial and coda position there was a tendency for /n/ to be velarized in Hãhãhãe (see 5a-c, below). In (a) (c) note also that velar consonants are often dropped in Hãhãhãe, as

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<sup>4</sup> In this example, “a” appears to be a personal prefix. Likewise, I argue that /ʌ/ in 5d and 5e is a personal possessive prefix. I discuss this in more detail in Chapter 4.

discussed above, and in (a) that intervocalic /ʔ/ is in free variation with /h/ in Maxakalí in words that have long and short forms (see Araujo 2000, Wetzels 2009). While not nearly as consistent as the M: /t/ - H: /k/ correspondence, the velarization of Hãhãhãe /n/ does make sense in that context, as a voiced, nasal version of the same pattern. In one example, M: /n/ corresponded to H: /ɲ/ (see 5c, below). /p/ also tended to be voiced, and sometimes partly nasalized, in Hãhãhãe (see 5d and e, below). I will return to the question of nasalization when discussing vowel sound correspondences in the following section.

(5) **M: /n/ - H: /ŋg/ and M: /p/ - H: /b/, /mb/**

	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hãhãhãe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	kõnãʔãŋg	ŋg <sub>Λ</sub> h <sub>Λ</sub>	‘water’
b.	mũnũi	m <sub>Λ</sub> ŋg <sub>Λ</sub> i	‘deer’
c.	ɲãinõinãŋg	n <sub>Λ</sub> ŋg <sub>Λ</sub> ùNɲ <sub>Λ</sub>	‘tired’
d.	p <sub>mb</sub> utoj	Λ- <b>mb</b> Λkoi	‘head’
		3p.poss.-head	
e.	hɛp	Λ-hɛ <b>b</b>	‘blood’
		3p.poss.-liquid	

Some of what at first appear to be differences between the languages, or variation between the Hãhãhãe lists, reflect known phonological variation in contemporary Maxakalí that seems to be shared by Hãhãhãe. I will discuss the vowel correspondences in the following section, but it is worth noting here that in many cognate pairs in which there seems to be a M: /o/ - H: /u/ correspondence, it is actually the case that the Maxakalí word is sometimes pronounced with /u/<sup>5</sup>, depending on the speaker (see 6a, below).

(6) **/o/ - /u/ Variation and H: /ɲ/, /p/ and /m/ in coda position**

	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hãhãhãe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
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<sup>5</sup> /u/ is unrounded in Maxakalí.

- |    |                           |              |                                    |
|----|---------------------------|--------------|------------------------------------|
| a. | <b>pohoj</b> (or /puhuj/) | <b>puhui</b> | M: `arrow` H: `bow and arrow`      |
| b. | <b>-nãŋ</b>               | <b>-nã</b>   | diminutive suffix                  |
| c. | <b>pop</b>                | <b>bop</b>   | `monkey` <sup>6</sup> (short form) |
| d. | <b>hãhãm</b>              | <b>hahãm</b> | 'land' (long form)                 |

Maxakalí phonological variation has an unusual feature that may help to explain the apparent dropping of coda consonants in Hãhãhãe. In Maxakalí, consonants correspond to a set of vowels with which they may be replaced to a lesser or greater extent when in coda position (see Gudschinsky et al (henceforth GPP) 1970, Wetzels 2009, Equipe Maxakalí 2013). Wetzels points out that these sounds appear to be in free variation, and that Maxakalí “seems unique in allowing the complete set of syllable-final consonants to be realized as vowels” (2009, 244) which especially occurs in the case of stressed or prolonged syllables, or if the following onset (word-internally or across word boundaries) shares the same place of articulation as the preceding coda stop (GPP 1970, 82; Wetzels 2009, 245).<sup>14</sup> See Figure 3.4, below, for a few examples.

Underlying Consonant	Corresponding Vowel	Pronunciation
/t/	/ɜ/	/pat.kuɔp/ ~ [paɜ.kiɜ] ‘rib’
/n/	/ẽ/	/tõ.mãn/ ~ [tõ.mãẽ] ‘tomato’
/p/	/ɣ/	/pap.tuɔtʃ/ ~ [paɣ.tui] ‘drunk’
/m/	/ĩ/	/mi.hĩm/ ~ [mi.hĩĩ] ‘wood’
/k/	/u/	/kuɔtʃakkiɔk/ ~ [kuɔtʃaukiu] ‘capybara’
/ŋ/	/ũ/	/ɲã.ɲã.mõŋ/ ~ [ɲã.ɲã.mõũ] ‘Uncle has gone.’
/tʃ/	/i/	/ko.katʃ/ ~ [ko.kai] ‘lizard’
/ɲ/	/ĩ/	/mã.ʔãɲ/ ~ [mã.ʔãĩ] ‘alligator’

Figure 3.4: The realization of Maxakalí consonants as vowels in coda position, adapted from Wetzels (2009, 244).

<sup>6</sup> This Hãhãhãe example was recovered through internal analysis made possible by this comparison. It will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

<sup>14</sup> There is also evidence that Maxakalí has historically added consonants to vowel final words, probably to fulfill syllable constraints (see Ribeiro 2012).

In the Hāhāhāe examples compared the dropping of coda consonants correlated with place of articulation: velar stops and nasal consonants were almost invariably dropped in the cognate set whereas the alveolar stop /t/ and alveolar nasal /n/ were only sometimes dropped, the bilabial stop /p/ was only dropped once, and the bilabial nasal /m/ was consistently not dropped (see 6b-d, below). This pattern is similar to the M: /k/, /g/ - H: /ʔ/ or /ø/ correspondence of velar consonants in initial position discussed above. However, /t/ is the only coda consonant that shows evidence of being replaced by a vowel in Hāhāhāe. In coda position, H: /t/ either was dropped (7a, below)<sup>15</sup>, voiced and otherwise weakened (7b, below), or was replaced by /i/ (7c and d, below).

(7) **H: /t/ Weakened or Replaced with /i/ in Coda Position**

	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hāhāhāe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	hāmpakut	Λ-ʔampΛʔi 3p-sickness	M: ‘sickness’ H: ‘sick’ <sup>8</sup>
b.	tʃaptit	tʃa·ki <sup>d</sup>	‘tick’
c.	kohot	uhui <sup>9</sup>	‘manioc root’ <sup>10</sup>
d.	tʃetut	ăn-tëkáy 3p.poss.-wife	M: ‘wife’ H: ‘my wife’

Morphosyntactic processes have also contributed to what at first appear to be differences between the cognate sets. For example, a fair number of Hāhāhāe words also appear with personal prefixes, especially in the case of inalienable possessions such as the names for body parts and kinship terms, but also a few stative-seeming verbs (see 8a-f, below, and 7a, above).

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15 Note the M: /k/ - H: /ʔ/ correspondence in initial position in 7a. Also, Hāhāhāe seems to add a glottal stop after personal prefixes in some words, especially before the prefix hām-, as in 7a.

<sup>8</sup> Glossed as ‘sick’ in existing documentation, 7a actually appears to be a complete phrase: ‘He/She is sick.’

<sup>9</sup> Appears as /ohoy/ on Nimuendajú list. Also, the final /i/ appears as /I/ on the list provided by Titiá.

<sup>10</sup> Manioc is a staple in the diet of both indigenous and non-indigenous people in the region.

These prefixes were made identifiable through comparison with Maxakalí, and further evidence of their presence is provided by Nimuendajú’s glosses, as in 8a, below, and 7d, above. There is some variation between the lists on some of the words that appear to have a prefix in Hãhãhãe. The only glosses to specify possession were provided by Nimuendajú, even though in most cases the words on the other list(s) were the same. It is likely that many of the body part and kinship terms were provided in the possessive, whether or not they were intentionally elicited as such, as is common in contexts of language documentation. It is also common for syllable initial consonants following possessive prefixes in Hãhãhãe to be prenasalized (see 8a, c, e and f, below), which may indicate some nasality of the prefix itself.

(8) Personal Prefixes in Hãhãhãe

	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hãhãhãe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	tʃoj	a-ntóy 1p.poss-tooth	M: ‘tooth’ H: ‘my tooth’
b.	kwʉtʃa	ʌ-ʔʌtʃə ʔp.poss.-heart	‘heart’
c.	ã-tak 1p.poss-father	ɛ-ŋkã 1p.poss-father	‘my father’
d.	tʃok	“A-tó.” 3p-die	M: ‘to die’ H: ‘He died.’
e.	tʃui	ʌ-ntʷui-tʷui ʔp-urinate-urinate (redup.)	‘to urinate’
f.	pota	ʌ-mpo·ka ʔp-weep	‘to weep’

There was only one pair of cognates that featured M: /b/. GPP (1970) propose that Maxakalí consonants are underlyingly either voiceless stops or nasal consonants, and that all voiced stops, liquids and fricatives are surface variants (80) (see 9, below). They argue that plain

and prenasalized voiced stops are therefore underlyingly nasals that have been fully or partially denasalized by neighboring oral vowels (ibid., see also Wetzels 2009:245). Indeed, in the set of cognates compared /p/ almost invariably occurred alongside oral vowels and sometimes corresponded to H:/b/, while /m/ occurred alongside nasal vowels. It would make sense that this M: /b/, which according to GPP would therefore be in allophonic variation with /m/, might lenite to H: /w/ in 10a, below, a correspondence that never occurred with M: /p/. As discussed above, it is unusual in having the coda voiceless fricative M: /h/, a sound that is not usually found in coda position in Maxakalí (see Equipe Maxakalí 2013).

(9) **Consonants in Maxakalí (Wetzels 2009:245)**

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Oral	p	t	c	k	ʔ, h
Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	

(10) **Maxakalí      Hãhãhãe      Gloss**

a.      kɛgbai**h**      ɛwáy      ‘tortoise’

Overall, the consonants in the cognate sets seem quite similar between the languages. The M: /t/ - H: /k/, and M: /k/ - H: /ʔ/, /ø/ sound correspondence pattern in initial position is consistent. The velarization of some instances of H: /n/ and /ɲ/ reflect the M: /t/ - H: /k/ correspondence, although this pattern was not as consistent. Some of the other differences between Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe in the cognate sets seem to reflect allophonic variation rather than true differences between the languages, while others are a consequence of morphological processes. The voicing and nasalization of /p/ in Hãhãhãe is interesting considering the /p/, /m/



contrast in Maxakalí, and, considering the importance of oral or nasal vowels to this contrast, though it should be noted that there is also allophonic variation in Maxakalí in which [b] is sometimes realized as /m/, as discussed above (GPP 1970:78).

My results mirror Urban's (1985) results in his comparison of (Coastal) Pataxó and Hãhãhãe almost exactly, with the exception of P: /m/ - H: /p/, /b/, /m/ (and in one example deleted as a coda consonant), and the fact that /k/ is not always deleted in initial position but sometimes replaced with a glottal stop. Considering that the Pataxó data is significantly older than the Hãhãhãe data, this confirms what we know about the direction of historical change in the family, as Urban points out in relation to the results of his comparison (1985:607). It also confirms Maxakalí's status as a relatively conservative Macro-Jê language (see Ribeiro 2012). I reproduce Urban's illustration of consonant correspondences between Pataxó and Hãhãhãe below, with an added column of the corresponding Maxakalí consonants based on the results of my comparison between Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe.

<b>Pataxó</b> (1815-1816)	<b>Hãhãhãe</b> (1936- 1982)	<b>Maxakalí</b> (2005)
/p/	/p/, /b/, /m/	/p/
/t/	/k/	/t/
/tʃ/	/tʃ/, /t/	/tʃ/
/k/	/ø/	/k/
/m/	/m/, /p/, /b/, /ø/	/m/
/n/	/ŋg/, /ø/	/n/, /ŋ/, /ɲ/
/ŋg/	/ø/	

Figure 3.5: Consonant correspondences reproduced from Urban (1985:607), with an additional column of corresponding Maxakalí consonants based on the results of the present comparison. I have changed Urban's č to tʃ, for consistency.

Please note that my results are not based on the same dataset as Urban's study. For some of Urban's Pataxó and Hãhãhãe cognate pairs there is not a corresponding cognate in Maxakalí.

Also, neither the Nimuendajú list nor Popovich & Popovich's (2005) Maxakalí dictionary were available to Urban at the time of his 1985 study. In some cases, our criteria also differed slightly. For example, Urban considered Pataxó /mai/, or 'neck', to be cognate with Hãhãhãe /ʔtʃipai/, marking ʔtʃi with parentheses that seem to imply that he considers it to be a prefix, so that P: /mai/ could be compared with H: /pai/ (see Urban 1985, 606). In my comparison, as discussed above, I found evidence that ʔ- is a personal prefix. Possibly ʔtʃi- is another personal prefix, but I did not find sufficient evidence of this. However, I did not consider Maxakalí /tʃuknĩkup/, or 'neck', to be cognate with Hãhãhãe /tʃipai/.

Despite these differences in our datasets, the sounds listed above do reflect the sound correspondence pattern attested by the Maxakalí-Hãhãhãe cognate set. The last row does not have a Maxakalí consonant listed as there were no relevant comparisons in the correspondence pattern between Hãhãhãe and Maxakalí. For each of the examples discussed in Urban's comparison, there was no Maxakalí cognate with which to compare. The above figure can also be misleading in giving the impression that the Pataxó and Maxakalí words are more similar than they actually are. Some of the actual differences can be appreciated in Figure 3.6, below.

My results also answer at least one of Urban's lingering questions: Urban notes the absence of alveolar nasal consonants in final position in Hãhãhãe that are present in the Pataxó data, and wonders whether this difference might also be true in the case of the corresponding oral stop (606). I list the examples to which he refers in Figure 3.6, below. Note that Urban did not include Maxakalí in his comparison, though he does discuss Popovich's (see Meader 1978, 9) observations of Maxakalí – Hãhãhãe correspondences in his discussion.

	<b>Pataxó</b> (1815-1816)	<b>Hãhãhãe</b> (1936, 1961)	<b>Maxakalí</b> (2005)	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	pastʃon	bʰahob tʃab	patʃjuuk	‘corn’*
b.	noktʃon	“A-tó.” 3p-die	tʃok	‘die’ H: ‘He died.’
c.	atən	ε-ŋkʰai ʔp-mother	tut	‘mother’
d.	tʃakep-ke-ton	a-tʃiɛku ʔp-thigh	patʃʔikotʃuuk	‘thigh’*

Figure 3.6: Examples provided in Urban (1985:606) of cognates between Pataxó and Hãhãhãe that he uses to demonstrate the absence of alveolar consonants in final position in Hãhãhãe. I have added a column of corresponding Maxakalí words, for comparison. \*While it seems likely that these words are cognate in Hãhãhãe and Maxakalí, I did not include them in my count because they deviate slightly from the sound correspondence pattern that accounts for the cognate set. Urban marks all but ‘mother’ (c, above) with “?” in his 1985 study. The entry that I use for the comparison of ‘die,’ above, is from Nimuendajú’s word lists that were not available to Urban at the time of his study. In his comparison, he uses *ãt/ũ·kú*, which was provided by Titiá in 1961. I do not use this for the same reason I did not include a and d in my cognate count.

As I have shown, the widespread deletion of coda consonants is (or was) a feature of phonological variation shared by Hãhãhãe and Maxakalí. It is also possible that Hãhãhãe, or at least the speakers who provided the words that have been documented, has (or have) a greater tendency to drop coda consonants, and/or that some of these consonants had/have been dropped entirely in Hãhãhãe. The P: /n/ - M: /k/ correspondences in a and b of Figure 3.6, above, are interesting in that there is otherwise not a tendency for alveolar consonants to be velarized in Maxakalí, as they have been in Hãhãhãe

Overall, the pattern of consonant correspondences between Hãhãhãe and Maxakalí confirms what was thought about the Maxakalí family, but that had been based on limited data, and adds to our knowledge of these languages. In the following section, I will discuss the pattern of vowel correspondences and the question of nasal/oral phonemic contrasts in Hãhãhãe.

### 3.3.2 Sound Correspondences: Vowels

Maxakalí distinguishes five oral vowels, each with a corresponding nasal: /i/, unrounded high back /ɯ/, /e/, /o/ and /a/ (see GPP 1970, Wetzels 2009). I have reproduced Wetzels’ illustration of Maxakalí’s vowel inventory below:

(11) **Maxakalí Vowel Inventory**

	Front	central	back	
			unrounded	rounded <sup>16</sup>
high	/i/		/ɯ/	
mid	/e/			/o/
low		/a/		

The phonological variation of Maxakalí vowels has also been well documented. /i/ might be realized as [ɪ] or [e]; /e/ might be realized as [ɛ], or [æ]; /a/ might be realized as [a], [ə], or [ɑ]; /ɯ/ might be realized as [ɪ] or [ɜ]; and /o/ might be realized as [u] (see Araujo 2000, Wetzels 2009). For the most part, documented Hãhãhãe vowels closely match corresponding Maxakalí vowels and their known variants. I list the correspondences between Hãhãhãe and Maxakalí vowels in Figure 3.7, below.

<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hãhãhãe</b>
/i/ [i, ɪ, e]	i
/e/ [e, ɛ, æ]	ɛ, ɛ
/a/ [a, ə, ɑ]	a, ʌ
/ɯ/ [ɪ, ɜ]	most often ʌ or u, but also ɪ, ʌ, a, ʌ̃, ə, o, ʌ
/o/ [o, u]	o, u

Figure 3.7: Sound correspondences between Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe vowels. The underlying Maxakalí vowel is listed between forward slashes (/ /), while possible variations are listed between brackets ([ ]). The Hãhãhãe vowels are listed as documented on the list of origin for each cognate. This figure is meant to represent the overall pattern of correspondences. Some exceptions that had only a few examples are not listed, except in the case of /ɯ/, in order to illustrate the wide range of variation the examples represent. See Figure 3.20 for a more detailed illustration of these correspondences that also includes nasality.

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<sup>16</sup> Wetzels refers to these back vowels as ‘non-labial’ and ‘labial’.

Judging from the figure above, it seems that Hãhãhãe shares some, but not all, of the variation displayed by Maxakalí vowels. We could guess that Hãhãhãe has the same inventory of underlying vowels, and that, like Maxakalí: /e/ may be realized as [ɛ] and /o/ may be realized as [u]. ʌ is close enough to ə that this difference is most likely due to differences in transcription. Variation of /i/ in Hãhãhãe does not seem to include [ɪ] or [e]; /e/ does not seem to include [æ]; and /a/ does not seem to include [ɑ]. However, it might be that this variation existed but was not documented. It is interesting that there seems to be more variation in Hãhãhãe for the vowel(s) that correspond to Maxakalí /u/, which has the “widest range of surface variants” (Wetzels 2009:244). In Hãhãhãe, it is almost always either ʌ or u that corresponds to Maxakalí /u/. This phoneme, if it is indeed a single phoneme in Hãhãhãe, was documented as ɨ, ʌ, a, ʌ̃, ə, or o only once each in the cognate set, and ʌ only twice. This may represent a wide range of surface variants, or an equally wide range of perceptual differences, especially considering that /u/ would not have been in the vowel inventory of any of the first languages of the scholars who have documented Hãhãhãe. In Hãhãhãe, [u] and [ʌ] appear to be allophones, with [ʌ] occurring in close proximity to nasal phonemes.

In 12a and b, below, Hãhãhãe [ʌ] occurs near the nasal prefix used to indicate inalienable possession. It would be interesting to measure to what extent /k/ may be voiced in 12b, as /b/ has been in 12a due to the influence of this prefix. In 12c and d, the deletion of /k/ in Hãhãhãe seems to have been enough for the nasality to the left, in c, and to the right, in d, to have affected the vowel quality of [ʌ]. In 12d, it is interesting that the vowels corresponding to nasal Maxakalí vowels share the unroundedness of Maxakalí /ũ/, as well as the fact that /ũ/ and /ã/ seem to have

merged as their shared allophone [ʌ]. In examples 12e and f, the presence of /tʃ/ is enough to impede the influence of the nasal prefixes to the left.

(12)	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hāhāhāe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	putoj	ʌ-mbʌkoi ʔp.poss-head	‘head’
b.	tuut	ε-ŋk’ʌi ʔp.poss-mother	‘mother’
c.	mĩtkuɸ	mĩʌb	‘sugarcane’
d.	tʃʌpkuĩnāi	ʔʃʌmʌŋgʌi	‘liver’
e.	tʃʌk	hʌmp-tʃu-ʔai nom.prefix-carry.in.a.container-instr.suffix	M: ‘carry in a bag or sack’ H: ‘cup, pan’
f.	tʃʌi	ʌ-ntyui-tyui ʔp-urinate-urinate	‘urinate’

At first it would seem that 13a, below, would be an exception to this pattern. However, as discussed above in section 3.2, there is evidence that the Hāhāhāe word for ‘little bird’ also once had the diminutive suffix -nʌ(ŋ)<sup>17</sup>. Possibly this suffix was not truly dropped but was optional. In any case, its previous or potential presence seems to have affected the vowel quality in the rest of the word in Hāhāhāe, which is most likely /pʌkʌi/, rather than /pʌkəi/, given this comparative evidence.<sup>18</sup>

(13)	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hāhāhāe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	pʌtwi-nāŋg bird-dim.	pʌkəi	‘little bird’
b.	kuɸ	ʌ-ʔip-tʃui ʔp.poss-bone-long (?)	‘bone’
c.	kuŋdōj	ʔuʔwɪ	‘smoke’
d.	nũm	hā-gum	M: ‘to sit, be located’ H: ‘lying down’ earth-to.be.located

<sup>17</sup> I discuss this in more detail in Chapter 4 section 4.6.2.

<sup>18</sup> For 13b and c, recall that M: /k/, /g/ - H: /ʔ/, /Ø/.

It is interesting that /u/ is fronted rather than lowering in 13b, above, though it retains its unrounded quality. Note also that 13b and c are also examples of the M: /k/, /g/ - H: /∅/, /ʔ/ correspondence discussed above. In 13c, Hāhāhāe unroundedness corresponds once more with Maxakalí nasality, with M: /õ/ - H: /u/. The glottal stop seems to block the influence of this nasal syllable in Hāhāhāe, and /u/ is realized as /u/. D, above, does seem to be an exception to this pattern.

On the other hand, the pattern itself may be the result of the combination of (1) the difficulty on the part of those documenting the language of perceiving /u/ if relatively unaccustomed to this sound, and especially if it displayed a great amount of surface variation; and (2) the tendency for nasalization to affect how vowels are perceived. Not only is there evidence that nasality causes a loss of perceptual contrast between vowels, potentially making nasal vowels more difficult to identify, but studies have shown that high nasal vowels tend to be perceived as lower, whereas low nasal vowels may be perceived as higher (see Wright 1986). In other words, it is difficult to know the extent to which the variation of the vowels on the Hāhāhāe lists are an effect of perception or actual differences between the languages, especially in the case of /ũ/.

An effect of nasalization on the perceptual quality of vowels might also help to explain the correspondence between M: /a/ and H: /ʌ/. Oral M: /a/ corresponded most often with H: /a/, while nasal M: /ã/ corresponded with either nasal H: /ã/ or, and this actually occurred more often, with unrounded H: /ʌ/. In general, Maxakalí nasal vowels often correspond with unrounded Hāhāhāe vowels, reflecting either a difference in vowel quality or an effect of nasalization on the perceptual quality of the vowels as they were documented. This is an important question,

considering Maxakalí’s phonemic contrast between oral and nasal vowels, as well as consonants (see GPP 1970, Wetzels 2009). In Figure 6, below, I illustrate how documented Hāhāhāe vowels correspond to Maxakalí vowels according to this oral-nasal contrast.

Maxakalí	/i/ [i, ɪ, e]		/e/ [e, ε, æ]		/a/ [a, ə, ɑ]	
	oral	nasal	oral	nasal	oral	nasal
Hāhāhāe	i	ĩ, ã	ɛ, ε	-	a, ʌ	a, ã, ã̃, ʌ̃
Maxakalí	/u/ [ʊ, ɤ]		/o/ [o, u]			
	oral	nasal	oral	nasal		
Hāhāhāe	ʌ, u	ʌ̃	o, u	ũ		

Figure 3.8: Maxakalí and Hāhāhāe vowel correspondences according to oral and nasal quality of Maxakalí vowels.

There was unfortunately no data for a sound correspondence with nasal /e/, which is apparently a relatively rare phoneme in Maxakalí. Oral /a/ in Maxakalí corresponded most often to Hāhāhāe /a/. In both of the only two cases in which it corresponded to H: /ʌ/, the preceding syllable was nasal. I illustrate these two examples below. While this provides further evidence for my argument that the centralization of Hāhāhāe /a/ as documented might indicate nasality, it is not a pattern without exceptions. We must also ask, for example, why the same did not happen in the case of ‘my father,’ 14c, below, especially since we have seen a nasal prefix affect the quality of the high back vowel /u/, as in 14a and below.

(14)	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hāhāhāe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	mĩnta	mĩkʌ	‘fruit’
b.	hāmpakut	ʌ' -ʔʌmpʌʔĩ ʔp-sickness	M: ‘sickness’ H: ‘sick’ (‘He/She is sick.’)
c.	ã-tak 1p.poss-father	ɛ-ŋkã 1p.poss-father	‘my father’

There are also relatively more examples of a M: /ã/ - H: /a/ correspondence, which number five in total, almost a third of the examples corresponding to Maxakalí /ã/. In 15a, below,



is taken from the primer developed from the Bahetá recordings, but unfortunately I have been unable to locate this token in the recordings so that I might see if there is any evidence of nasality in the initial syllable.

It is also worth noting that most instances of Hãhãhãe /ʌ/ are from the list documented by Wilbur Pickering. As discussed above, in general I consider this list to be the most phonetically reliable in that Pickering is a trained linguist who was working with a relatively young speaker (Titiá), whereas the Bahetá tapes were analyzed by a linguist who was not present at the time of elicitation and would not have been able to witness key contextual cues such as gesture or lip rounding. There is also a pattern in the Hãhãhãe lists in which vowels transcribed on the Pickering list as unrounded are often described on at least one of the other lists as nasal. Future analysis of the Bahetá recordings may reveal the extent to which the greater presence of ʌ on the Pickering list is due to perceptual bias or a greater sensitivity to vowel quality. I suspect it to be the latter, given the overall pattern of Maxakalí-Hãhãhãe sound correspondences.

15b and c, below, are both from Paulo Scheibe's 1957 list. In general, celestial words seem to be morphologically complex in both Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe, and in Maxakalí the sun and moon are known to be part of an extensive pantheon of spiritual beings organized into groups "totem groups" (Popovich 1971:2). According to Popovich, the sun and moon belong to the Bat group, and are "no more an object of ritual than the other totem beings" (ibid). Needless to say, these words have great cultural significance. As such, they are more likely to be loan words, which we would not expect to necessarily follow the same pattern of sound correspondences (see Robbeets 2005). Regardless, the presence of /ɲ/ and/or /ŋ/ in Hãhãhãe imply at least some nasalization.

(15)	Maxakalí	Hãhãhãe	Gloss
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a.	ãmnĩŋ	hagĩ	‘night’
b.	mãŋõn	maŋu	‘sun’
c.	mãŋõn-hei	maŋu-tʃiá	‘moon’
	sun-female	sun-?	

16a and b, below, are both from the Pickering list. What is most interesting about these examples is that only the second syllable of the long form of the word ‘earth,’ seen in b, seems to be affected by nasalization even though the short form of the word is otherwise identical to this second syllable. In some words, however, /hãm/ does seem to fully retain its nasal quality, as in *hãgum*, or ‘lying down,’ discussed above. Overall, there does seem to be a pattern in which M: /a/ corresponds to H: /a/, while M: /ã/ corresponds most often to H: [ã], [ã̃], or [Λ].

(16)	Maxakalí	Hãhãhãe	Gloss
a.	hãp-koj earth-hole	hamp-’ui earth-hole	‘hole’
b.	hãhãm, hãm	hahΛm, ham	‘earth, land’ (long and short forms)

In the case of Maxakalí oral /w/, the correspondence with H: /Λ/ can mostly be accounted for by the presence of nasalization in the phonological context in Hãhãhãe because of morphosyntactic processes not present in the Maxakalí examples, as discussed above. There were only five examples of Maxakalí /ũ/ in the cognate set. In Figure 6, I do not list vowels that were only found in a single example. Maxakalí /ũ/ corresponded to Hãhãhãe [a], [ã̃], and [u] once; and to [Λ] twice. There were also only six examples of Maxakalí /õ/, which corresponded to Hãhãhãe [o], [õ̃], and [u] once; and [u] twice. The /õ/ in 17a most likely assimilated with the adjacent /ŋ/ or was simply dropped given its peripheral location in the word. Finally, in one case Maxakalí nasal /ĩ/ corresponded to Hãhãhãe unrounded /i/, in 17b, below.

(17)	Maxakalí	Hãhãhãe	Gloss
a.	kõnãʔãŋg	ŋgΛhΛ	‘water’

b.      mĩnta              mɨkʌ              ‘fruit’

Overall, there is more variation in transcription for Hāhāhāe vowels that correspond to Maxakalí nasal vowels. Also, nasality in Maxakalí seems to be correlated with unroundedness on the Hāhāhāe lists (especially in the case of the Pickering list, as discussed above), as well as to the raising of low vowel /a/ and the lowering of the unrounded vowel /u/, both of which tend to appear as [ʌ].

In the Figure 3.9, below, I roughly illustrate Maxakalí and Hāhāhāe vowels in acoustic space according to written descriptions. Keep in mind that the Maxakalí representation is based on detailed phonological descriptions that are themselves based on years of documentation and hypothesized underlying forms, while the Hāhāhāe representation is based on more limited documentation in terms of time, tokens, and number of speakers, resulting in less documented variation. Also, these illustrations are not based on formant measurements, which would be a fruitful direction for future research given the existence of Hāhāhāe recordings. As in Figure 3.8, above, Figure 3.9 does not include exceptions that were only found in one example but that might represent actual surface variation in Hāhāhāe, especially in the case of /u/. The phoneme references in the Hāhāhāe image are based on correspondence to Maxakalí phonemes.

Overall, the vowel inventory of Hāhāhāe appears to be quite similar to that of Maxakalí, and most of the variation on the Hāhāhāe lists corresponds to known phonological variation in Maxakalí. Both languages share the phonological variation between /u/ and /o/. Hāhāhāe /e/ appears to have a similar range of variation as Maxakalí /e/, especially keeping in mind the fact that the Hāhāhāe lists would not be able to represent the same degree of variation that we know to exist in Maxakalí. Also, the restricted range of Hāhāhāe /i/ and /a/ might have more to do with the perceptual recognizability of these sounds than a true lack of surface variation in Hāhāhāe. My own caution in trying to represent an overall pattern has also been a limiting factor for the

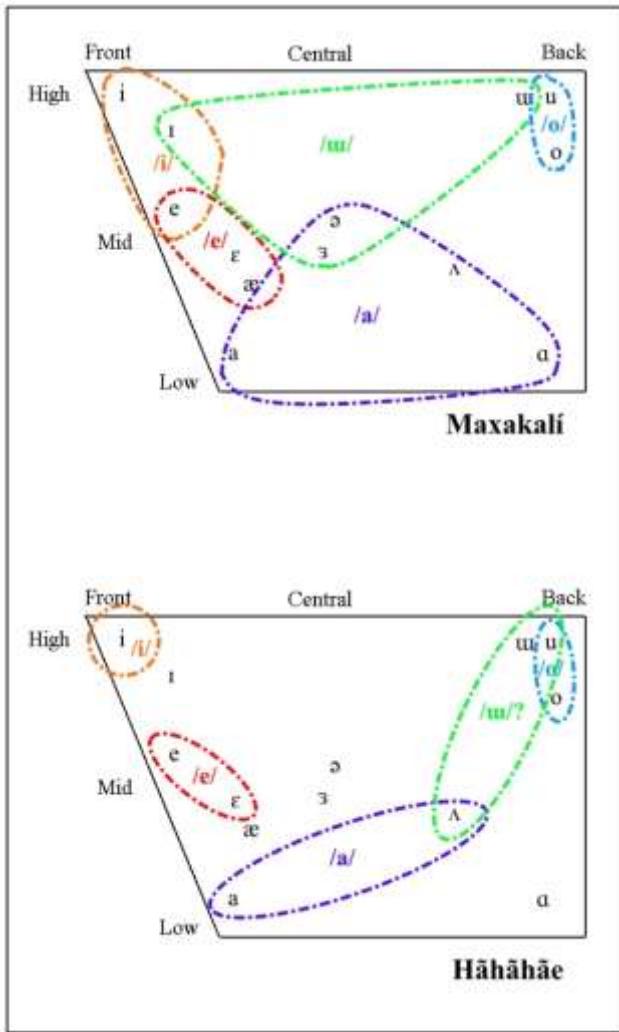


Figure 3.9: Approximations of Maxakalí and Hāhāhāe vowel space based on written documentation. This Figure is intended to visually represent how variation in the documentation of Hāhāhāe vowels aligns with documented phonological variation in Maxakalí. Hāhāhāe phoneme references are based on sound correspondence patterns with Maxakalí phonemes. The represented location of each phoneme is based on the general location of each cross-linguistically, not phonetic measurements, and is not meant to represent the vowel space of either language exactly.

representation of variation in the Hāhāhāe vowel space. Overall, the pattern of sound correspondences shows that, like Maxakalí, Hāhāhāe appears to have a five vowel system: /i, e, a, u (o), u/19. In other words, the symbols used on the Hāhāhāe lists vary in ways that do not point to a difference between the languages. While M: /a/ might correspond to H: /ʌ/ or /a/, for example, and

19 Cross-linguistically, languages most commonly have five vowel systems (see Lindblom 1986).

it is unclear whether this represents phonological variation in Hãhãhãe or transcription error, either sound would fall into the known range of variation for Maxakalí /a/.

The most noticeable difference between Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe vowel space as represented in Figure 8 is the range of /u/. As discussed above, the variation in ways in which this sound was transcribed in Hãhãhãe may reflect either actual variation, or the difficulty encountered in perceiving this sound. The fact that it appears most often as either /u/ or /ʌ/ might mean that it was becoming more rounded, and/or that when nasalized it is more likely to be perceived as /ʌ/, as I suspect is also true of /a/. All of this leads me to conclude that Hãhãhãe and Maxakalí share the same vowel inventory and similar surface variation, with a possible loss of the unrounded aspect of /u/.

The Hãhãhãe orthography developed for the Bahetá Primer not only includes symbols for /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/, but also for /ə/, /ʌ/, /ɛ/, and /ɔ/, and not /u/. The pairs /e/ and /ɛ/, and /o/ and /ɔ/, represent distinctions found in Brazilian Portuguese, which may have been a factor in their inclusion. The inclusion of /ʌ/ and /ə/ is probably related to surface variation and the perceptual effects of nasalization, as discussed above, and the exclusion of /u/ a result of the difficulty of perceiving this sound, also as discussed above. Whether the spelling of documented words should be altered would be an open question for the Hãhãhãe to address according to whatever direction their language planning takes. Based on the results of the current comparison, it might be appropriate to explicitly assign one of the current symbols to /u/, presumably one that is currently being used in words that we now know have this sound. It might also be practical to standardize the spelling for some morphemes, such as common prefixes. This approach would maintain use of the current orthography while facilitating the learning process for second language learners, revealing features of internal morphosyntactic structure, and

disambiguating any future (re)construction. Considering the great symbolic value that the Bahetá primer has had for the last fifty years, it is important to preserve the spelling of these words even though they may represent surface variation or even, in some cases at least, transcription errors.

### **3.3.3 Do Hãhãhãe Vowels Have a Nasal/Oral Contrast?**

Some lingering questions remain about Hãhãhãe vowels, as well as about the relation of Hãhãhãe to Maxakalí more broadly. In this section I have started to explore the question of whether Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe share the same pattern of nasalization. Until this point I have discussed this topic in relation to the vowel sound correspondences between the languages, and whether some variation on the Hãhãhãe lists might be attributable to effects of nasalization on vowel quality and/or perception of the vowels. However, in many cases the sounds corresponding to nasal vowels in Maxakalí were not described as nasal in the documentation of Hãhãhãe. This seems odd, because unlike the subtleties of perceiving unrounded /u/, we would expect nasality to be more readily apparent when documenting the language, especially to speakers of Brazilian Portuguese. It is possible that the nasalization of Hãhãhãe vowels is becoming less pronounced, or even being dropped in some cases or in some phonological environments. Possibly, nasal-oral distinctions are being maintained in Hãhãhãe consonants. As discussed in the previous section, Hãhãhãe consonants corresponding to Maxakalí nasal consonants have maintained their nasality. In some cases, voiceless stops appear to be becoming voiced, and even nasalized, in Hãhãhãe. This is interesting, considering that according to current theories about processes of nasalization in Maxakalí, as briefly mentioned above, nasalization spreads leftward from voiced coda stops, rather than nasal vowel syllabus nuclei (see Wetzels

2009). On the other hand, the fact that Maxakalí nasal vowels seem to correspond to greater variation in transcription, centralization and unroundedness in Hãhãhãe, confirming what we know about the effects of nasalization on both perception and vowel quality, indicates that nasality is being maintained in Hãhãhãe after all. As part of my future research, I plan to explore the nasal quality of Hãhãhãe vowels using the Bahetá recordings, both of the isolated tokens of Hãhãhãe and in Bahetá's Brazilian Portuguese speech. Previous research has been done by Araujo (2005) and Wetzels (2009) using loanwords from Brazilian Portuguese into Maxakalí to explore questions about processes of nasalization in Maxakalí that would not be possible to fully address otherwise. Likewise, Bahetá's BP speech, which even from casual observation is clearly influenced by her L1 Hãhãhãe, is potentially a valuable resource for exploring the phonological requirements of Hãhãhãe.

### **3.4 Is Hãhãhãe a Mixed Language?**

Another question is raised by the regularity of the sound correspondences between Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe: if the cognate set reveals such a clear relationship between the languages, why are more of the words not cognate? As I describe in the beginning of this section, I found only 39% of the comparable words between Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe to be cognate. My own conservative approach in terms of what I counted as cognate influenced this number, but even a less conservative approach would not consider more than 50% of the words to be cognate. This percentage was also related to the type of vocabulary that was available for the comparison. As mentioned above, if it had been possible to limit the comparison to basic vocabulary least

likely to be borrowed, the proportion of cognates would probably have increased. Even taking all of this into consideration, however, it is difficult to reconcile the large number of Hãhãhãe words that do not seem to have any relation to Maxakalí, with the close relationship attested by the cognate set.

Overall similarities between the languages are immediately apparent when comparing Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe cognates. As discussed above, the straightforward pattern of sound correspondences in the cognate set also indicates a close relationship between the languages. Considering this, how can we explain the fact that at least 88, or 45%, of the words available for comparison do not seem to be related? The possibilities that I explore here are that: 1) Hãhãhãe is, or was, a mixed language, with heavy influence from one or more other indigenous language(s) spoken in the region; or that: 2) as the speaking community shifted to Brazilian Portuguese, speakers gradually forgot words that they had not been frequently using, so that when these words were elicited they either made a guess based on their remaining memory of the words, or recalled a word from another language. It is also possible that a speaker may have coined a new word to save face upon being unable to recall a word, or that a word was provided by someone else, or some other such aspect of the elicitation context introduced errors into the documentation. A combination of these scenarios is also possible: Hãhãhãe may have been a mixed language, either stable as such for a relatively long time or after having become a mixed language as a consequence of the more recent social context of intense contact (and conflict) between different indigenous groups and settlers in the region, and speakers may also have had only partial recall of the language(s) at the time of elicitation due to the context of shift.

One factor behind the apparent mismatch between the close relationship implied by the cognate set and the relatively low number of cognates is my own conservative approach in terms



of what I accepted as cognate. I did not include words that superficially seemed similar but did not follow the general pattern evidenced by the cognate set that did not have an apparent phonological justification for being an exception. Such words are more likely to have been borrowed between the languages after their split, or to be merely coincidental similarities. I also did not include words that seem similar but had different glosses, as in 18a, below. It is tempting in this case to make the argument that fishing tools are often pronged spears, but in general I was strict in controlling for sameness between glosses so as to avoid introducing errors into the study. I do pair such potential matches in the appendix for reference.

(18)	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hāhāhāe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	ko-tʃãp-kuup ?-?-bone	i-tʃhah̄-kɛb ?-?-bone (?)	M: ‘fishing pole’ H: ‘spear’ <sup>20</sup>
b.	kukɛi	ɥé	‘dog’
c.	mõkkaʔok	Moate-pá! run-command (?)	M: ‘run, hurry’ H: ‘Run!’
d.	ũm	ɳ-tʃɛ-kui woman-hair-long (?)	‘woman’

18b, above, does follow the sound correspondence pattern: in this case M: /k/ - H: /∅/, the relative stability between vowels, and the tendency for Maxakalí diphthongs to correspond with monophthongs in Hāhāhāe. However, I excluded it because of the higher chance for words for ‘dog’ to be onomatopoeia chance relationships. It is also tempting to include words such as 18c, above, in the cognate count. There is a clear pattern of syllable initial M: /t/ - H: /k/. We might accept that /aʔo/ may have become /e/ after the deletion of final /k/, that Hāhāhāe /a/ might be a

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<sup>20</sup> ‘Bone’ here denotes hardness and a long shape, and is cognate between the two languages. Using Popovich and Popovich’s (2005) Maxakali dictionary as a reference, I notice that many fish-related words seem to have ‘ko’ as a prefix, for example ‘kotei’, or ‘fish belly’, from ‘tei’, or ‘belly;’ ‘tei’ is also cognate with Hāhāhāe ‘kei’. 18a would follow sound correspondence patterns, including M: /k/ - H: /∅/, though we would also expect the /k/ in the final syllable to be deleted. The VhV form of the Hāhāhāe word could be a ‘long form’ of a word, as discussed above, and it would not be surprising to see the /p/ dropped in coda position.

vowel replacing /k/ when followed by another /k/, as occurs in Maxakalí (see Popovich & Popovich 2005, ii), and that /pa/ may mark the word as a command<sup>21</sup>. Likewise, it is tempting to include ‘woman’ as a morphological cognate, considering that the Hãhãhãe cognates /tʃɛ/, or ‘hair,’ and /kui/, or ‘long,’ would seem to make sense in this context, not to mention that in Maxakalí, ‘ũm tʃɛ-toi’ (‘woman hair-long’) does in fact mean ‘woman with long hair.’<sup>22</sup>

If we count these potential cognates, recognizing that I may have been overly conservative in my count, the ratio would go from just under 42% to just over 53% cognate. This would still leave us with a significant number of noncognates to account for considering the close relationship implied by the cognate set. I illustrate these two scenarios in Figure 3.10, below:

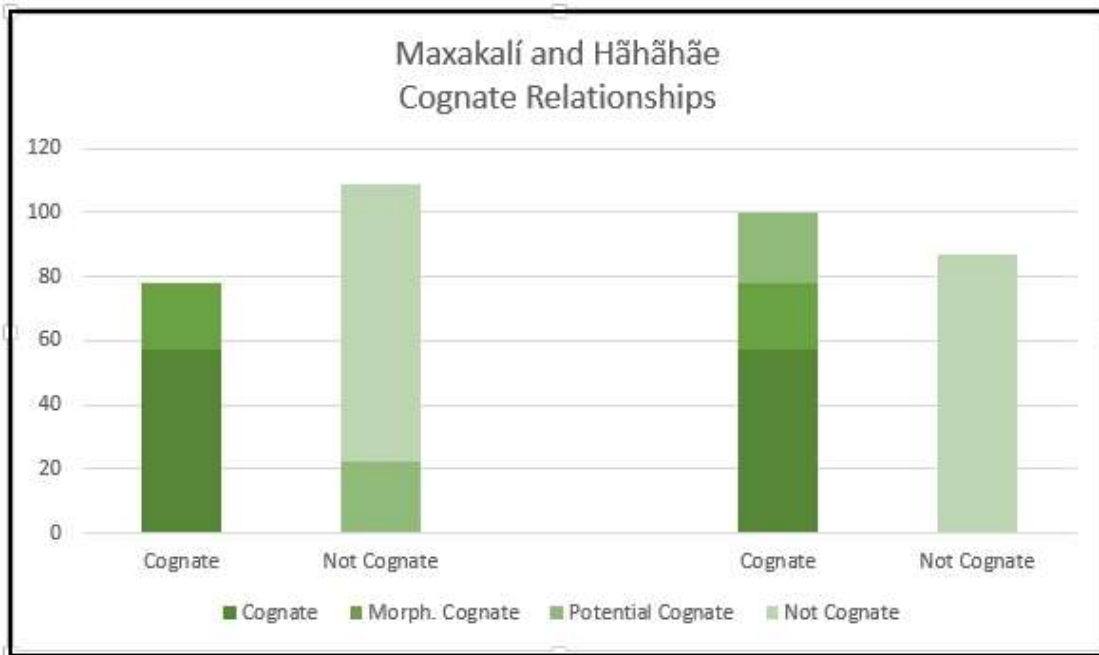


Figure 3.10: The proportion of Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe cognates and noncognates according to two different scenarios: 1) if potentially cognate words are counted as not cognate (left two columns), and 2) if potentially cognate words are counted as cognate (right two columns).

Variation between the Hãhãhãe lists is another important aspect of this question to consider. D of (25), Hãhãhãe /ntʃɛkui/, or ‘woman,’ only appears on the Pickering list. All other

<sup>21</sup> I discuss this possibility in more detail in Chapter 4.

<sup>22</sup> Also, the assimilation of ‘ũm’ so that it becomes a prenasalization of the following consonant would be very similar to the assimilation of M: /õ/ in 17a, above.

lists but one, on which the word was absent, feature an apparently unrelated /bəkɛtʃia/. -tʃia appears to be a suffix and is present on a number of Hāhāhāe words, including some that are cognate with Maxakalí, but does not seem to have a cognate form in Maxakalí. I will discuss this suffix, which seems to imply large size, in Chapter 4 in which I provide a description of some aspects of Hāhāhāe morphosyntax. In 19b, below, two Hāhāhāe lists feature a word containing a morpheme that is potentially cognate with Maxakalí (in bold), while the Silva and Urban list provides a word that is apparently unrelated:

(19)	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hāhāhāe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	<b>ũn</b>	ɲ-tʃɛ-kʷi, bəkɛ-tʃia woman-hair-long, ?-large? <sup>23</sup>	‘woman’
b.	<b>tʃʌj</b>	toktáy, kūidā	‘skin’

In other cases, multiple Hāhāhāe lists document a word that does not seem to be related to the Maxakalí word. I provide a few of these examples below:

(20)	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hāhāhāe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	nĩn	pekoi	‘body’ <sup>13</sup>
b.	tatʃok	Λ-mΛŋgΛm ʔp-bathe (?)	‘bathe’
c.	tihik	kahnako	‘man’
d.	taupet	tʃʷukʔɔj, ŋgaɛ	‘agouti’
e.	hãm-gãi generalizing.prefix-angry	eih-ná ?-emph. (?)	‘panther’

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23 It is also possible that the -tʃia suffix contrasts in Hāhāhāe with the -nā suffix that is cognate between the languages and, at least in Maxakalí, is either a diminutive or emphatic suffix depending on context.

<sup>13</sup> I removed the Hāhāhāe pronoun for clarity. The word appears as /Λmpəkoi/ on the original list. Also, the Maxakalí word has another meaning, ‘meat’, that does appear to have a corresponding cognate in Hāhāhāe.

In order to gauge the extent to which the number of noncognates might be attributable to language shift in terms of the difficulty that speakers may have had in recalling words, I coded each of the compared words according to whether the same word was documented on all of the Hāhāhāe lists. I considered the word to be the same on all lists as long as at least two lists had an entry for that word. Put another way, if two or three of the Hāhāhāe lists had the same word but the rest did not have an entry for that word, I considered there to be agreement between the lists. I also considered there to be agreement between the lists if more than one word was provided on a list but at least one of these were the same as the words documented on the other lists. I also coded for cases in which a word was only documented on one of the Hāhāhāe lists. For these examples it is difficult to tell whether other speakers may have confirmed the word, given the chance, or if the word might contain memory, transcription, or other kinds of errors. Examples of these categories are provided in Table 3.1, below.

Azevedo 1936	Nimuendajú 1938	Scheibe 1957	Pickering 1961	Silva & Urban 1982	Gloss	Category
-	-	-	mipɻb	mĩɻb	‘wood’	Same on all lists
pohoi	pokáĩ, bohóy	pohóyn	bohoi, bʔo hi	puhui	‘arrow’	Same on all lists
-	-	-	txeithui	pôkotxõng	‘louse’	Difference(s) between lists
-	-	-	itʃɻhãkɛb	-	‘fishing pole’	Single word documented

Table 3.1: Coding of Hāhāhāe words according to whether they are the same on all lists, there are differences between lists, or only a single word was documented.

For some kinds of words, it is more understandable to find differences between the lists. There are many species of bird, for example, whereas there are likely fewer words used to refer to body parts such as eyes. Parts of limbs are known to have more cross-cultural variation (see Enfield et al 2006, Pelkey 2017), just as colors might, to take the stereotypical example. Likewise, kinship terms such as ‘brother’ may or may not have more variation in terms than ‘mother,’ depending on the kinship system (see Campbell & Grondona 2012; for North

American examples, see Mithun 1999). This is true, at least, of Maxakalí (see Popovich & Popovich 2005). Still, categorizing words based on whether there is variation between lists is useful in providing a general picture of the Hãhãhãe documentation, and specific examples can then be analyzed as relevant. Figure 3.11, below, represents the number of cognates, morphological cognates, possible cognates, and noncognates that 1) were the same on each list, 2) had different entries on different Hãhãhãe lists, or 3) were only documented on one of the lists.

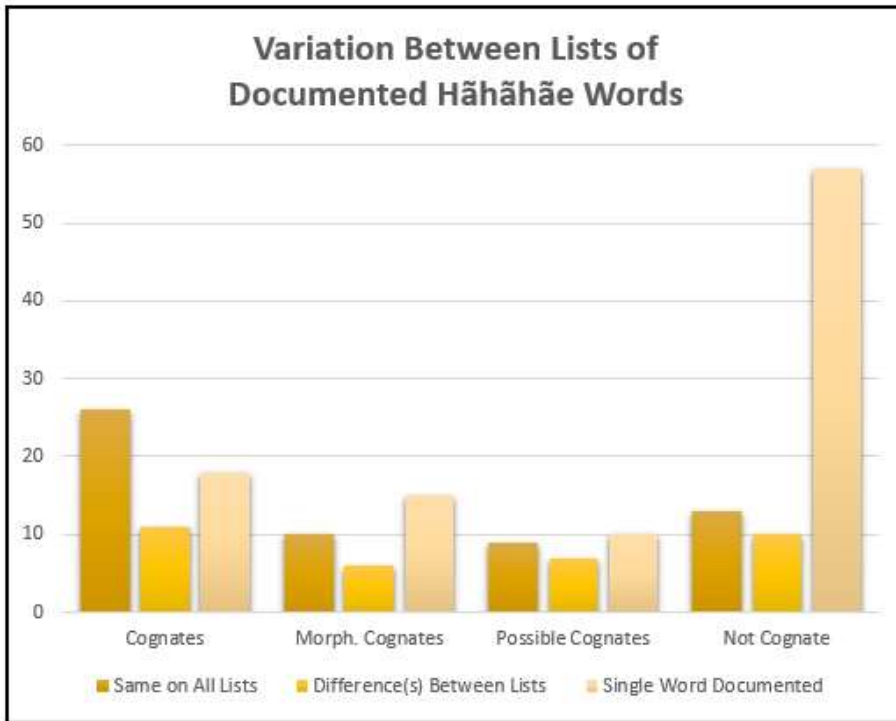


Figure 3.11: Variation between the lists of documented Hãhãhãe words according to whether 1) there was agreement between all lists, or at least between all lists on which a particular word was documented ("Same on All Lists"), 2) a different word was provided on at least one other lists, resulting in multiple Hãhãhãe words corresponding to the same gloss ("Difference(s) Between Lists"), and 3) a word was documented on only one of the lists ("Single Word Documented").

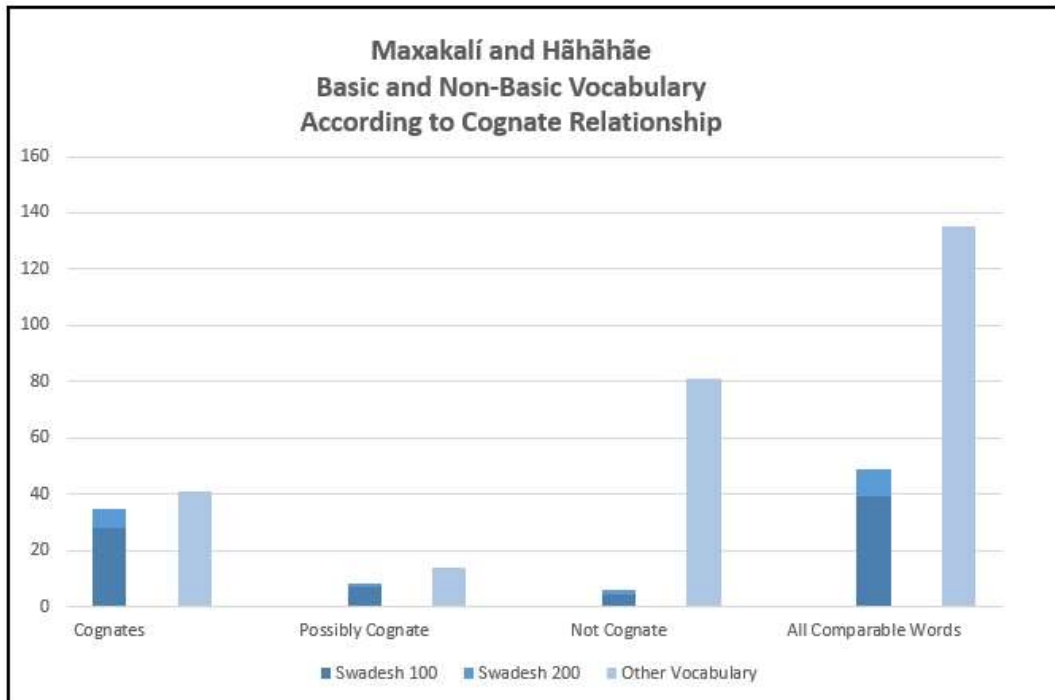
As can be seen above, the same Hãhãhãe word was documented across lists more often

than more than one word was given on different lists. This is generally true, regardless of the cognate relationship of the words, but it is especially true of words that are cognate with Maxakalí. Also, all cognate and noncognate groups have roughly the same number of words for which differences between lists was relevant. This is slightly misleading in that in cases in which cognate words were documented in addition to other words on a different list, the other word(s)

are noncognate; whereas in the case of noncognates, any differences between lists would not involve cognates. In other words, the category ‘differences between lists’ is slightly overlapping in one direction for cognates and noncognates. However, this should not have affected the results considering that this category is roughly consistent between groups. The most striking difference between cognate and noncognate groups is not related to differences between lists, but to the number of words that are only found on one list. The great majority of these single-instance words were found to be not cognate with Maxakalí words.

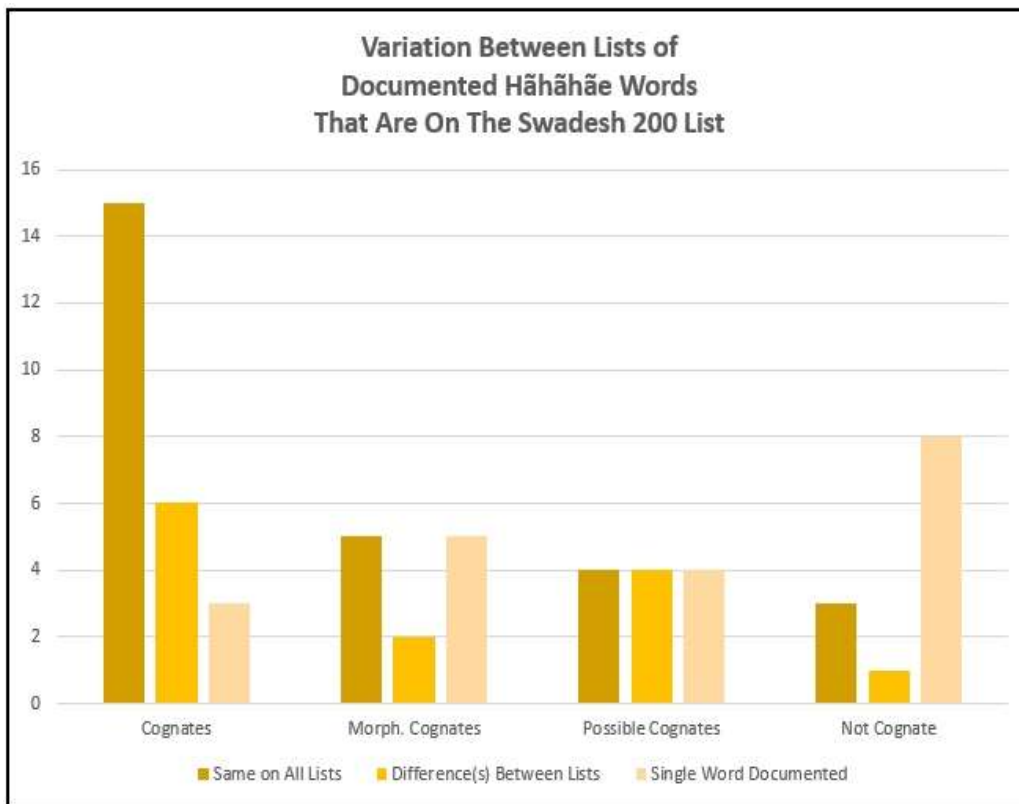
One implication of this is that the documentation of the cognate words is more reliable than that of the noncognates, since more of these have been confirmed by more than one speaker. However, this does not necessarily mean that the noncognates have not been accurately documented. It also does not resolve the question of whether the large number of noncognate words is an effect of speakers shifting away from Hãhãhãe and retaining imperfect access to recalling the language, or whether they are evidence of Hãhãhãe being heavily influenced by, or mixed with, another language. One confounding factor is that relatively more of the documented cognates are basic vocabulary. I use the Swadesh lists of 100 and 200 basic vocabulary words to illustrate this point in Figure 3.12, below:

Figure 3.12: The proportion of Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe 1) cognates, 2) potential cognates, 3) noncognates and 4) all comparable Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe words, that are a) found on the Swadesh list of 100 basic vocabulary words, b) found on the Swadesh list of 200 basic vocabulary words, and c) are not found on either Swadesh list. Because words that are on the Swadesh 100 are also on the Swadesh 200, they are represented as a single column above, with the lighter blue representing words that are found on the Swadesh 200 but not the Swadesh 100.



As can be seen in Figure 3.12, above, the great majority of the words found not to be cognate with Maxakalí are not basic vocabulary, whereas cognate words are more evenly distributed between basic and other vocabulary. This is an important consideration, but it still does not resolve the question. The majority of noncognate words being both documented on only one list and non-basic vocabulary might be related to the same cause. Non-basic vocabulary is potentially more difficult to remember, so that speakers may have resorted to guessing and/or may have remembered words from (an)other language(s) to fill in any memory gaps. In this case, language shift would have contributed to the non-basic/single-documentation effect. On the other hand, non-basic vocabulary is also more likely to be borrowed between languages. Both of these potential scenarios may have contributed to the same effect. Even when only considering basic vocabulary, however, the majority of noncognates were only documented on one list, whereas the majority of words cognate with Maxakalí were documented on multiple lists. In Figure 11, below, I illustrate this difference using counts that only include words that appear on the Swadesh list of 200 basic vocabulary words.

Unfortunately, restricting the focus to only basic vocabulary also limits the available data. Still, the fact that the same pattern is confirmed when looking at all documented words is encouraging, even though including non-basic vocabulary may exaggerate the effect. More of the noncognate Hāhāhāe basic vocabulary words are attested on multiple lists than otherwise, though this is only a comparison of three words to one. Eight words were only documented on a single list.



3.13: Figure 3.13: Variation between the lists of documented Hāhāhāe words that are found on the Swadesh list of 200 basic vocabulary words, according to whether 1) there was agreement between all lists, or at least between all lists on which a particular word was documented (“Same on All Lists”), 2) a different word was provided on at least one other lists, resulting in multiple Hāhāhāe words corresponding to the same gloss (“Difference(s) Between Lists”), and 3) a word was documented on only one of the lists (“Single Word Documented”).

The noncognate words documented on a single list were not predominantly found on one list. Two are on the Pickering list, three are on the Nimuendajú list, and two are on the Scheibe list. They were most likely provided by different speakers as well, though we do not know from whom Nimuendajú or Scheibe elicited the words they documented. So, while they still might represent an effect of memory loss or transcription error, it seems to at least be an issue that was distributed between the lists/speakers. It does not seem to be the case, for example, that the most



elderly speaker or the most recently collected list had more words of this kind (noncognate words found on only one list). In other words, it does not seem to be a clear effect of memory loss or error.

Two of the noncognate words found on a single list possibly do not have a comparable meaning and should not have been included in the comparison. For example, in 21a, below, the Maxakalí word for ‘river’ is composed of two words that do have cognate forms in Hãhãhãe: ‘water’ and ‘long.’ However, the only Hãhãhãe word for ‘river’ available for comparison is actually glossed as ‘full river’. Possibly, Maxakalí has, or had, a word for ‘full river’ that would be cognate with Hãhãhãe /nʌkupʌ/. In 21b, the Hãhãhãe word is an imperative, but the only Maxakalí word available for comparison in the Popovich & Popovich (2005) dictionary is provided without inflection.]<sup>24</sup>

(21)	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hãhãhãe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	kõnãŋg-koj water-long	nʌkupʌ	‘river’ H: ‘full river’
b.	nũn	Čo-pá! come-command (?)	‘come’

Two of the noncognate words found on a single list, 22a and b, below, are numbers and are therefore more likely to have been borrowed, so it is not surprising that they are not cognate. Also, words referring to the forest and vegetation, such as 22c, below, seem to be numerous in both languages, making comparisons potentially less accurate because of the likelihood that different Maxakalí or Hãhãhãe words have been given the same gloss in documentation.

(22)	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hãhãhãe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	tij	abatʃe	‘two’
b.	tikoʒwuk	mounhi	‘three’

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<sup>24</sup> Verbs in Maxakalí do not show inflection other than the affixation of pronouns (see Popovich & Popovich 2005).

- c. mĩ-tʃuuj tahígn ‘grass’  
wood-painful

Examples 23a-c, below, all refer to body parts. The composition of the Maxakalí words in 23a and b is fairly straightforward. 23a, ‘blind,’ is composed of the words for ‘see’ and ‘empty,’ a negation word. B, ‘lower leg,’ is composed of the word for ‘foot’ and the shape descriptive compounding word ‘bone.’ The Hãhãhãe word for ‘blind,’ example 1, below, appears with the  $\bar{\lambda}$ - prefix that seems to be obligatory for inalienable possessions such as kin or body parts. The rest of the word, however, does not seem to be related to any Maxakalí word and further internal analysis is not currently possible. The Hãhãhãe word for ‘lower leg’ is not composed of the words for ‘foot’ and ‘bone’ that have cognate forms in Maxakalí. It also does not have the expected  $\bar{\lambda}$ - prefix, unless something about the phonological context caused the initial vowel to be raised to [i].

(23)	Maxakalí	Hãhãhãe	Gloss
a.	penã-hok see-neg.	$\bar{\lambda}$ -ʔwàʔwí ʔp-ʔ	‘blind’
b.	pata-kuup foot-bone	ĩngĩhòbòkõ	‘lower leg’
c.	nĩm	a-mpahábm 1p.poss-hand	M: ‘hand’ H: ‘my hand’
d.	nĩm-kuutok hand-child	a-mpaha-keisãu ʔp.poss-hand-child (?)	‘finger’
e.	nĩm-mã-tʃai hand-ʔ-cover	ã-mahap-táy ʔp.poss-hand-cover	‘fingernail’

The Hãhãhãe word for ‘hand,’ 23c above, is interesting in that, while it does not seem to be cognate with the Maxakalí word, it is used in the compound words for ‘finger’ and

‘fingernail’ using the same morphosyntactic strategies used in the formation of these words in Maxakalí. Examples d and e were documented on more than one Hähähäe list and are included here only for reference.

Overall, nothing seems different or special about the noncognate single-list words that would make it seem that there is something about them that would make them more likely to have been due to error related to either memory or elicitation. It may be the case that more recently borrowed words were slightly more difficult to remember, resulting in the higher number of single-list words among noncognates. Perhaps the answer is simpler than current documentation would make it seem. In Figure 12, below, I illustrate the relationship between the Maxakalí and Hähähäe languages when only words from the Swadesh lists of 100 and 200 basic vocabulary words, and when all documented words are compared.

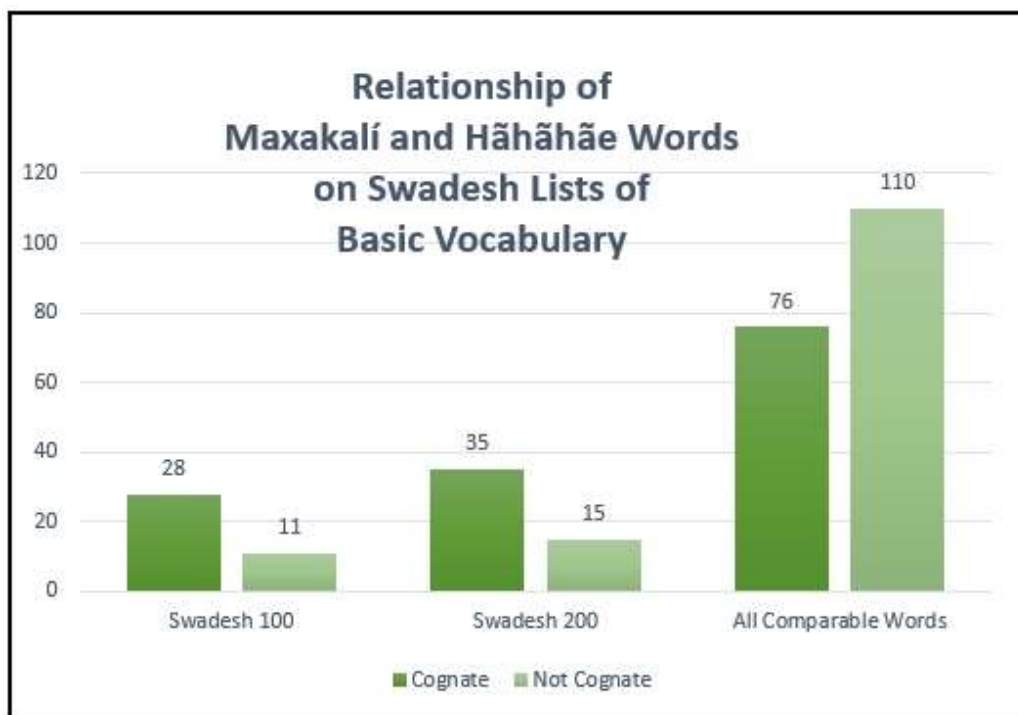


Figure 3.14: The proportion of Maxakalí and Hähähäe words that are cognate and noncognate that are found on the Swadesh 100 list, and the Swadesh 200 list, and the proportion of words that are cognate and noncognate out of all compared words.

As can be seen in the above Figure, considering only basic vocabulary raises the relative

proportion of cognates substantially. This may not represent an accurate picture for two reasons:

1) it is based on less data, as can be appreciated when taking the numbers on each category in the

Figure above into account; and 2) it is still true that non-basic vocabulary is more likely to be borrowed, so it is not unexpected that basic vocabulary would have a closer relationship to a related language. Coupled with the high proportion of Hãhãhãe words documented on a single list among noncognates, it is at least a confirmation of the close relationship between Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe. It also suggests that the high number of noncognate Hãhãhãe words is just as likely to be an effect of the quality of current documentation as it is to be a result of the intense contact between indigenous languages during the time of the Hãhãhães' shift to Brazilian Portuguese. It does not seem to be an effect of memory or elicitation error alone. Future research may be able to reveal potential sources for the Hãhãhãe words not related to Maxakalí. Considering the social context, one likely source would be the undocumented Baenã language, assuming that Baenã and Hãhãhãe were different languages, at least at one time.

While it does not affect these considerations, as the origins of the name Baenã are unknown, it is interesting to note that if the name were Hãhãhãe and cognate with Maxakalí, or if Baenã itself were related to Maxakalí, and it would follow the general pattern of sound correspondences. The evidence from the current comparison suggests that the name might mean 'good' or 'beautiful,' although 'not at all good/beautiful' is also a possibility:

(24)	<b>Maxakalí</b>	<b>Hãhãhãe</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a.	baih	-	'good, beautiful, well [when used as a suffix]'
b.	-nãŋ	-nã	emphatic or diminutive suffix
c.	mãŋnãŋ	-	'cute, endearing, attractive'
d.	ŋãŋbaih	-	'other tribes'
e.	ohnãŋ	-	'not at all'

In 24c, above, Maxakalí /bai/ has become nasalized because of the leftward spread of nasalization from the suffix -nãŋ. This would not necessarily be the case in Hãhãhãe. Another possibility is that the name Baenã and Maxakalí /ŋãŋbaih/, or 'other tribes,' share an origin. It

seems at least likely that the name Baenã has Hãhãhãe origins, whether or not the Baenã themselves originally spoke Hãhãhãe or contributed another heritage language to the alliance between these peoples.

In the next chapter, I will describe some features of Hãhãhãe morphosyntax. This description, and almost all internal analysis of Hãhãhãe, was made possible through the comparison with Maxakalí.

## 4 Hãhãhãe Morphosyntax

### 4.1 Introduction

Documentation of the Hãhãhãe language is limited to lists of words, and a few phrases, with glosses at the lexical or phrasal level, which has made difficult any analysis of Hãhãhãe morphology or syntax. In examples 1 and 2, below, for example, only the word ‘land,’ /hahΛm/, was documented elsewhere. Also, the lexical boundaries may or may not be accurately described. The comparison with Maxakalí has therefore been useful not only for demonstrating the close relationship between the languages, but for enabling an analysis of Hãhãhãe morphosyntax, and even revealing previously undocumented words. For example, I noticed that the word ‘big’ was part of a word previously glossed as ‘another kind of monkey’ (example 3, below)<sup>25</sup>. The same example is also evidence that Hãhãhãe modifiers follow nouns, and that verbs can be placed at the end of a phrase. This example also revealed the species of monkey referred to, the spider monkey, which is also the largest monkey in the region. It is good to be cautious about such conclusions, as the name for an animal might be easily borrowed between languages. However, these morphosyntactic features are confirmed in other examples as well, such as example 1d, below, through which the word ‘long’ was also revealed. I have added hyphens to the Hãhãhãe in examples 1c and d, below, for clarity.

(1)	Hãhãhãe	Gloss	Source
a.	Kuin kahab mikahab. ? ? ?	‘I want to eat.’ <sup>26</sup>	
b.	Ham o tʃε? land ? dry	‘The land is dry.’	
c.	bop-tʃεg	‘another kind of monkey’	

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<sup>25</sup> Campos (2011) also makes note of this in his paper on the contributions of Maxakalí grammar for understanding Pataxó (which he considers to be the same language as Hãhãhãe). I discuss his results were relevant throughout.

<sup>26</sup> Broad glosses are as listed in original sources. Morpheme by morpheme glosses are my own and based at least in part on the comparison with Maxakalí.

monkey-big

- d. Tʃĩpà<sup>i</sup>-kūi.            ‘The neck is long.’  
neck-long

In his comparison of Hãhãhãe, Pataxó and Maxakalí, Carlo Campos (2011) identifies some shared morphosyntactic features of these languages. Despite Urban’s (1985) conclusion that Pataxó and Hãhãhãe are dialects of each other, I restrict my analysis to Hãhãhãe in comparison to Maxakalí due to the lack of extensive, reliable documentation of the Pataxó language. My results confirm and expand on some of Campos’ (2011) assertions, though many of his conclusions are based on only a few examples, and/or exclusively on the less-reliable and older Pataxó documentation<sup>27</sup>. In my description below, I focus mainly on the Hãhãhãe language, making references to Maxakalí where necessary. I also include my observations on how some features might be used in the (re)construction or elaboration of Hãhãhãe for revitalization purposes. Much of this information is also included in Brazilian Portuguese in the community grammar section of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe Dictionary discussed in Chapter 2 (see also Appendix).

## 4.2 Compounding

According to Popovich and Popovich (2005), compounding is common for Maxakalí nouns (13). A subset of nouns is especially productive in forming compounds and new words, that convey aspects of the referent such as shape, size, form, sensation, and function, this last accomplished through metaphorical body part references, as in Keith Basso’s (1996) well-known description of Apache motor vehicle terms. Some, but not all, of these terms have documented cognates in Hãhãhãe. Below I list the Maxakalí compounding words and their Hãhãhãe cognates,

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<sup>27</sup> See footnote 2 of Chapter 3.

if documented, followed by some examples of their use in each language. Asterisks mark the examples in which the Hāhāhāe word may not be cognate with Maxakalí. Also, not all of the Hāhāhāe words have been documented in compounds. In the compound examples, individual compounding words are in bold, and morphemes are divided with hyphens. Note that in some examples different combinations are used in each language, indicating that the languages had split before the formation of some compounds. This is also evidence that the compounding words are, or were at least at some time, in fact productive in Hāhāhāe, and it is not a case of borrowing compound calques into Hāhāhāe from Maxakalí.

(2) **Compounding Words in Maxakalí and Hāhāhāe**

	Maxakalí	Hāhāhāe	gloss/denotation
a.	kup	ʔab	‘bone’, long shape
b.*	tʃap	mīkahab	‘seed’, round shape
c.	koj	ʔui	‘hole’
d.	tʃaj	tai	‘cover’
e.	tʃũɲ	-	‘pain’
f.	tʃuɲpej	tfoipe	‘tasty’
g.	kutʃa	ʔʌtʃɔ	‘heart’
h.	putoj	pʌkoi	‘head’
i.	pata	paka	‘foot’
j.*	nīm	pahab	‘hand’
k.	mīm	mīm	‘wood’
l.	hām	hām	‘earth’
m.	hep	hep	‘liquid’
n.	tut	kʌi	‘mother’, large size
o.	kutok	kupinene	M: ‘child’ H: ‘boy’, small size

(3) **Some Maxakalí and Hāhāhāe Compounds**

	Maxakalí	Hāhāhāe	Gloss
a.	<b>mīp-tut</b> wood-mother	paʒiŋku	‘house’
b.	mīptut-mōg house-go	-	‘car’



c.	<b>mĩptutmõg-pata</b>	-		‘tire’
	car-foot			
d.	<b>nĩn-køj-faj</b>	<b>aŋtai</b>		‘lips’
	speak-hole-cover	poss.prefix-cover		
e.	<b>nĩn-køj</b>	<b>ʌ-taka-ʔoi</b>		‘mouth’
	speak-hole	poss.prefix-?-hole		
f.	<b>nĩp-køj</b>	<b>emp-ʔoi</b>		‘ear’
	?-hole	?-hole		
g.	<b>mĩt-kuup</b>	<b>mip-ʌb</b>		‘sugar cane’
	wood-bone	wood-bone		
h.	<b>kɛdbuuk</b>	<b>mipʌb<sup>2</sup>-hɛb<sup>2</sup></b>		‘cachaça’ <sup>1</sup>
		sugarcane-liquid		
i.	<b>hãptʃop-hɛp-fũp</b>	-		‘whiskey’
	foodstuff-liquid-painful			

In the second compounding word above, ‘seed,’ it is possible that the Hãhãhãe and Maxakalí words are cognate if we take into consideration the word lengthening process that is a shared feature of both languages, and the possibility that /mĩm/, the compounding word ‘wood,’ might be the initial /mi/ in the Hãhãhãe word. Still, we would expect a /tʃ/ or /t/ in place of the /k/, though it is possible that it was /t/ at one point and became /k/. This would be supported by the clear M: /t/ - H: /k/ correspondence in initial position. In the 8th example, ‘head’ appears as /ʌmbʌkoi/ on the Hãhãhãe lists. I have changed the /b/ to /p/ here as I believe the /mb/ is an example of allophonic variation caused by the proximity to the nasal prefix. In the 9th and 14th examples I likewise removed the prefix from the compounding root, though in these cases the neighboring consonants were documented as voiceless and oral.

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<sup>1</sup> An alcoholic beverage made from sugar cane, similar to rum. It is the common hard alcohol in Brazil, and in Brazilian Portuguese is also used to refer to alcohol in general, and especially hard alcohol.

As can be seen in the examples of existing compounds, above, the compounding words can be joined with other words to create new meanings, and that compounding is not limited to words in the compounding set above, although these compounding words themselves lend themselves more easily to metaphorical uses, especially in the case of words like ‘mother’ and ‘foot.’ Note also that words from the set of compounding words often appear after another word that has a more direct relationship with the new meaning. This layering of new meanings is illustrated in the Maxakalí words in examples 3a-c above, in which the addition of new words expands the meaning from house, to car, to tire.

Compounding can be of great use in expanding Hãhãhãe for revitalization purposes. The words in this compounding set are particularly useful for this purpose due to their potential to extend meanings further through metaphorical use. Unfortunately, there is no documentation of a Hãhãhãe word cognate with Maxakalí /tʃũjɲ/, or ‘pain.’ But, following the pattern of sound correspondences between other cognates this word could be (re)constructed as /tʃũ/ in Hãhãhãe (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.1). Also, the Hãhãhãe could choose to use /mikahab/, or ‘seed,’ and /pahab/, or ‘hand,’ to form compounds, even if they may not be cognate with the Maxakalí.

### **4.3 Syllable Reduction and Addition**

In both Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe, some words have short and long forms (see Popovich & Popovich 2005, Campos 2009, Campos 2011), used in different environments, explained below. The short form consists of a single syllable, in a CVC pattern. In the long form, the vowel nucleus is reduplicated and either /h/ or /ʔ/ is inserted, resulting in a CVhVC or CVʔVC pattern

(see examples 1-5, below). In all but one case, only the long or short form of a word was documented in Hāhāhāe.

(4)	Maxakalí	Hāhāhāe	Gloss
a.	hāhām, hām	hahΛm, ham	‘land’
b.	pohop, pop	- , bop	‘monkey’
c.	kohot, kot	uhui, -	‘manioc’
d.	tehej, tej	kehe, -	‘rain’
e.	pohoj, poj	puhui, -	‘arrow’
f.	mīhīm, mīm	-, mīm	‘wood’

In Maxakalí, short forms of nouns are always used: 1) before an intransitive verb, 2) before a modifier or postposition, or 3) before the transitive subject marker *te* (see Popovich & Popovich 2005, Equipe Maxakalí 2013). Although there are no documented examples of Hāhāhāe words with short and long forms used before intransitive verbs or postpositions, or of a transitive subject marker, there are two examples of such words followed by a modifier (see 5 a and b, below).

- (5)
- a. bop-tʃɛg  
 monkey-big  
 ‘a large monkey’<sup>2</sup>
- b. Ham o txe'.  
 land ? dry  
 ‘The land is dry.’

In Maxakalí there are also long and short versions of some verbs. According to Popovich and Popovich (2005), in the case of verbs ending in *ha* or *hā*, the long form is used in the indicative mode, and the short form when used in the subjunctive mode. Other verbs have the

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<sup>2</sup> This gloss is my own, based on information revealed by the comparison between Hāhāhāe and Maxakalí.

reverse: a short form used in the indicative mode, and a long form used in causative phrases.

Popovich and Popovich provide the following examples (2005, vii-i), below. I have made each verb in question bold.

(6) Short and Long Verb Forms in Maxakalí

a. Indicative - long form

ũ-mõg tu tʃuk **paha**.  
3p-go and.same.subj. egg take  
“He went and got the egg.”

b. Subjunctive - short form

ũ-mõg nũŋ tʃuk **pa**.  
3p-go in.order.to.same.subj. egg take  
“He went to get the egg.”

c. Indicative - short form

Tik tuknõg, tu mõʔnãhã, tu ? **ɲũm**.  
man tired and.same.subj. enter and.same.subj. 3p sit  
“The man was tired, and he entered and sat down.”

d. Subjunctive - long form

Tik tuknõg tu mõʔnãhã nũŋ **ɲũhũm**.  
man tired and.same.subj. enter in.order.to.same.subj. sit  
“The man was tired and entered in order to sit down.”

Once more there is an unfortunate lack of examples for comparison in Hãhãhãe, as the documented words are overwhelmingly nouns. However, there are at least four words on the Hãhãhãe lists for which this lengthening and shortening pattern would apply in Maxakalí (see examples 1-4, below).

(7) Maxakalí Hãhãhãe gloss

a. potaha ʔm-poka ‘cry’

		ʔp-cry (?)	
b.	topaha	ʔŋ-kopa ʔp-fly (?)	M: ‘fly’ H: ‘a kind of bird’
c.	tōmãhã	kumʌ	‘swallow’ M: vt. singular obj.
d.	taha	kaha	‘carry’ <sup>28</sup>

In examples 1 and 2, the Hãhãhãe words appear to have the same prefix found throughout the lists on body parts and kinship terms, ʔ-. This prefix is absent in example 3, yet all three examples, 1-3, potentially show the short form of the word. Without a full phrase for comparison, it is unclear whether these verbs would have a longer form in different contexts. It is also possible that in Hãhãhãe the long and short forms are used in different contexts than in Maxakalí. The only example of a long form -aha verb on the Hãhãhãe lists is example 4, above, in which the nominalizing affix -ʔai appears to be suffixed to the root ‘carry’ to form the word ‘bag.’ The fact that Hãhãhãe nouns display lengthening/shortening in at least one context that would be expected in Maxakalí, and the fact that both long and short forms of verbs are documented in Hãhãhãe, indicate that this morphosyntactic feature is likely shared between the languages.

#### 4.4 Modifiers and Constituent Order

In Maxakalí, the basic constituent order is SOV (subject, object, verb) (see Pereira 1992:79, Campos 2009:65-6). Modifiers in Hãhãhãe appear to follow the noun<sup>3</sup> that they modify, which is also true of Maxakalí (See examples 8a-c, below.). According to the cross-linguistic

<sup>28</sup> From H: kahai, or ‘bag’, kaha-ʔai (carry-nominalizing.suffix)

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately there are no documented Hãhãhãe adverbs, or modifiers of verbs.

patterns observed by Greenberg (1963), we would expect Hãhãhãe to also follow a verb final constituent order. Unfortunately, there are no documented examples of Hãhãhãe sentences with a subject, object and verb.

(8) **Hãhãhãe**

- a. bop-tʃεg  
monkey-large  
'a large monkey' or 'The monkey is large.'<sup>4</sup>
- b. Ham o txe?  
land ? dry<sup>5</sup>  
'The land is dry.'
- c. tʃipà<sup>i</sup> kũ  
neck long  
'Its neck is long.'

Knowing this about Hãhãhãe gives community members a place to start in constructing new phrases in Hãhãhãe. SVO (subject, verb, object) and OVS (object, verb, subject) orders are also possible in Maxakalí, and are pragmatically marked (Campos 2009:65-6). According to Campos, SVO order emphasizes the constituent following the verb, while OVS order is used for passive clauses (ibid). Borrowing these syntactic strategies (back) into Hãhãhãe would be part of a much-needed elaboration of Hãhãhãe pragmatics.

#### 4.5 Pronouns

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<sup>4</sup> The original gloss for this word on the Pickering list is 'another kind of monkey' (Meader 1978). I have provided these glosses based on the comparative evidence with Maxakalí that enabled an internal analysis.

<sup>5</sup> It seems likely that this word actually, or also, means 'large.' In Maxakalí this phrase is used to refer to cleared land. It is only a short logical step to connect this phrase with the drying effect of deforestation of the sub-tropical Atlantic Rainforests native to the mountain ranges of the Caramuru-Paraguaçu region.

Maxakalí is an ergative language, and employs one set of pronouns for marking intransitive subjects and transitive objects, and another set for marking transitive subjects and indirect objects. A distinction is also made between inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns. Pronouns from the first set are also used to mark inalienable possession, and those from the second set are also used on agentive intransitive verbs (Equipe Maxakalí 2013:46-7). (Please see Figure 4.1, below, as well as Pereira 1992, Araujo 2000, Popovich & Popovich 2005, Campos 2009, Equipe Maxakalí 2013).

Intransitive Subj., Transitive Obj., Inalienable Possession		Transitive Subj., Intransitive Agentive Subj., Indirect Obj.	
1p singular	ʔũg-	1p singular	ʔãteʔ
2p	ʔã-	2p	tʃateʔ
3p	ʔũ-	3p	tuteʔ
1p plural inclusive	nũmũʔ	1p plural inclusive	nũmũʔãteʔ
1p plural exclusive	ʔũgmũʔ	1p exclusive	ũgmũʔãteʔ
2p plural	ʔãtʃop	2p plural	ʔãtʃopteʔ
3p plural	ʔũtʃohiʔ	3p plural	ʔũtʃohiʔteʔ

Figure 4.1: Maxakalí pronouns used to mark intransitive subjects, transitive objects, and inalienable possession (left two columns), and to mark transitive subjects, intransitive agentive subjects, and indirect objects (Equipe Maxakalí 2013).

The great majority of documented intransitive Hãhãhãe verbs appear to have a prefix: ã- (see Figure 10, below). Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to say whether this prefix is cognate with one of the Maxakalí pronouns or not. Admittedly, in some cases it is the prefix itself that is evidence that a verb is intransitive, as in examples 10i, k and n, below. I suspect that example 10b has the prefix, despite the gloss. I am not sure why examples 10n-p do not, although example 10p appears to be reflexive, as I will discuss in more detail later.

#### (10) Intransitive Verbs in Hãhãhãe<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> I have added a hyphen after the prefix in each example except the third, in which the hyphen was present in the original documentation.

a.	ḷ̃η-kopa	‘kind of bird’ (3p-fly)
b.	ḷ̃-tʃukú	‘died’
c.	A-tó.	‘He died.’
d.	ḷ̃n-tyuityui	‘urinate’
e.	ḷ̃m-po’ka	‘cry’
f.	ḷ̃-ʔḷmpḷʔi	‘sick’
g.	ḷ̃-mḷηgḷm	‘bathe’
h.	ḷ̃-tʃiupa	‘adulturate’
i.	ḷ̃m-bwī	‘whistle’
j.	ḷ̃-ʔwàʔwí	‘blind’
k.	a-tʃuhĩ	‘smile’
l.	ḷ̃-taka	‘yell’
m.	ḷ̃-gum	‘sleep’
n.*	Mowí bukēhé.	‘He sleeps.’
o.	kɔktʃã	‘yawn’
p.	nḷηgùNɾḷ̃	‘tired’

Documented transitive Hãhãhãe verbs do not have this prefix (see examples 11a-g, below). Once more I am not sure why 11h might have the prefix. However, it may not in fact be the prefix, and in any case this word is uncertain as it was followed by a question mark on the original list.

(11) Transitive Verbs in Hãhãhãe

a.	kumḷ	‘swallow’
b.	mohab	‘roast meat’
c.	tʃhohob	‘drink’
d.	hamptʃii	‘pay’
e.	ηgakua	‘pour out’
f.	hãgum	‘lying down’
g.	hambkaháy	‘dance’
h.	ḷ̃ηgḷpĩhĩ	‘buy’?

Given this evidence, Hãhãhãe appears to be an ergative language. This confirms Campos’ (2011) suspicion based on his analysis of a phrase documented in Coastal Pataxó. Also like Maxakalí, and as is common among languages that distinguish between alienable and inalienable



possession, the same Hāhāhāe prefix is documented on kinship and body part terms (see 12 and 13-15, below). At first there seems to be more variation in form in this case, as seen in Figure 12 in which examples b, c and f appear to have a different prefix than examples a, d and e. Possibly, some of the prefixes are first person, and others are third person prefixes. It is difficult to tell from current documentation if this is the case, or if there is phonological variation of the same prefix, or if these differences are merely a consequence of differences in perception. Another possibility is that they were provided using the phrase “É \_\_\_\_.”, or ‘It’s \_\_\_\_.’, and the Brazilian Portuguese nasal /ẽ/, which then affected the vowel quality of the prefix through coarticulation, whereas for some reason the other examples were not provided with this phrase.

(12) Kinship Terms in Hāhāhāe

a.	ǎn-tĕkáy	‘my wife’
b.	ẽ-káy	‘my father’
c.	ẽ-ká	‘my mother’
d.	ǎ-hui	‘brother’
e.	a-ko	‘son’
f.	ε-tfũí	‘husband’

The same prefix appears to be on the overwhelming majority of documented Hāhāhāe body part terms. In most cases, the prefix is consistently ã-, taking into account differences in phonological context and variation in transcription (see examples 13 a-p, below). In some cases, the Hāhāhāe word is documented as a first person possessive, as in examples j, k, l and p. However, it seems that whether or not the other words were documented as such, it was provided with a possessive prefix.

(13) Hāhāhāe Body Part Terms

a.	a-tfekõ	‘thigh’
b.	ǎ-iptfui	‘bone’

c.	Λ-takaʔoi	‘mouth’
d.	Λ-t <sup>h</sup> ui	‘tooth’
e.	a-pahabtaiŋ	‘fingernail’
f.	Λ-ʔΛtʃɔ	‘heart’
g.	Λ-heb	‘blood’
h.	Λm-pʔaka	‘foot’
i.	Λn-tʃɛ̃	‘hair’
j.	am-bakɔhai	‘my head’
k.	ã-ke	‘belly, (fish) intestines’
l.	Λm-pahΛb	‘my hand’
m.	Λ-tʃihɨ	‘my nose’
n.	a-ŋokai	‘chest’
o.	Λ-magi	‘knee’
p.	ã-uá	‘my eye’

In a few cases, the expected ã- is missing from body part terms (see examples 14 a-f, below). Even in these cases, however, the word begins with a nasal vowel. As mentioned above, it is possible that the vowel quality of the prefix was altered by the phonological context. In example f, below, for example, it is likely that the prefix ã- was merged with /ĩ/, resulting in [ẽ], considering that the Maxakalí cognate is /yĩpkɔj/.

(14) Hãhãhãe Body Part Terms

a.	Λŋ-giŋkui	‘leg’
b.	ĩŋ-gĩhòbòkō	‘lower leg’
c.	ẽ-té	‘mustache’
d.	ẽ	‘arm’
e.	ẽ, a-ní	‘lower arm’
f.	ɛmpʔoi	‘ear’

In a few cases, a body part term does not appear to have the prefix ã- (see examples b, d, g, and h, below). In Maxakalí, possessive prefixes are obligatory for body part terms when the subject is undetermined, but not when the subject is known. If the same is true in Hãhãhãe, this fact would help to explain why some body part terms, and especially example b, below, might

not be documented with a possessive prefix. Also, the Maxakalí cognate for example g, below, can also refer to hide, bark, or shell, and would not show inalienable possession in that case.

(15) Hãhãhãe Body Part Terms

a.	ʌtʃĩpai	‘neck’
b.	tʃĩpai	‘its neck’
c.	ã-kobm	‘his or her fat’
d.	kobm	‘fat’
e.	ʌm-pekoi	‘body’
f.	kove kai	‘his body’(ko-pekoi?)
g.	tʃoktʃadt, kũidã	‘skin’ (in M can also mean hide, bark, cover, shell)
h.	tʃʌmʌŋgʌi	‘liver’

Unfortunately, while current documentation provides convincing evidence that Hãhãhãe is ergative, and that inalienable possession is marked using possessive prefixes, there is only documentation of one, or possibly two, Hãhãhãe pronouns. As discussed above, ã- seems to appear on the majority of documented prefixed words. There is no discernible pattern between the prefixes of words glossed in the first person possessive, the third person possessive, or without a possessive gloss. In one example, example 15f, above, the third person possessive appears to have the prefix ko-. However, in example c the third person possessive is shown with the prefix ã-. Only having two documented examples, it is impossible to say whether this difference is a mistake or part of some larger pattern.

In (re)constructing the Hãhãhãe language, community members could choose to borrow from the Maxakalí pronoun system(s), or elaborate their own, beginning with the first person possessive ã-. They may or may not wish to maintain Hãhãhãe ergative distinctions, considering the relative difficulty that this would present for the community of second language learners. Other scholars and communities have wrestled with similar issues when considering whether to

maintain (and/or reconstruct) dialectal differences and syntactic features that would be difficult to learn (see, for example, Adelaar 2013, Edds and Herrick 2017).

## 4.6 Affixes

### 4.6.1 Nominalizer/Potential Aspect Marker -ʔai

The suffix -ʔai functions as both a potential aspect marker and nominalizer in Maxakalí (Popovich & Popovich 2005, xiii). Popovich and Popovich provide the following examples:

(16) -ʔai as Potential Aspect Marker in Maxakalí

*Piya ʔ mōg-ʔaj ātʃa ōgnũ yip? komēn ũm tuk-mōg Belo Horizonte tu-k-mōg ʔaj ...*  
 where it go-can hearsay 1p.poss.jeep town any to-I-go Belo Horizonte to-I-go can

““Where could you go,” the say, “(if you had) your own jeep?” I could go to a city. I could go to Belo Horizonte [...]”

(17) -ʔai as Nominalizer in Maxakalí

[...] *pãñã ñã ʔ tʃit-aj mãhã.*  
 but in.fact it eat-nom. Eat

“[...] but actually ate food.”

There is documentation of -ʔai in Hãhãhãe functioning as a nominalizer (see 18a and b, below). Expanding its range of syntactic function to include aspect marking would be useful for revitalization, as currently there is no known way to accomplish this in Hãhãhãe. This suffix is would also be useful for the creation of new words, though currently there are many more nouns documented in Hãhãhãe than verbs. In 19, I offer some examples of words that might be constructed using this suffix.

(18) -ʔai as Nominalizer in Hãhãhãe

a. hΛmp-tʃu-ʔai

thing-carry-nom.  
'pan, pot, cup'

- b. kəháy  
kaha-ʔai  
carry-nom.  
'bag'

(19) Potential Hāhāhāe Neologisms Using the Suffix -ʔai

- a. ʌmʌŋgʌm-ʔai  
bathe-nom.  
'bathtub/shower'
- b. mohab-ʔai  
roast.meat-nom.  
'grill'
- c. kopa-ʔai  
fly-nom.  
'kite'
- d. tʃhohob-ʔai  
drink-nom.  
'a drink' or possibly 'water fountain'

In the above examples I have made an attempt to focus on words that are part of everyday life. However, it would be possible to adjust the range of meaning. For example, 19b, above, might also be used to refer to the range of a stove, which is a very high frequency use item in daily life. 19c might be used to refer to an airplane or other type of flying contraption. And of course new words could take advantage of multiple affixes and/or compounding words to extend and/or specify their referential meaning, as do already-documented Hāhāhāe words (see 19a above, for example).

#### 4.6.2 Emphatic/Diminutive Suffix –nʌ

In Maxakalí, the suffix *-nãŋ* also has two syntactic functions: it can be used as a diminutive suffix, or to mark emphasis. There is evidence that it has both of these functions in Hãhãhãe as well. In the examples below, I represent the words with the symbols used in the original documentation. Using the pattern of sound correspondences between Hãhãhãe and Maxakalí as a guide (see Chapter 3 sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2), the Hãhãhãe suffix would be either *-nΛ29* or, potentially, *-nΛŋ*. In example 1, below, the suffix adds emphasis to the compound word ‘sweet.’ In example 2, it is a diminutive suffix.

(20) *-nΛ* as Emphatic and Diminutive Suffix in Hãhãhãe

- a.     *tʃoipe-hì-n̄*  
tasty-satisfy-emph.  
‘sweet’
  
- b.     *pekáy-não*  
bird-dim.  
‘little bird’<sup>7</sup>

The suffix *-nΛ* appears to be used in the words in examples 21a-c, below, as well. In example 21a, *-nΛ* follows the root ‘wood,’ and might be functioning as either an emphatic or diminutive suffix, though the latter is more likely.

(21)	Hãhãhãe	Gloss
a.	<i>mim-nΛ</i> wood-dim(?)	‘bed’
b.	<i>tʃokoiN-nΛ</i> sheep(?) <i>-emph(?)</i>	‘sheep’
c.	<i>n̄ŋgùN-n̄</i> tired(?) <i>-emph(?)</i>	‘tired’

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<sup>29</sup> I suspect that this suffix is nasalized in Hãhãhãe, as it is in Maxakalí, but defer here to the way most of the documented words have been transcribed. I discuss the issue of nasality in Hãhãhãe in more detail in Chapter 3, above.

<sup>7</sup> This word was documented as ‘bird.’ The suffix *-nΛ* was only present on one list, its meaning revealed through the comparison with Maxakalí.

In example 21b, above, whether its function is emphatic or diminutive, it is likely being used to contrast ‘sheep’ from another, similar, animal. In both Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe, such suffixes are used to distinguish domestic from wild animals such as pigs, cats, and rats (I will discuss more examples of this below). Unfortunately, in the case of the word ‘tired,’ example 21c above, not enough is known about the root to know whether it is truly the -nʌ suffix, though it would seem logical that it might be that -nʌ is adding emphasis in this case.

### 4.6.3 Generalizing Prefix hãm-

The generalizing prefix hãm-, also a feature of Maxakalí, appears to be part of eleven of the documented Hãhãhãe words. Only two examples (example 22a and b, below), are composed entirely of documented cognate morphemes, and are therefore fully analyzable at this time. However, the fact that it seems to be present in a relatively great number of words attests to the fact that it is likely a commonly used and productive prefix in Hãhãhãe, as it is in Maxakalí. Phonetically, this prefix seems to tend to partially denasalize when occurring before voiceless consonants, as in examples 22a and c-e, below, but not 22h. This partial denasalization is also present in example 22g, where hãm- occurs before /w/, while in 22l the /m/ seems to have lenited entirely before /w/. It should not be confused with the compounding word of the same form, ‘earth.’<sup>30</sup>

- |      |                  |       |
|------|------------------|-------|
| (22) | Hãhãhãe          | Gloss |
| a.   | hʌmp-tʃu-ʔai     | ‘pan’ |
|      | thing-carry-nom. |       |

---

<sup>30</sup> See section 4.2.

- |    |             |          |
|----|-------------|----------|
| b. | hã-maŋãi    | ‘knife’  |
|    | gen.-knife  |          |
| c. | hamp-tʃii   | ‘pay’    |
| d. | hãmp-otʃig  | ‘hard’   |
| e. | hamb-kaháy  | ‘dance’  |
| f. | hãm-tʃõai   | ‘empty’  |
| g. | ʌmb-wai ʔõi | ‘path’   |
| h. | hʌm-tʃhaʔi  | ‘wind’   |
| i. | hãm-ĩ       | ‘dawn’   |
| j. | ham-ãgui    | ‘forest’ |
| k. | hʌm-ʌhãi    | ‘leaf’   |
| l. | hã-waũhe    | ‘sky’    |

Like the set of productive compounding words, the semantic meaning of this prefix, roughly translated as ‘stuff’ or ‘thing,’ lends itself to metaphorical extensions that can be especially useful for the formation of new words. To illustrate this point with one example, at least: in Maxakalí, the word ‘door’ is composed of the root ‘mouth’ and the generalizing prefix (see example 23a, below).

(23)

- |    |             |
|----|-------------|
| a. | hãm-nĩkoj   |
|    | thing-mouth |
|    | ‘door’      |

(Campos 2009:108)

Following this precedent, in a (re)construction of Hãhãhãe new words may be created using the hãm- prefix when a metaphorical connection can be drawn between a named object and an as-yet unnamed object.

#### 4.6.4 Augmentative Suffix -tʃia



The suffix -tʃia does not have a cognate form in Maxakalí. Judging from the documented Hãhãhãe words in which it appears, it potentially marks femaleness (examples 1 and 3, below) or large size (examples 2, 4 and 5, below). Though it may be merely coincidence, it is interesting to note that in Maxakalí, the word ‘mother’ is used in compounding to denote large size (in reference to a mother-child size contrast). Examples 1 and 2, below, have no morphemes that are cognate with Maxakalí. There is some variation between the Hãhãhãe lists in the case of example 3, ‘moon’. On the Nimuendajú list, the same word is glossed as ‘sun,’ while on the Silva & Urban list, this word is glossed as ‘star,’ and on the Pickering list, it is glossed as ‘sky.’ However, these different glosses are likely a consequence of language shift and attrition, and other errors introduced in the process of elicitation. Both Nimuendajú and Pickering provide different words for ‘star,’ and Nimuendajú provides a different word for ‘sky.’ The word on the Silva & Urban list for ‘sun’, ‘bekoi,’ can be heard on the audio recordings provided by a (non-indigenous?) hotel owner, and not by Bahetá herself. The Nimuendajú and Urban & Silva lists also provide different words for ‘moon.’ On the list collected by Paulo Scheibe, which is comparatively not the most reliable list (see section 2.7), /maŋu/ is glossed as ‘sun’ and maŋutʃiá as ‘moon,’ as listed in example 3, below. Considering that /maŋu/ is cognate with the Maxakalí word for ‘sun’ (see 24a, below), the glosses from the Scheibe list are the most plausible.

- (24) Hãhãhãe
- |    |                    |                  |
|----|--------------------|------------------|
| a. | bəkətʃia           | ‘woman’          |
| b. | kehãntiá           | ‘big’            |
| c. | maŋu-tʃiá<br>sun-? | ‘moon’           |
| d. | ham-tiá<br>earth-? | ‘mountain range’ |

- e. tʃiub-tʃiá ‘domestic pig’  
pig-?

(25) Maxakalí

- a. mǎŋõn-hei ‘moon’  
sun-female
- b. tʃʌpʌp-nǎŋ ‘wild pig’  
pig-emph. or pig-dim.

In examples 24e and 25b, it can be seen that Hāhāhāe and Maxakalí employ a similar morphosyntactic strategy using different suffixes. Both languages make a distinction between ‘pig’ and ‘wild pig,’ or ‘pig’ and ‘domestic pig.’ But, as can be seen from the glosses in the previous sentence, ‘wild pig’ is unmarked in Hāhāhāe, while ‘domestic pig’ is unmarked in Maxakalí. The Hāhāhāe documentation is older than the Maxakalí, and it might be the case that ‘wild pig’ was previously the unmarked form in Maxakalí. While this distinction in markedness is interesting in and of itself, it is also interesting that the two languages employ different suffixes for the marked forms. As discussed above, the suffix nǎŋ, used here in the Maxakalí word for ‘wild pig’ is a diminutive suffix in both languages. Domestic pigs are larger than wild pigs, so it would make sense that if the domestic pig is the marked form in Hāhāhāe, as it is, it would be marked with an augmentative suffix.

#### 4.7 Reflexive Pronoun /ɲǎ/ and the Imperative Mode

There is unfortunately little evidence by which to investigate some features of Hāhāhāe grammar. I briefly discuss two of these features below.

#### 4.7.1 Reflexive Pronoun /ɲã/

Campos (2011) suspects that Pataxó and Hãhãhãe share a cognate of the Maxakalí reflexive pronoun /ɲãi/. He bases this suspicion on his analysis of the Pataxó word ‘enemy.’ I reproduce his analysis, below:

(26) Coastal Pataxó Reflexive /nai/?

a. Coastal Pataxó

nionaikikepa ‘enemy’  
 nio-nai-kike-pa  
 that-refl-fight-often

b. Maxakalí

*Nõm ɲãj kij paj.*  
 that refl. Fight often  
 “That [one] fights a lot.”

There are only three documented Hãhãhãe words that potentially incorporate a cognate form of the Maxakalí reflexive /ɲãi/. The first, 27a, below, is the most convincing.

(27)	Maxakalí	Hãhãhãe	Gloss
a.	ɲãi akoho. refl. scratch	ʌŋɣʌ ɲa o. 3p.leg refl. scratch	M: “He scratched himself.” H: “He is scratching his leg.”
b.	ɲãi-nõi-nãŋ refl.-?-emph.(?)	n̄ŋ-gùN-ɲ̄ refl.(?)-?-emph.(?)	‘tired’
c.	ɲãi-taha refl.-marry	ɲá-màʔàtʃĩ refl?-marry	‘marry’

27b is cognate with the Maxakalí, but the initial /ɲãi/ may be only have a coincidental similarity with the reflexive pronoun. And, while the reflexive is present in the Maxakalí word for ‘marry,’ 27c, above, the Hãhãhãe root does not appear to be cognate with the Maxakalí. Although inconclusive, my results do support Campos’ suspicion about the existence of this reflexive pronoun in Hãhãhãe. Certainly, however, this is a feature that might be (re)constructed for revitalization purposes, even if there is limited evidence that attests to its historical existence as a feature of Hãhãhãe.

#### 4.7.2 Hãhãhãe Imperatives

Nimuendajú documented four imperatives in Hãhãhãe, listed in 28, below. Of these, two seem to employ an imperative suffix -pá. Unfortunately there are no documented examples of these verbs not as imperatives for comparison.

(28)	Hãhãhãe	Gloss
a.	Naó.	‘Break it.’
b.	Ahĩkábm!	‘Let’s go!’
c.	Čo-pá!	‘Come!’
	come-imp.(?)	
d.	Moate-pá!	‘Run!’
	run-imp.(?)	

In Maxakalí, transitive verbs used in the imperative mode take the transitive object prefixes discussed above (Equipe Maxakalí 2013:57). The only documented transitive imperative in Hãhãhãe, 28a, above, does not appear to have a prefix. It is possible that ‘Let’s go!’, 28b, above, takes a subject pronoun, as in the Maxakalí phrase below:

(29) *Āpu nuĩmuĩg mōg.*  
incite.interj. 1p.pl.incl. go

“Come on, let’s go!”

(Popovich & Popovich 2005)

Some imperatives are also shortened in Maxakalí. For example, /penãhã/, or ‘look at something,’ is shortened to ‘penã?’ and takes an object prefix, for example the 3p pronoun ?ũ-, resulting in ‘?ũpenã?’ (ibid). Others have an alternate, imperative form. For example, ‘topaha’, or ‘soar,’ becomes ‘tohop’ in the imperative. Unfortunately there is not enough data to know if similar changes occurred in Hãhãhãe as well. Note, however, that 28d and potentially also even 28b, may include a cognate of Maxakalí /mōg/, or ‘go.’

#### 4.8 Discussion

These results confirm Campos’ (2011) observations, based mostly on documentation of Coastal Pataxó, that Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe share morphosyntactic features such as 1) the lengthening/shortening of words in different syntactic contexts, 2) ergativity, 3) inalienable possession marking on body part terms, and 4) potentially, a reflexive pronoun. Additionally, I have presented evidence that Hãhãhãe and Maxakalí share 1) a productive set of compounding words, 2) a basic SOV (subject, object, verb) word order and post positions, 3) a nominalizing suffix, 4) a suffix that can be either emphatic or diminutive, and 7) a generalizing prefix. I have also shown that Hãhãhãe marks inalienable possession on kinship terms, and has a suffix that is either augmentative or feminine marking. As Campos points out, the fact that these morphosyntactic features are shared between Maxakalí and Hãhãhãe suggests that these languages are more closely related than previously thought, and, potentially, that they are

dialects of the same language (4). This fact is unsurprising considering the overall similarity between the Hāhāhāe and Maxakalí cognates, and adds further depth to the question, discussed in the previous section, of why, if Maxakalí and Hāhāhāe are so closely related, so many Hāhāhāe words are apparently unrelated to Maxakalí.

These results also speak to the potential for understanding, and potentially (re)constructing, underdocumented dormant languages. In the case of Hāhāhāe, much of what we know about the language has only been revealed through comparative work with Maxakalí. But there is still work to be done. As Maxakalí continues to be documented and studied, and, if it is possible to discover more about the Hāhāhāe words that are not cognate with Maxakalí, we can hope to discover even more about Hāhāhāe. Less conventional methods can be employed as well, such as looking at loanword phonology and morphology and L1-L2 influence, to discover more about Hāhāhāe. In this sense, I hope to have provided some hope to other scholars and community members working to revitalize underdocumented heritage languages.

As an awakening language, Hāhāhāe is continuing to be used and elaborated, and to be changed. I will discuss this language use in more detail in the following chapter. I hope to have provided in this section some tools with which community members can (re)construct the language, however they wish to do so. I have discussed some options above, when discussing specific morphosyntactic features that appear to be shared between Hāhāhāe and Maxakalí. However, community members might choose to borrow other features of Maxakalí, especially considering that the languages are so closely related. There are many grammatical features that would be necessary for Hāhāhāe to be more functional as a spoken language, especially for everyday communication, if community members wish to do so exclusively, or at least to a greater extent, in Hāhāhāe. Function words such as ‘and’ and other connectives would be very

useful in constructing phrases in Hãhãhãe, and could easily be ‘translated’ into Hãhãhãe from Maxakalí by following the known sound correspondences of the cognate set. I provide only a few of the many possible examples below.

(30)	Maxakalí	New Hãhãhãe	Gloss
a.	tuʔ	ʔuʔ <sup>8</sup>	‘and’ (same subject as preceding clause)
b.	haʔ	haʔ	‘and’ (different subject as preceding clause)
c.	tʃop	tʃob	plural marking suffix/morpheme
d.	tʃohi	tʃuhi	‘all, every’
e.	baiʔ	baiʔ	‘hello, good’
f.	tʃape	tʃape	‘relatives’
g.	nõŋ	nõ	‘my’
h.	õŋ	õ	‘your’
i.	kopaʔ	ʔopaʔ	‘inside’
j.	mũtij	mũkij	‘with’

It is fortunate that the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, Maxakalí and also the Coastal Pataxó consider themselves to be relatives. In fact, Pataxó teachers have even traveled to visit the Maxakalí in an attempt to learn their language, which they consider to have been maintained by the Maxakalí – a possibility the Maxakalí seem to be open to (see Bomfim 2012). Still, the Pataxó Hãhãhãe that I have asked about this possibility have hesitated and responded that it is important that the Hãhãhãe language be their own, or that it maintain its ‘roots’.

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<sup>8</sup> A more accurate translation into Hãhãhãe according to the sound correspondences of the cognate set would be /kuʔ/. However, this would be problematic in that it has the same form as a taboo word roughly equivalent to English ‘ass’. This word is avoided to the extent that creative word play jokes are sometimes made to avoid saying words that might rhyme with the word. Therefore, I suggest replacing /k/ with /ʔ/, something that is occasionally found in the cognate set. While this potentially sets up an ambiguity between this word and the BP definite article of the same form, such an overlap would be more socially appropriate and, potentially, even desirable by those who express the desire to be able to use the Hãhãhãe language as a kind of secret, indigenous-only form of communication.

In my experience, Hãhãhãe community members have also been hesitant to make new words or otherwise elaborate their language. One man asked me directly if the Hãhãhãe would be seen as legitimate if they were to coin new words in the language, even if these words were themselves made of other Hãhãhãe words, such as those of the compounding set. I assume he was concerned about an outsiders' perspective, especially given the fact that the Hãhãhãe have been fighting for decades to have the use of their traditional lands and other rights that depend on a contested ethnic identity. It is also possible that he was concerned about criticism within the community. Coastal Pataxó, for example, has been and continues to be elaborated by a group of community activists and linguists (see Bomfim 2012). According to gossip on the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation, hundreds of kilometers away but very close in terms of communication and kin relationships between communities, one Pataxó community leader coined a number of words himself, so that the words have no other known origins. However, while many now question the legitimacy of the Pataxó language, named "Patxohã" by language activists, a compound made by joining "Pataxó" with the Hãhãhãe word for 'tongue', it is also studied in schools on the reservation and borrowed from as necessary when writing songs and for other community uses. There would likely be some initial skepticism of new Hãhãhãe words as well. Also, if based on loans from Maxakalí, new Hãhãhãe features might be difficult for community members, who primarily speak Brazilian Portuguese, to pronounce and to learn.

Many communities undergoing language shift and/or revitalization struggle with similar concerns related to linguistic purism, or the desire to resist linguistic change to some extent (see, for example, Hinton 2001, Meek 2010, Oberly et al 2015, Abtahian and Quinn 2017). For speakers of the awakening *Myaamia* language, Wesley Leonard argues that purism is an expectation imposed by dominant discourses about American Indian languages, whereas "a



widely held belief within the Miami community is that the language will be different in form with respect to any given point in the past and that this is fine (2011, 136). In other cases, ideologies of linguistic purism can become obstacles to language use because of community tensions about the perceived incorrectness of younger generations' speech and other phenomena (see Kroskrity and Field 2009, Abtahian and Quinn 2017).

Whatever steps the Hãhãhãe decide take to (re)construct and/or revitalize their language, I hope to have provided some practical tools here. The features and elements discussed in this section represent only a few of the many options available to the Hãhãhãe community for the revitalization of their language. As I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 7, community members are already recruiting words and features from other languages, indigenous and Brazilian Portuguese alike, to accomplish their linguistic goals. The features and elements discussed in this section represent only a few of the many options available to the Hãhãhãe community for the revitalization of their language.

**Part II:**

**Reclaiming Identity: The Ideological Shift of Being Indian (Again)**

## 5 ‘Cabocos Que Sabe Historiar’: Memory and Identity in Hãhãhã Narratives

### 5.1 Introduction

*What affects and molds people in their actions and interactions is not History, or even the Past, as abstract forms, but what remains of the past in people’s lives. This past is to be found above all in concrete histories - the stories that people think, hear, and tell of their past, and the stories that are thrown in their face by the politically or economically powerful.*

David Frye *Indians into Mexicans* (1996:8-9)

*Tem muitos que não sabe. Se perderam, perderam no tempo.*  
There are many who don’t know. They got lost, lost in time.

Fábio Titiá, Hãhãhã community activist, 2014

In Pau Brasil, the small town that borders the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation, the residual tension of decades of interethnic conflict is almost palpable, somehow blended together with the quaint and hospitable friendliness of a small rural Bahian town. It is a place of contrasts that seems to weave past and present together. Horses, cars and motorcycles share the hilly cobbled streets during the day, with donkeys and cows wandering freely at night. Young men mounted on horseback peer down at their smartphones while riding through town, using the widely popular texting application WhatsApp. As is perhaps always true, the past is also discursively tied to the present through the stories that people tell. These narratives link present day people to a shared past and are even used as a frame through which to make sense of the present. As Paul Kroskrity points out, stories are “critically connected to the creation of social orders ... and the making of selves” (2009, 40). In Pau Brasil and around the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation, many of these stories are related to ongoing land conflict. A new chapter of this story brought significant changes to the region just two years before my fieldwork in 2014-2015: the highest Brazilian federal court, the Supremo Tribunal Federal (STF), finally

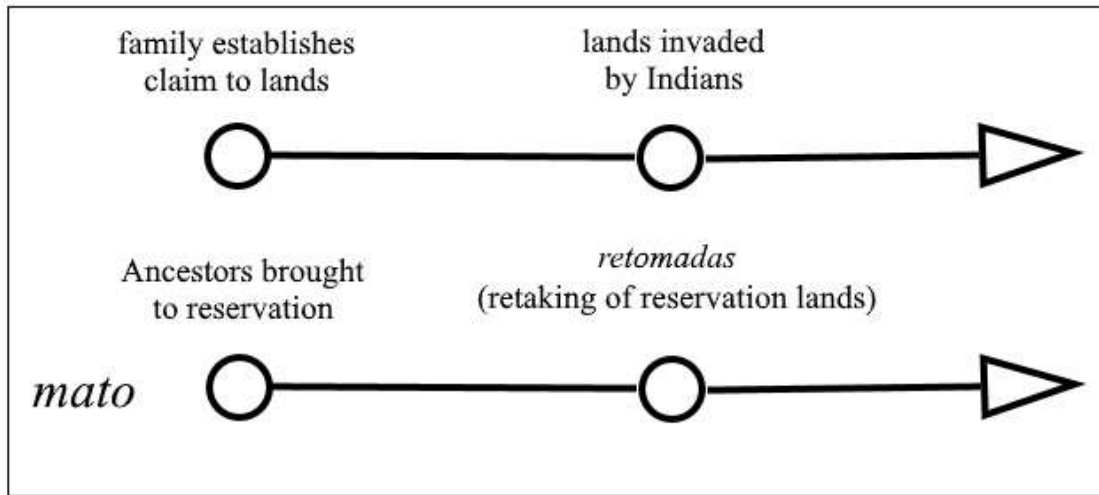
decided in favor of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe's claim to 36,000 hectares of demarcated reservation land<sup>31</sup>, after more than three decades of waiting on the decision.<sup>32</sup> The decision itself annulled the land titles of non-indigenous landholders within reservation boundaries (ACO 312 1982/217), some of whom had laid claim to their lands during the original demarcation of the reservation in the 1920s, or even before (Paraíso 1988). It is therefore understandable that the stories of non-indigenous landowners and their relatives, and others who align themselves against the indigenous claim to reservation lands, tend to take as a starting point of their stories either the “invasion” of non-indigenous farms, or when a grandfather, or great-grandfather, established claim to family lands. For the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, the story is of a shared *luta*, or ‘struggle’, that begins with the demarcation of reservation lands, or even before, and is marked by the *retomadas* or “retakings” of demarcated land that had been taken over by non-indigenous settlers during the tumultuous early decades of the PI Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation at the beginning of the 20th century (see Paraíso 1988). In Figure 5.1, below, I illustrate two such contrasts in narrative form. This image is not meant to represent the form of all local narratives, but only to highlight ways in which indigenous and non-indigenous narratives typically contrast. Overall these differences in typical narrative form result in differences of narrative framing. Mato, or ‘forest’, in the lower left-hand corner refers to the period when the Baenã and Pataxó Hãhãhãe still lived in autonomous settlements in the forest. I argue that in current narratives this period is constructed as timeless and static. It is rarely, if ever, attributed with details in current

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<sup>31</sup> See Paraíso (1988) for a history of the reservation and land conflict and a description of the context of the early *retomada* of demarcated reservation lands by the Pataxó Hãhãhãe.

<sup>32</sup> Ação Civil Originária (ACO) 312, protocol number 1982/217, September 30, 1982. <http://www.stf.jus.br/portal/processo/verProcessoAndamento.asp?incidente=1454490>

narratives.



5.1: Typical points of continuity (straight lines) and change (circles) in non-indigenous (above) and indigenous (below) narratives in the Caramuru-Paraguaçu region.

An individual narrative might be quite simple, consisting even of a single phrase, such as “My family has been here for fifty years.”<sup>33</sup> Such a narrative would take as a starting point the establishment of a family’s land claim. The beginning of indigenous narratives also often differ based on ethnicity. Whereas Pataxó Hãhãhãe elders might begin with an ancestor being brought to the reservation, Kariri-Sapuyá narratives often start with their expulsion from the Pedra Branca region, roughly one hundred years before they came to the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation.<sup>34</sup> In the context of Brazilian *mestiçagem*, or ‘mixed heritage,’ the framing of a personal narrative not only positions the narrator relative to the land conflict, but can also be integral to the boundaries between who is indigenous, and who is not. In contrast to narratives of indigenous heritage that are framed within this larger narrative of national *mestiçagem*, as I will

<sup>33</sup> This is not an actual quote, but my own example of the kind of phrase I often heard in the field.

<sup>34</sup> I discuss the histories of the five main Pataxó Hãhãhãe ethnicities in more detail in Chapter 2.

discuss below, Hãhãhãe narratives are not a social resource to which all Brazilians might have equal access. As such, they form a part of processes through which indigeneity is simultaneously (re)made, lived and contested.

Indigenous stories, and the ways in which they are told, have long been a topic of both public and scholarly interest<sup>35</sup>. In Brazil, indigenous stories, as signs of contested ethnic identities, have also been the focus of intense public scrutiny, especially in relation to land disputes. This has also been true of Afro-Brazilian groups, though it is important to note that the line between indigenous people and afro-descendants is not always clear (see, for example, Grunewald 1999, 2011; French 2009). In her work with the descendants of *quilombos*, or ‘fugitive slave communities,’ in rural Bahia, Elizabeth Farfã-Santos (2015, 110) explores how quilombo descendants’ claims to community rights “are often dismissed as frauds until proven authentic ... [in part through] their ability to tell a specific history of their past as it has been written and incorporated into the Brazilian national imaginary.” There are many parallels that could be drawn between the experiences of *quilombo* descendants and Northeastern indigenous communities, whose claims to community rights such as access to traditional lands are based on a contested ethnic identity. In both cases, the concept of an ethnic identity runs counter to dominant race ideologies that conceptualize both indigenous and African heritage as a part of a shared national past. This way of conceptualizing race underlies the common accusation that indigenous and *quilombola* identities are “fraudulent,” to borrow Farfã-Santos’ wording.

Questions of ethnic authenticity and processes of authentication, while relevant, are not my main focus here.<sup>36</sup> Instead, I take Hãhãhãe stories as socially constitutive in themselves, and

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<sup>35</sup> See Hill 1995 and Basso 1996, to name two notable examples in linguistic anthropology.

<sup>36</sup> For discussions on authenticity and processes of authentication in the mobilization of indigenous and Afro-descendant groups in Latin America, see Conklin 1997, Graham 2002, Hooker 2005, Anderson 2007, French 2009, Farfã-Santos 2015, Shulist 2016.

explore their role as a part of local expressions of indigeneity. I am not the only one to have noticed the importance that shared narratives have had for the re-elaboration of indigeneity in the Brazilian Northeast. Ugo Maia Andrade (2004, 99), for example, points to the “production of a differentiated identity founded in stories and shared experiences” in addition to genealogical evidence, in arguing that the Kalancó of the Northeastern state of Alagoas should be awarded Federal recognition as an indigenous group.<sup>37</sup> As I will explore in more detail here, the Hãhãhãe are also aware of the importance of their stories for the maintenance, and defense, of their indigeneity. Indigeneity is conceived as something that can be lost, not only through racial mixing and acculturation, but also through a loss of shared history and connection to specific ancestors. The maintenance of indigeneity is therefore not achieved through attempts to maintain biological, cultural, or even symbolic purity, but through continuity with a shared past and alignment with an ongoing shared struggle: Pataxó Hãhãhãe stories and knowledge must be shared and maintained through the generations, to prevent the Hãhãhãe from being “lost in time”, to quote Fábio Titiá, Hãhãhãe activist.

In this chapter, I explore some of the elements of a Pataxó Hãhãhãe shared narrative of struggle and the significance of this narrative for local processes of identity work and the (re)making of meanings of indigeneity. Primarily this chapter is a retelling of stories shared with me in informal, semi-structured interviews, supplemented and contextualized with historical documentation. My interest is also in how people use these stories to frame their present day experiences and connect themselves to a shared struggle as indigenous people in this racially mixed context. I explore how different speakers draw on elements of this shared story to explain

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<sup>37</sup> Reports provided by anthropologists have commonly been used by the Federal Indian Foundation (a Fundação Nacional do Índio - Funai) in their decisions to grant federal recognition to “resurgent,” or previously unrecognized, indigenous groups, especially in the Northeast.

current social distinctions and ongoing violence, and to make sense of their life choices and personal goals. Because of differences in experience, generation, etc. speakers employ different strategies of locating themselves in the Hãhãhãe story, which itself takes on different form and scope depending on the speaker. Still, there are key differences between Hãhãhãe narratives and those that align with both dominant race ideologies and the interests of powerful non-indigenous landowners. Differences in access to the Hãhãhãe story, and the choices that speakers make as they tell it, reflect and are a part of unequal access to land and other community resources. The (re)circulation of the Hãhãhãe story, in all of its forms, and the alignment of speakers with this narrative of a shared struggle, even if they themselves are not (yet) tellers of this story, is central to how indigeneity is defined, and lived, in Caramuru-Paraguaçu.

The stories of non-indigenous people in the Caramuru-Paraguaçu region were not shared with me through interactions framed as “interviews” with an anthropologist but were part of my experience as a participant observer. I also examine non-indigenous narratives circulated by online and news media. While I draw on only a few excerpts from a small set of Hãhãhãe narratives, my observations are based on themes that I have noticed in my research and experience in working with the Pataxó Hãhãhãe for the past eight years. Over this time I have worked most closely with members of the Titiá family, an extended family of the Baenã and Pataxó Hãhãhãe ethnicities, as well as Kariri-Sapuyá who have intermarried with this family. I also worked most closely with members of this family who are community activists, leaders, and teachers, and are therefore practiced in sharing the Hãhãhãe story within the community, as well as in receiving and sharing stories with outsiders like myself. Still, I was able to work with people from four different generations, whose personal experiences include vastly different stages of the Hãhãhãe struggle.



Reflecting on her career in anthropology, Jane H. Hill (2014, 1) describes much of her work as involving “the reshaping and transformation of knowledge of language and history shared with me by indigenous people who had made it a life’s project to acquire, remember, and pass on this heritage”. I find myself doing the same here and hope to do so in a way that is faithful to the Hãhãhãe story.

## **5.2 “Cocoa Colonels,” Indians, and Hired Guns: The Early Days of PI Caramuru-Paraguaçu**

### **5.2.1 From the *Mato* (‘forest’) to the Reservation**

The Caramuru-Paraguaçu region has been marked by conflict between indigenous groups and non-indigenous settlers for more than a century. However, the contact histories of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe ethnicities differ, as I have discussed in Chapter 2, in terms of each ethnicity’s shift to Brazilian Portuguese. The Tupinambá, for example, had been *aldeado*, or settled on a reservation, on the coast since 1700 (Paraíso 1988). In contrast, the Baenã, Pataxó Hãhãhãe and Kamakã, hunter-gatherers and traditional enemies of the coastal Tupi-speaking groups, had, alongside others, managed to prevent extensive settlement, and even travel, by non-indigenous settlers in the vast region between the coastal settlements and the rich inland mines of Minas Gerais for hundreds of years (see Barickman 1995). Unfortunately, few details of these centuries before the establishment of the reservation in the 1930s have been maintained in oral history. What we do know is mostly taken from historical documents produced by non-indigenous settlers, explorers, and others who populated the frontiers of Southern Bahia. In Baena Hãhãhãe narratives, the period before the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation was established is remembered

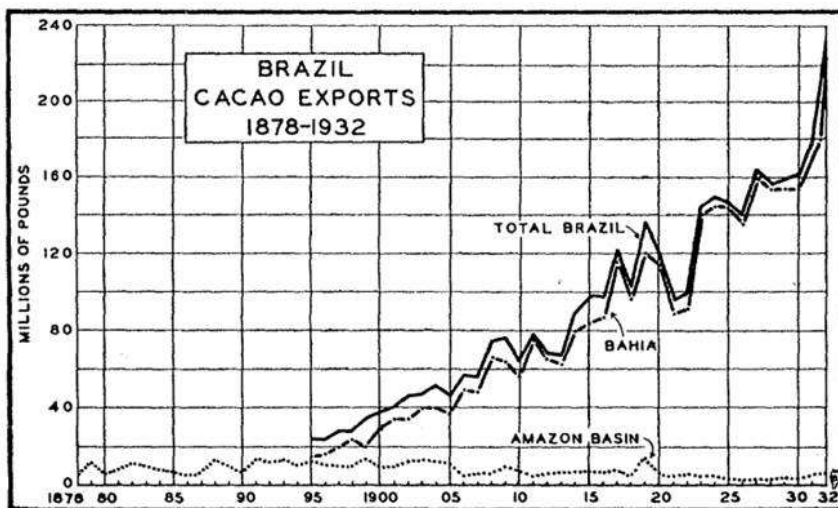
as the time when their ancestors still lived in the *mato*, or ‘forest.’ Despite a lack of remembered detail, this time period is meaningful to the Hãhãhãe, as I will explore in more detail later.

Throughout the 18th century, the entire region around what is now the Caramuru-Paraguassu reservation was legally protected by the Portuguese Crown in an effort to prevent easy access to the riches of the mining region, which created a zone of refuge for indigenous groups (Monteiro 2002, 367). Tired of indigenous-settler conflicts in the region and with an interest in exploiting the natural resources there, especially wood, Prince Regent Dom João VI restored legal slavery of Indians and began an officially sanctioned slaughter of indigenous people in the region in 1808 (Barickman 1995, 359-60). It was a grisly business: “village killing” became common practice, hundreds of children were sold into slavery, Indians were “hunted down like wild beasts”, ears were taken as trophies, and skulls were sold to European anthropologists (360-1).<sup>38</sup> Still, for decades, settlements were mostly restricted to a few kilometers inland along the coast. With increased economic exploitation of the region during the latter half of the 19th century, and a resulting increase in settler-indigenous conflicts in the region, it was no longer possible to delay more intensive contact.

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<sup>38</sup> Some of these tactics are unfortunately still common in frontier regions in Latin America.

Regional inter-ethnic conflicts became even more intense with the expansion of cacao production, thanks in part to the development of a new strain of cacao that could flourish beyond the river valleys, and the “violence that characterized the occupation of the cacao zone ... became so bloody and well-known” that the Indian Protection Service, or SPI, began demarcating the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation and initiated a process of “pacification” of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and Baenã in 1926 (Paraíso 1988, 53). By the first decades of the 1900s, accompanying a dramatic increase in worldwide consumption of chocolate, the cacao industry was quickly becoming the “largest and most important” industry in Bahia (Keithan 1939, 198).



5.2: Brazilian cacao exports in millions of pounds, from 1878-1932, showing the total amount exported (solid line), the amount exported from Bahia (dash dot line), and the amount exported from the region of the Amazon basin (dotted line). Reproduced from Keithan 1939.

Few places in the world were as ideal for the cultivation of cacao as the Atlantic rain forests of Southern Bahia (Alger and Caldas 1994, 108), including those on the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation. Forests that had once represented an impenetrable expanse between rich inland mines and coasts lined with shipping ports and sugar cane plantations suddenly became one of the region’s most valuable and sought-after resources.<sup>39</sup> As Alger and Caldas explain,

<sup>39</sup> While the significance of its value for cacao cultivation should not be underestimated, the value of the land in the Caramuru-Paraguaçu region for cattle raising was also recognized (see Funai 1976), a practice that

“historically, the riches that could be obtained from cocoa led a few powerful planters to seize extensive areas of land, and establish the *latifundia* land tenure pattern that still prevails in Southern Bahia” (108). Locally, these powerful landowners are called *fazendeiros*, or “farmers.” They and their descendants are still well known, and in some cases even feared. At the height of the Cacao Era in Bahia, they were known the *senhores do cacau* or *coroneis do cacau*, the “cocoa colonels.” Just ten years after its demarcation, these *coroneis* succeeded in getting the SPI and the State of Bahia to reduce the reservation from the original 50 square leagues to 36,000 hectares (Paraíso 1988, 54). Even before this, as the original 50 square leagues of the reservation were still being demarcated, “various local farmers invaded the reserved area,” taking advantage of the slow pace of the demarcation process and the fact that law establishing the reservation (1916/26) recognized the right of already established non-indigenous settlers to remain (ibid).

Local violence continued. During the demarcation process, largely carried out by the Kariri-Sapuyá and Kamakã working for the SPI, there were “*fazendeiros* who paid up to 10 mil-réis [10\$000] to *pistoleiros* [”hired gunmen”] to kill Indians who worked on the demarcation” (Monteiro 2002, 370). Like the *fazendeiros* and *coroneis*, *pistoleiros* are commonly referred to personas in Hãhãhãe narratives. They are iconic of both power differences and the violence of the conflicts in the region. SPI records from the time refer to various invasions by settlers, as well as the deaths of settlers, Indians, individuals in the SPI employ, and injuries resulting from beatings at the Paraguaçu Indigenous Post, to name only a few instances (see SPI 1937 mf 153 fg 125-127, mf 184 fg 203). In one letter in SPI records, mostly written in polite, formal Portuguese, a man asks for payment so as to be able to flee the region. Otherwise, writes the author, “they may come by force [and] shoot me and my whole family” (SPI 1942; mf 184 fg

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continues until today, to the greater detriment of what remain of the Atlantic rain forests.

209). The practice of poisoning springs was also commonplace (Funai 1976, 36). Considering the great number of non-indigenous settlers and the level of violence in the inter-ethnic conflicts, “attracting” those who remained in the forests to the reservation was a lengthy and difficult process, despite the SPI’s best intentions<sup>40</sup> and adherence to the “Rondonian precepts of non-violence under any circumstances” (Monteiro 2002, 369). While in the forests, the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and Baenã were forced to abandon any attempt at agriculture and divide into small groups that could flee more efficiently when necessary (Funai 1976, 36), on the reservation an ongoing lack of funding limited available resources, including food and medicines. Many died of diseases such as Malaria and Chagas (SPI rel. 02/1932).

This period is remembered by Baenã and Pataxó Hãhãhãe as a time of great suffering. Maura Titiá remembers, for example, that in addition to hardships caused by disease, overcrowding, and lack of basic necessities, many of those brought to the reservation succumbed to “sadness,” simply sitting quietly until they passed away (Maura Titiá, personal communication 2014). The report of Ablerto Jacobina of the SPI, written in the time of the “revolutions” leading up to the *Estado Novo* regime, is illustrative of the times<sup>41</sup>. I quote selectively from this long letter, below:

*... os postos de assistencia aos indios ficaram reduzidos, até que varios falecimentos por empaludismo ... tanto no grupo de selvicolas que se tinha azilado ao Posto Paraguassú, como no pessoal trabalhador do estabelecimento. Estes selvicolas eram do numero daquelles que, com dificuldade immensa tinham sido atrahidos, apesar da resistencia desconfiada da maior parte dos companheiros. Vós sabeis quanto é bem fundada essa desconfiança e quanto é difficil vencel-a depois das perseguições, violencias e morticinios que tem vitimado ha muitos annos os chamados Patachós da Bahia. Pois bem, dos vinte preciosos amigos que já estavam conquistados para influir sobre os restantes, que erram pela matta até que se convençam da*

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<sup>40</sup> Souza (2017, 116-7) notes a general ambivalence toward the SPI among the Hãhãhãe, which, she explains, is understandable given that “... the SPI imprisoned them and enslaved them, but, contradictorily, it is thanks to the presence of this government agency that the territory [I.e. Caramuru-Paraguaçu] exists.”

<sup>41</sup> The same letter also makes reference to a small group who, says Jacobina, owe their lives to the protection of an “eminent” *fazendeiro* who has received them on his lands “for many years”, and whose children are related to them on their mother’s side.

*nossa sinceridade, perdemos desgraçadamente seis. O nosso infortunio é mais doloroso ainda por terem os indios, contrariamente á nossa expectativa, dado a sua inteira confiança ao principal medicamento que se emprega contra esse mal - o sulphato de quinino. ... já que nada poderam fazer pelas vidas por ausencia de dinheiro e de remedios. ...*

*... torna-se necessaria a manutenção de uma turma vigilante contra os invasores ... animam-se agora, de mais e mais ... Estamos sem defesa, Snr. Director ... é este para nós, Snr. Director, o ponto mais serio do presente relatorio e esperamos por isto, que, encerrando com elle as informações que ahi ficam, sobre a situação e a vida dos nossos Postos ... seja elle bem considerado por aquelles a quem prestardes as informações solicitadas com urgencia pelo nosso Ministerio. (SPI rel. 02/1932)*

... the posts of assistance to the Indians were reduced, by various deaths by Malaria ... among the group of foresters<sup>42</sup> who had sought asylum at the Posto Paraguaçu, as well as among the workers of the establishment. These foresters were among those who, through immense difficulty, had been attracted, despite the resistance and lack of trust on the part of the majority of their companions. You know how well founded this lack of trust is and how difficult it is to overcome it after the persecution, violence and slaughter the so-called Patachós of Bahia have suffered for so many years. Well, of the twenty precious friends who were already made in order to influence the rest, who wander the forests until they can be convinced of our sincerity, we unfortunately lost six. Our misfortune is felt even more because of the fact that the Indians, contrary to our expectations, had given their entire trust to the principal medication used against this evil - quinine sulfate. ... as nothing could be done for the lives because of a lack of money and medications. ...

... the maintenance of a watch group against the invaders [of the reservation] has become necessary ... they are encouraged, more and more ... We are defenseless, Mr. Director ... this is for us, Mr. Director, the most serious point in the present report and we hope that, enclosing with it this information, about the situation of life of our Posts ... it will be carefully considered by those (SPI rel. 02/1932)

In the end it was not possible for SPI to maintain the defense of the reservation from non-indigenous “invaders,” even once the demarcation process was completed. By 1947 the SPI gave up the attempt and instead began to rent reservation lands in hopes of at least obtaining more funding for the maintenance of the reservation (Funai 1976, 37).

Whatever the good intentions may have been on the part of SPI officials, their actions, and the effects of those actions, were part of a larger process in which the State attempted to absorb local indigenous groups into the relatively stable and profitable class and race-based

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<sup>42</sup> I.e. indigenous

socioeconomic hierarchy that in rural Bahia took the form of the exploitative *latifundio* system<sup>43</sup> - a paternalistic and racist ideology common to Colonial (and post-Colonial) State-indigenous relationships throughout the Americas and elsewhere. For the Baenã and Pataxó Hãhãhãe,<sup>44</sup> the establishment of the reservation is the foundational moment of the Hãhãhãe story, before which time stretches indefinitely into the past, into the time of their ancestors from the *mato*, or ‘forest.’ These ancestors, who are known almost without exception by the heritage language names<sup>45</sup> now used as surnames by their descendants, are also iconic figures in Hãhãhãe heritage stories. The last generation of fluent speakers, they are the *raizes*, or ‘roots,’ through which the Baenã and Hãhãhãe trace their indigenous heritage.

On the reservation, these Hãhãhãe ancestors were made to live under the watchful eyes of a *chefe do posto*, or ‘post boss,’ at indigenous posts like the *rancho queimado*, or “burnt ranch”, so-called because officials burned the vegetation surrounding the rows of small houses and their fields in order to better observe the indigenous residents. Figure 2, below, shows one of the clusters of brick houses in which the Baenã and Hãhãhãe were made to live after being brought



5.3: Image from SPI records of the early days of Caramuru-Paraguaçu. From a 1929 report, the image is labeled: “Villa of the Indians - seen from the back, left angle”. Photo: Museu do Índio. (1929 mf 182).

<sup>43</sup> See Henfrey (1989).

<sup>44</sup> At this point the Kamakã and Kariri-Sapuyá had already had more contact with non-indigenous Brazilians. The Kamakã, for example, had been employed in building roads and even fighting the Pataxó Hãhãhãe (Paráiso 1988). they and the Kariri-Sapuyá were also employed in the demarcation of the reservation (Monteiro 2002), and possibly efforts to “attract” the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and Baenã to the post. Those most recently from the forest were taken to P.I. Caramuru, what is now the Bahetá *aldeia*, to be acculturated. Others were given a *declaração de indianidade* as proof of their indigeneity, and assigned to family lots distributed throughout the reservation according to ethnicity (371).

<sup>45</sup> See Souza (2017, 108).

to the reservation.

The methods of forced acculturation of the Baenã and Pataxó Hãhãhãe were remarkably similar to those developed in the 1700s in the “supervised villages” of the coastal Tupinambá, in which “a combination of coercion, forced cultural assimilation, and close supervision” were used (Barickman 1995, 338). As Barickman explains, the intent behind these methods were:

... to transform the region’s population of *índios mansos* [lit. “tame Indians”] into a stable and productive peasantry that, over time, would lose its distinct cultural identity and that would immediately contribute to the development of a strong commercial economy in southern Bahia. (345)

Barickman explains that despite being “fundamentally flawed by contradictory and conflicting goals” this system was used, in one version or another, throughout the 19th century, having been proved “far too useful in controlling the Indian population and in promoting settlement to be discarded” (345-6). It would seem that this system was used in southern Bahia into the 20th century, at least at PI Caramuru-Paraguaçu. As in the case of the “supervised villages,” there was a concern at the indigenous posts that residents wear Western clothing and live in brick and tile houses that were too small for communal living, although this led to overcrowding that exacerbated conditions of malnutrition and illness (Maura Titiá, personal communication 2014). Barickman points out that such arrangements “imposed European notions of space on the daily lives of the Indians” and represented a “conscious attempt to restructure kinship and gender relations” (340). Again, like older “supervised villages,” the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and Baenã were also subjected to public punishment for speaking in their native language(s). A stand of eucalyptus trees on what used to be the Caramuru post is still remembered as the location where people were tied for days on end without food or water, as a punishment for



speaking their language (Agnaldo Titiá, personal communication 2015). Especially during the dry season, this side of the reservation is brutally hot. Away from the cool mountain forests of the southern part of the reservation, the scrubby rolling grasslands here were primarily used as pasture. The tall, slender eucalyptus trees themselves provide little to no shade, and no real respite from the sun. Even a few minutes by the trees on a hot day make it palpably clear how cruel this punishment would have been. Indeed, according to Hãhãhãe oral history not all survived. Figure 5.4 shows one of the remaining eucalyptus trees used for these punishments. Agnaldo Titiá pointed the trees out to me and retold the story during my stay on the reservation in 2015.



5.4: One of the eucalyptus trees at what used to be PI Caramuru, on a cloudy day. 2015.

The Baenã and Hãhãhãe also remember more subtle, though no less meaningful, traumas of experienced acculturation and language loss. Some remember Bahetá, the last recorded first language speaker of Hãhãhãe, scolding children by calling them *branco*, or ‘non-indigenous’ (lit. ‘white’). Others remember her being laughed at and taunted. Being indigenous, and sounding

indigenous, was cause for open scorn in the towns near the reservation. Maura Titiá, whose parents came from the *mato*, or ‘forest’, and who was a child during the early days of the reservation, remembers the general opinion about indigenous languages at the time:

*Quando eles pegaram os índio (...) botava logo para ensinar falar português. Eles achavam que a língua dos índios, era língua de bicho enrolado. Não sabia, não entendia ... nem procurava entender, né.*

When they took the Indians (...) they taught them Portuguese right away. They thought the Indian language, was a mixed-up animal language. They didn’t know, they didn’t understand ... they didn’t even try to understand.

(Maura Titiá April 7, 2015)<sup>46</sup>

Even if the language were spoken privately, younger generations had few chances to hear it. For example, Maura Titiá remembers being raised by the women at the indigenous post, while her mother sat quietly in the corner, making brooms (personal communication 2014). When she grew older, she was sent to work in the home of a non-indigenous family. As she explains:

*Alguns dos velho sabia falar, mas só que eles não interessou para ensinar [...] para as criança não. Porque a gente [...] quando eles tiraram os nossos pai do mato a gente veio por meio dos civilizado. O chefe do posto era civilizado, os empregado que ajudava na aldeia era tudo civilizado. Falava português bem. O que passava para a gente foi o português.*

Some of the elders knew how to speak [the language], but they weren’t interested in teaching it [...] to the children. Because we [...] when they took our parents from the *mato* we

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<sup>46</sup> I use standard punctuation in the transcripts in this chapter. Commas, periods, etc., are added here for clarity and do not necessarily represent pauses in speech. I have also removed false starts and, in some cases, regional speech features such as metathesis and the dropping of plural marking to the right of a nominal head, both for clarity and because such features are locally stigmatized and not the focus of my analysis here. Any information included in brackets ( [ ] ) has been added for clarity, and as a way for me to include additional contextual information.

came [to live] among the civilized.<sup>47</sup> The post boss was civilized, the servants who helped in the *aldeia*<sup>48</sup> were all civilized. They spoke Portuguese well. What they passed on to us was Portuguese.

(Maura Titiá October 8, 2014)

Note the opposition in Maura Titiá's narrative between the indigenous Hãhãhãe and the non-indigenous 'civilized' people. Explicit and implicit variations of this opposition are found in discourse on indigeneity throughout Brazil, and elsewhere, and both reflect and reproduce understandings of indigeneity. In her narrative, one key aspect of being civilized is the ability to speak Portuguese well, an ability that is passed on to the indigenous children. This entails both a direct connection between language and ethnic status, and a transitional aspect to indigeneity. While these too are common features of conceptions of indigeneity, they, and the implied powerlessness of Maura Titiá's generation as children, are important aspects of how the process of forced acculturation is remembered and (re)lived by the Hãhãhãe. Narrative strategies of self-aligning with this story, as Maura Titiá does here in the second sentence (she, and most of her generation, were not actually born when their parents were brought to the reservation), will be my main focus in the following section.

The placement of indigenous children in the homes of wealthy friends of post bosses, where they worked as unpaid domestic servants, was common place. Maura Titiá remembers people coming to the reservation and saying that they wanted a child, looking over the children and choosing which one they wanted. Often, this meant that children would grow up in distant urban centers, isolated from their relatives and community. Regardless of whether or not this was done as part of a broader and more intentional project of isolating children in order to further

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<sup>47</sup> Another term for non-indigenous. I will discuss the significance of this term and others shortly.

<sup>48</sup> Indigenous village, post, reservation or community. In this case she is referring to the indigenous post during the early days on the reservation.

goals of forced acculturation, as was true of the 18th century practice of distributing indigenous children to non-indigenous households as domestic workers (see Barickman 1995, 341-3, 348) or, in the 19th and early 20th century, as slaves (note 66 p348-9, p361), the effects on the transmission of linguistic and cultural knowledge were much the same. Another consequence, was that these children often came of age and married non-indigenous partners in these far away places, as was the case of Maura's older sister, Maria. The children of such unions may or may not ever know of their Hãhãhãe heritage.

Many more would leave the region because of the unending conflicts with non-indigenous settlers and *fazendeiros*, who ceaselessly encroached onto reservation lands. Commonly this was done by forcing out indigenous neighbors, by “threat, the burning of planted fields, the poisoning of water, the placement of cattle on the Indians fields and, eventually, murder” (Monteiro 2002, 371). A few *fazendeiros* became infamous as powerful local figures, forcing indigenous people off of their lands by any means necessary, by threat, violent action and the hiring of *janguços*, or “hired guns” (372). The SPI could neither enforce the payment for the lands they attempted to rent, nor prevent encroachment onto lands they had reserved for indigenous families. By the 1950s, non-indigenous landholders had control of 33,000 out of the total 36,000 hectares originally reserved for the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, and indigenous families were fleeing the region en masse (ibid). SPI was forced to sell their own herd of cattle for lack of a means of maintaining it. In 1958, the Paraguaçu indigenous post in the cacao rich southern end of the reservation was shut down, the buildings of the Caramuru post in the north were destroyed, and the SPI was in a general state of “administrative disorder” (ibid). The indigenous families who chose not to flee lived under constant threat of violence, as salaried workers in neighboring towns or as rural workers on what had been reservation lands (Paraíso 1988, 54),

often for *fazendeiros* who were known “Indian killers”.

Cacao production in southern Bahia peaked in the 1970s as the region became the 2nd largest producer internationally, producing 20% of cacao worldwide (Alger and Caldas 1994, 108). In 1977, the international price of cacao was at the highest it has ever been, before or since, at \$4,367.58 per Metric Ton. Non-indigenous landowners who extracted wealth from reservation lands paid rent at 0.022% of the land’s value, if they paid it at all (Funai 1976, 37). By 1976, there were only three Hãhãhãe at the indigenous posts, while 300 lived in the neighboring towns (38). Powerful landowners petitioned “systematically” for the official dissolution of the reservation, and despite the protests of the National Indian Foundation (Funai), formerly the SPI, the State of Bahia distributed land titles to the *fazendeiros* established on reservation lands (Paraíso 1988, 54). According to Paraíso, their arguments were based on two seemingly contradictory ideas: that either (1) the Pataxó Hãhãhãe<sup>49</sup> were no longer indigenous and therefore did not require a reservation, or that (2) as “Indians” they were lazy or otherwise incapable of taking full advantage of the region’s economic potential (57). Monteiro (2002) adds a third: that there were too few Indians to justify a need for so much land; this, after “the renters themselves had frightened and, even, exterminated them” (374). In other words, the absence and/or invisibility of indigenous people during these times was naturalized according to dominant race ideologies, and used as justification for their continued erasure and/or exploitation. In the third section of this chapter, I will describe how current mainstream narratives (re)produce and are made understandable through these same ideologies.

## 5.2.2 The *Retomadas* (‘Retakings’)

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<sup>49</sup> I begin to refer to all of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe ethnicities here in the collective sense. According to SPI records, this collective sense came into use by at least the early 1940s.

Everything changed in the 1980s. Brazil's process of re-democratization was gaining momentum, and would eventually lead to the Constitution of 1988 that would guarantee rights to both land and culture for indigenous people (see Ramos 1998). There was also a collapse in cacao prices in the early 1980s (Oliveira et al 2010, 60). In May of 1982, with the support of Funai and the Brazilian Federal Police, a group of Pataxó Hãhãhãe occupied the São Lucas farm in the southern end of the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation (57), which had been "violently taken from the Indians in the 1950s" (Monteiro 2002, 374). They were soon forcibly removed. However, it was the first in a series of *retomadas* that represented a turning point in the Hãhãhãe struggle to maintain their lands, and in a broader sense, to remain indigenous. In June of the same year, Funai opened a case with the Federal Supreme Court (Supremo Tribunal Federal - STF), Brazil's highest court, for the annulment of the land titles of those who had unlawfully taken reservation land (375). The case would stagnate in the courts for the next thirty years, but the Hãhãhãe were returning to the reservation.

They came in great numbers from nearby cities and farms, despite the lack of access to water and places to stay (375). Some of those who came had been born in distant places, possibly only recently learning that they were indigenous. It was a critical time in which the Hãhãhãe as a whole (re)acquired their story, and their ethnic identity. Knowing or learning your own heritage story was also the starting point in this shared process at the individual level. Those who came to the *retomada* as Indians presented themselves to a council of elders and explained their direct relation to the *troncos velhos*, lit. 'old trunks' or 'roots,' a reference to the ancestors from the *mato*, the 'forest', or the early days of the reservation (Paraíso 1988, 57), depending on ethnic heritage. Souza (2017, 121) describes how this process of recognition is remembered among the

Hãhãhãe:

[...] according to them, it was necessary to know the number of the members of the nuclear family and “recognize” the relatives who had lost contact during the dispersal. Many remember the moment of their arrival, when they met, at the “chain”, the *cacique* of that time, Nelson Saracura, who proceeded with the “check up” of who was “really Indian”, who had left years ago or their descendants.

After being identified, families were organized spatially in a way that reproduced the way in which they had previously been grouped when the reservation was first established, according to ethnicity (Paraíso 1988, 57). Some, of course, did not come back. Possibly they had already made a life for themselves elsewhere, or they no longer considered themselves to be indigenous. Even if they did, they may not have wanted to be seen as indigenous by others. Or, they may never have learned of their heritage. Fábio Titiá describes this identity shift and resulting loss of connection to community as being “lost in time”, while those who still claim a Hãhãhãe identity maintain the “struggle” and connection to the “root”:

*Na época a repressão era tão grande tão forte que (...) tinha muitos índios que saía com muito medo, que depois de passar por muito desafio, muito sofrimento, conseguiu construir família em algum lugar no Brasil. (...) Conseguiu construir uma família com branco mesmo, com negro (...) muito deles negavam a identidade, não podia dizer que era índio porque se dissesse que era índio ... (...) Se eles falasse que era índio, qualquer um, alguém poderia matar poderia tirar a vida (...) ... Os filhos crescendo (não) sabiam que eram índio, e as identidade da maioria dessas pessoas (se) perderam. (...) até o avô sabe mas antes do avô não sabe mais nada. (...) Se olhar para ele fala “porra esse cara é índio esse cara é parente” mas não (...) Tem muitos que não sabe. Se perderam, perderam no tempo. (...) Então hoje nós estamos aqui, tentando, né tentando não, na busca de, não deixar se perder esse esse restinho da dessa luta né. ... dess desse dentro da raiz dessse povo, que foi. Porque o povo Baenã também não era povo pequeno não. ... Não era não. Era um povo grande. ... Quem sabe quantos Baenã não tem por aí por perto aí desse pessoal (...)*

At that time the repression was so great so strong that (...) there were many Indians who left with a lot of fear, so that after going through much struggle, much suffering, they succeeded in making a family in some corner of Brazil. (...) They succeeded in making a family with a white person, with a black person (...) many of them denied their identity, they couldn't say that

they were Indian because if they said they were Indian ... in their mind they thought they were being ... (...) If they said they were Indian, anyone, someone could kill them, could take their life (...) The children after they grew didn't know that they were Indian, and the identity of most of these people was lost. (...) Up until their grandfather they know but before that they don't know anything. (...) If you look at him you say "Man, that guy's Indian, that guy's a relative" but no (...) There are many who don't know. They got lost, lost in time. (...) So today we are here, trying, right, [no] not trying, in search of, not letting this this what is left of that struggle, right ... that that inside the root of our people, who left. Because the Baenã people weren't a small group. No they weren't. They were a great people. ... Who knows how many Baenã there are around right here out of those people (...)

(Fábio Titiá, November 2014)

"Knowing your story", and specifically, your direct relation to one of the "roots" is still necessary in order to be recognized by the Hãhãhãe community (Reginaldo Titiá, personal communication 2015). But more than this, aligning yourself to the Hãhãhãe story, and specifically to the "struggle," or *luta* of the Hãhãhãe people, is a critical part of being Hãhãhãe. As I have already mentioned, I will explore discursive strategies through which this alignment is accomplished in the following section. The form of the story of the Hãhãhãe struggle is also significant. Especially for the Baenã and Pataxó Hãhãhãe, the demarcation of the reservation and the transition of their ancestors from the forest to the reservation village is the first foundational moment of this struggle. With no surviving elders from this generation, this moment of becoming is exclusively (re)lived through shared stories.

The first *retomadas* of the 1980s form the second critical moment of the Hãhãhãe collective struggle. For some, who were just discovering their heritage, it is a time of becoming. For everyone, it was, and continues to be, a time of (re)claiming and (re)connecting to a shared past. Leaders in this struggle, like the elders who "came from the forest," are key personae in the Hãhãhãe story (Souza 2017, 105). This time is also remembered, and emphasized, in terms of being a struggle, with suffering and violence. There are plenty of historical details to draw on. Most stories, when retold by community members, position the Hãhãhãe in direct opposition to



violent and powerful *fazendeiros*, and often only implicitly in opposition to *brancos*, or non-Indians (lit. “whites”) more generally. The violence and hostility that had forced so many to leave the region in the first place, intensified as the Hãhãhãe returned to reclaim reservation land themselves. According to Paraíso (1988), herself an eye-witness at the first *retomada*, the actions of the *fazendeiros* “created an atmosphere of terror that threatened the emotional stability of members of the indigenous community, affecting them physically and psychologically” (57). Hired guns would fire on the farms the Hãhãhãe occupied and build houses along their borders, accusations of cattle theft were constant, cattle continued to be made to graze on the Hãhãhães’ fields, and children were forced to abandon their studies in nearby towns because of constant threats and mistreatment of Indians there (ibid). There were other aspects of the struggle that were less direct but just as devastating, if not more so. Living conditions were precarious in the occupied areas of the reservation. There was limited access to clean water or accommodations for the increasing number of Hãhãhãe returning to the reservation, and no possibility of waged labor (58). According to Monteiro (2002), the tactics of *fazendeiros* to discourage the Hãhãhãe from staying in the region included preventing access to potable water (375). “Pumpkin eater” was a common disparagement for Indians at the time in the town of Pau Brasil, where some managed to sell agricultural products at the weekly market, and many times pumpkin would be all that a family had to eat. Hunger and poor living conditions led to outbreaks of illness, including a cholera outbreak that claimed the life of the last living documented speaker of Hãhãhãe, Bahetá (375).

In 1989, the fungus “witches’ broom” (*Moniliophthora perniciosa*) devastated cacao crops and forever changed cacao production in southern Bahia (Oliveira 2009, 60). Anti-indigenous violence continued, however, with the assassination of Hãhãhãe community leaders

as well as beatings of community members (Monteiro 2002, 375). In 1997, a Pataxó Hãhãhãe man now known as “Galdinho the Indian” was set on fire by upper middle-class youths while he slept at a bus stop, during a trip to petition the government for support in the Hãhãhãe land struggle in the Brazilian capital city of Brasília. In the wake of this widely-publicized hate crime and murder, the Hãhãhãe retook five more farms, and formed the Novo Mundo village (ibid). The atmosphere of fear and conflict around Caramuru-Paraguaçu continued, as did the anti-indigenous sentiment in Pau Brasil. Then, in 2000, another crash in cacao prices precipitated more indigenous *retomadas* of farms on reservation lands. For Fábio Titiá, the connection between the witches’ broom fungus, shifts in cacao prices, and more successful *retomadas* was an act of God that changed local perceptions about Indians:

*No ano que a gente fez ocupação, a arroba de cacau custava 24 reais. 24 reais uma arroba de cacau. Então ... era uma região de ca- extrema pobreza, (...) que era um valor muito pouco, entendeu ... Aí os fazendeiro aqui estava tudo, individado ... Então assim, a vassoura de bruxa veio com esse lado positivo para nós. ... (...) porque os fazendeiros ficaram individado no banco, [enfraquecidos] economicamente. E aí e a gente fomos na raça, conseguimos ocupar terra, que não tinha dinheiro para contratar muito pistoleiro ... então a gente foi ocupando essas terra (...) Aí no ano como eu falo coisa de Deus repara: ... No mesmo ano ... o cacau foi para 150 reais ... (...)*

In the year that we carried out the occupation, a bushel of cacao cost 24R\$. 24R\$ for a bushel of cacao. So ... it was a region of extreme poverty, (...) because it was a very low value, understand ... And so the *fazendeiros* here were all, in debt ... And so, the witches’ broom [fungus] came with that positive side for us. ... (...) because the *fazendeiros* were all in debt, [weakened] economically. And so with only our determination, we were able to occupy the land, because they didn’t have money to hire many *pistoleiros* ... and so we occupied the land (...) And so in that year I say it was God, look: ... In the same year ... the price of cacao went up to 150R\$.

*Aí a visão da população do município, porque, porque o índio ... era mais importante que o fazendeiro. Porque (eles) tinham uma visão assim, que os fazendeiro [falavam] assim para eles, que quando os índio ocupasse as terra Pau Brasil ia acabar, Itajúia acabar, ia tudo empobrecer porque os índio não trabalhava, os índio não produzia, então ... e aí ia morrer todo mundo. [O] povo tinha de ir embora se não ia morrer. E a realidade foi outra. Quando os índios pegou o dinheiro, os índio começou (a) melhorar. Pessoal do banco começou a ficar feliz. ... (...) Aí o pessoal ficou com uma nova visão em relação aos indígena. ... (...) aí foi dois três anos ...*

*que a população mudou radicalmente a visão. em relação indígena. Aí foi bom. Antes índio não podia [ficar] com ninguém da cidade. índia também não. Depois que índio começou a ter dinheiro índio- ... os índio fei, viraram bonito. [risos]*

And so the perspective of the people in the town, because, because the Indian ... was more important than the *fazendeiro*. Because (they) had a perspective like this, because the *fazendeiros* [would say] to them, that when the Indians took over the land it would be the end of Pau Brasil, the end of Itajú, everything would get worse because the Indians didn't work, the Indians didn't produce, so ... and then everyone would die. The people had to leave because if they didn't they would die. And the reality was different. When the Indians got the money, the Indians started to make [things] better. The bankers were happy. ... (...) And then people changed their perspective about indigenous [people]. Then it was good. Before an Indian couldn't date anyone in the city. Neither could an Indian woman. After Indians started having money Indians ... the ugly Indians, became beautiful. [laughs]

(Fábio Titiá November, 2014)



5.5: Some buildings that remain of the Caramuru “indigenous post,” now known as aldeia of Bahetá. The building on the left has been converted to a school for Hãhãhãe children on the reservation. The building on the right, formerly a garage for SPI vehicles, has since been reformed into another classroom. Such sites are physical metaphors for Hãhãhãe connections to the past and the retaking and indigenizing of (re)appropriated spaces, and their histories continue to be retold after their repurposing. 2015.

In 2012, after another sudden drop in cacao prices, the Pataxó Hãhãhãe occupied the farms on the rest of the demarcated area all the way North to Itaju do Colônia. News of these most recent *retomadas* and the ongoing conflict between the *fazendeiros* and the indigenous group made national news. In a surprise, last-minute schedule change, after 30 years of delaying the decision, the STF decided in favor of Funai and the Pataxó Hãhãhãe (ACO 312 1982/217). While improved, the tense climate remains as non-indigenous *fazendeiros* and settlers wait

indefinitely for promised payment from the government for losses incurred for leaving their lands. For the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, it was a significant victory. However, this victory does not represent an end point in the Hãhãhãe story. Other goals are now recruited for what is an ongoing struggle, projected indefinitely into the future. In the next section, I will look at how this struggle is made ongoing and (re)connected with a shared past through the framing of present events, and how Pataxó Hãhãhãe from different generations use language to connect and align themselves with the Hãhãhãe story.

### **5.3 “The *pistoleiros* came and stayed.” The Hãhãhãe Struggle as a Framework for the Present**

“Colonel!” Seu André jokes, indicating the framed photograph of his grandson wearing sunglasses that hangs on the living room wall. It is a joke that only makes sense in the context of a regional history in which “Cocoa Colonels” became icons of wealth and power. Colonels, gunmen, farmers, and *caboclos* (‘Indians’ or ‘mixed-race/aculturated Indians’) are all personas from the Hãhãhãe narrative that are used to frame and make sense of everyday events and experiences. *Caboclo* has a wide range of overlapping meanings in Brazil, most directly or indirectly related to whitening: indigenous spirits invoked in Afro-Brazilian religious traditions such as *Candomblé de Caboclo* and Nationalist *Caboclo* figures both locate indigeneity in the past, while designations of mixed heritage or acculturation locate indigenous people along a continuum in relation to ‘pure’ Indians (see Reesink 1983, 132-3; Carvalho 2011, 16; Souza 2017). French (2009, 32) describes *caboclo* as a category that indigenous people have “disappeared into.” In the early days of the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation, the Kamakã, Kariri-Sapuyá, and Tupinambá were known as *caboclos* in contrast to the Baenã and Pataxó

Hãhãhãe, *índios puros*, or ‘pure Indians,’ who had just come from their forest villages to the reservation (see Souza 2017). Currently, the semantic range of the term seems to overlap with that of *índio*, or ‘Indian:’ elders might be referred to as *caboclos*, or ‘*cabocos*’ using the regional pronunciation, especially if they are a source of cultural and historical knowledge; one man teasingly warned his young daughter about potential suitors, calling them *caboquinhos*, or ‘little *caboclos*.’ *Pistoleiros*, or ‘gunmen,’ are part of everyday experiences in the sense in that paying armed mercenaries to intimidate, or even kill, is still a strategy employed by powerful landowners in response to indigenous activism and “retaking” of land. However, they are also blamed for the rise in local, drug related violence. According to the Hãhãhãe, the gunmen came to work for the farmers, but then they stayed. The drug trade has been spreading in the Brazilian Northeast over the last decade, along routes that sometimes include towns like Pau Brasil. While it may well be the case that the landowners’ hiring of gunmen has played a role in the expansion of the local drug trade, by explaining the rise in local violence in these terms the Hãhãhãe also frame present-day violence as a continuation of their shared struggle.

Different generations of Hãhãhãe have had different experiences of, and connections with, this struggle. Jurema Machado de Souza (2017, 118) defines four Pataxó Hãhãhãe generations, each with “distinct historical experiences”:<sup>50</sup> 1) the generation brought to the reservation during its establishment in the 1930s, 2) the first generation born on the reservation in the 1940s and 1950s, 3) the generation “born in diaspora and in various locations, near and quite distant” from the 1950s through the 1980s, and 4) the generation that is “the product of the contemporary *luta de retomada*,” or the ‘struggle to retake’ reservation lands, language, and ethnic identity, born after the 1980s. This difference in experiences is reflected in the variety of

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<sup>50</sup> I have added approximate date ranges for clarity. These ranges are not included by Souza.

strategies by which speakers locate themselves in the Hãhãhãe story. The current generation of elders were born on the reservation, became part of the diaspora and later helped to reconnect others to place and history as part of the *retomadas*, or ‘retakings.’ Elders such as Maura Titiá have become iconic figures of the *retomada* movement. As Souza (105) explains:

... in the Indians’ memory, the following characters are the most prevalent: those who “came from the forest”, such as Itatico, Bute, Micô, Batará, Rosalina, Tamani etc. And those who fought to retake the land in more recent times: Samado, Bite, Maura, Ursulino, Saracura, Nailton ...

The current elder generation, in particular the elders mentioned above, are valued in their role as “roots”: connections to a shared indigenous past and sources of cultural and historical knowledge. Souza describes Maura Titiá specifically as having been, “a key figure in the reconstruction and understanding of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe past” (120). Maura Titiá’s role as keeper of the Hãhãhãe story is not limited to more explicit *retomada* contexts such as political events or gatherings on recently retaken farms, but extends to everyday contexts such as the occasional Toré events held on her own farm or the retelling of episodes of the Hãhãhãe story. She is especially practiced in retelling the story, as she has done in community meetings, at political events, and in interviews with outsiders like myself for decades. During my visit to the reservation in 2014, Maura Titiá retold a key moment of the Hãhãhãe story, in which Bahetá, the last documented speaker of Hãhãhãe, recorded the words later published in the “Bahetá Primer”. She told this story spontaneously, during a meeting about making another primer in the language that was held in her family’s community center. In this retelling, she also discursively located herself within the story, and thereby within the Hãhãhãe story more broadly.

*MT: [...] então escuta aí: É quando M- Aracy veio, que veio esse antropólogo, que veio Maria Hilda veio na época (...) trazer Aracy para estudar essa língua. Só estava na Bahetá, era Jorge e ãhí. Aí na época eu estava morando na cidade, aí me pegaram de lá e eu vim cá para dentro da área. Aí Aracy veio (... ) é porque eu esqueci o nome, não lembro do-*

Jéssica: Gregório?

MT: Gregório! Ele era moreninho e tudo, eu lembro dele. Aí num filme que eu tenho lá no ANAI tem ele com a gente. Aí ele chegou, ainda me lembro que Baheté foi sem querer falar ... [...] Eles levaram a Baheté ali no- dentro daquela casinha que João Índio morava, e ali não era aquela escola. Era um resto de galpão, tinha umas paredes já caindo. Encostaram [para] conversar com Baheté ali. [...] Ela sentou no cantinho, até hoje me lembro. Ele ficou com um gravador junto, e Aracy conversando, a gente aí por perto sem atrapalhar. Aí começou a fazer perguntas a ela. Ela começou falando que, essas [palavras na] idioma aí que ela falou. Tem uma hora que aí [...] que eu não esqueci ... [sorrindo] que ela fala assim “Ô homem...”, que ela falou “Oxê menino...”, “oxê” porque ela já estava sentindo abusada de fazer muito pergunta a ela, que ela não gostava de tocar no idioma. Aí eles gravaram. Aí Aracy prometeu ela “Oi Baheté, eu vou mandar, compro para você uma panela, colher ...” não tinha nada ... “Isso aqui nós vamos estudar para nós ver se faz uma cartilha.” E conversou com Jorge, que era um cacique, era o mais velho (...) no momento, “Jó, o que vocês fizeram para a gente [de] história tá bom.” E conversaram com Jorge, conversaram comigo, conversaram com os índios que estavam por aí. Fizeram essa entrevista. Aí foi boa.

MT: [...] so listen: It was when M- Aracy came, when that anthropologist came, when Maria Hilda came, back then (...) and brought Aracy to study the language. The only people at Baheté [Village], were Jorge and Áhí. At that time I was living in the city, so they brought me from there to here inside the [reservation]. And then Aracy came (...) It's because I forgot the name, I don't remember the-

Jessica: Gregório?

MT: Gregório! He was brownish [in complexion], I remember him. In a film I have at ANAI<sup>51</sup> he's there with us. So he arrived, I still remember that Baheté didn't want to talk. ... [...] They took her there in- inside the little house where John Indian lived, and it wasn't that school [at that time]. It was the ruins of a shed, some of the walls were already fallen. They leaned up there [against the shed, in order to] talk with Baheté. [...] She sat in the corner, I remember to this day. He was close by with a little recorder, and Aracy [was] talking, [with] us there nearby without being in the way. And she started asking her questions. She started saying that, those [words in] the language that she spoke. At one point [...] I can't forget it ... [smiling] she said “Oh man<sup>52</sup> ...”, she said “Oxê<sup>53</sup> boy ...”. “Oxê” because she was already feeling that they were bothering her with too many questions, because she didn't like to talk about the language. So they recorded. So Aracy promised her “Hey Baheté, I'll send, I'll buy you a pan, [a] spoon ...”, she didn't have anything, “We're going to study this to see if we can make a

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<sup>51</sup> Associação Nacional de Ação Indigenista, an NGO based out of Salvador, Bahia.

<sup>52</sup> “Ô” can be used at the beginning of a statement in Brazilian Portuguese to call attention to something that is wrong or undesirable, with the implication that the addressee is somehow responsible for what is amiss. In this case, as Maura Titiá explains, what is amiss is that, from Baheté's perspective, they are bothering her with too many questions.

<sup>53</sup> This is a contracted form of the regionally marked expression “oxente” [oʃɛ̃tʃi]. It is interesting that she uses neither the full form or the more typical contracted form “oxe” [oʃi], instead retaining stress on the second syllable, in addition to the central quality of the vowel [oʃɛ̃].

primer.” And she talked with Jorge, who was a *cacique*<sup>54</sup>, he was the oldest (...) at that time, “Joe, whatever you [tell] us [about the] history is great.” And they talked with Jorge, they talked with me, they talked with the Indians who were around<sup>55</sup>. They did the interview. That was good. (Maura Titiá, November 12, 2014)

The Bahetá Primer is of great symbolic importance among the Hãhãhãe. Not only does it represent a connection to the language and pre-reservation times, but its making was part of the initial *retomadas* of the 1980s, as people returned to take back not only land but identity and language. Maura Titiá is herself already an iconic figure in this movement, but the fact that she can locate herself in the story of Bahetá is significant in itself. She does so here discursively not only by telling the story in the first person, but by emphasizing her detailed memory of the events. She mentions, for example, seemingly irrelevant details such as Gregório’s skin tone, the function of different buildings at the time, and the location of the participants in the interaction. Her closeness to this moment is also emphasized by referring to participants, who are all now iconic figures themselves, by first name, a strategy that puts them on the same social plane. This is even the case with Greg Urban, the anthropologist whose name she struggles to remember. She also emphasizes her closeness through direct reported speech, taking on the voice even of Bahetá herself. Finally, her own role as “root” is once more confirmed through her involvement in this moment; the researchers make the effort of bringing her there, even though she was living in the city (Pau Brasil) at the time, and elicit stories from her and other elders, leaders and Indians.

Of course, not everyone is able to tell the story of Bahetá as a first-hand account. Reginaldo Titiá, known locally as “Cacique Regi,” or ‘Chief Regi,’ is Maura Titiá’s nephew. He has also been a *cacique*, or community leader, since 2003. Born off of the reservation, he only

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<sup>54</sup> An indigenous leader.

<sup>55</sup> Here she implies different locations in the region, rather than standing around at that moment.



learned of his heritage during the *retomadas* of the 1980s, when his family returned to the region. Unable to physically locate himself in the story of Bahetá as Maura Titiá can, as an eye witness, Regi draws on different discursive resources in order to connect himself as closely as possible to the story. In his brief retelling, reproduced below, he begins with a statement about his own experience, “I always heard people ...”. Then, he shifts footing to describe the making of the Primer in the voice of omniscient narrator, “Professor Greg Urban came ...”, by telling the details of the story plainly, without using the first person but also without other evidentials or person references, as if he had been there to witness the events himself:

*[...] sempre ouvia pessoal falando sobre, a Cartilha de Bahetá, né, um trabalho feito, atravez da parceiria [...] que veio o professor Greg Urban, aí veio Maria Hilda, veio Maria do Rosário ... e não foi fácil arrancar de Bahetá, as poucas palavra que ela conseguiu deixar, mas que valeu muito para a gente, né. E sabe que na época, a dificuldade de se registrar, até [...] dialogar com Bahetá não foi fácil. E essa cartilha que ... tem uma frase que ... eu sempre coloco ela como base sólida da nossa luta, que é "Kuín kahab mikahab." né, "Quero comer, quero viver." E eu tenho adquerido muito com essa frase. E minha mãe já falava ela. [...]*

[...] I always heard people talking about, the Bahetá Primer, right, something accomplished, through partnership [...] Professor Greg Urban came, and Maria Hilda came, Maria do Rosário came ... and it wasn't easy getting [words] out of Bahetá, the few words that she was able to leave, but that were worth a lot to us, right. And you know at that time, the difficulty of recording, even [...] speaking with Bahetá wasn't easy. And that primer that ... there's a sentence that ... I always set it as the solid base of our struggle, and that's "Kuín kahab mikahab." right, "I want to eat, I want to live." And I've gotten a lot out of that sentence. And my mother used to say it. [...]

(Reginaldo Titiá February 21, 2015)

Making no claim that he was actually present during these events, Regi indirectly locates himself in the story and positions himself in the role of source of key cultural knowledge by describing events in the voice of an omniscient narrator. After briefly narrating the circumstances under which the Primer was made, in which he cites key figures in the *retomada* movement by first and last name, Regi shifts back to a first person perspective, “I always set it as the solid base of our struggle...”, and, using an example from the Primer, makes a direct connection between

the language, himself, and his indigenous ancestors by asserting that his mother “used to say it” [the sentence from the Primer]. These kinds of connections to the past and to the Hãhãhãe story are critical for the maintenance of a Hãhãhãe identity as it is understood on Caramuru-Paraguaçu. Without such connections, made discursively and through other symbolic means, each generation would grow more distant from what are seen as the sources of their heritage: the time of the *mato* and the ancestors from the early days of the reservation.

Regi explicitly recognizes the importance of maintaining Hãhãhãe cultural heritage. In one interview, he talked about the need for teachers of indigenous culture, explaining that when he came to that side of the reservation<sup>56</sup> the culture there had nearly been lost. I asked him what he meant by this, and he responded:

*Regi: [...] aqui os meninos já não dançava Toré,*

*Jessica: Não?*

*Regi: Não. Já não praticava Toré. Já não se falava nas histórias dos anciões, E já, praticamente assim os mais velho, já não tava passando através da história, os ensinamentos, para os filhos. Né, então quando a gente veio aí a gente abriu a es- fundou a escola em 99, e a partir de 99, eu passei a ser professor, de cultura, e graças a Deus começou, aos poucos trabalhar a questão da cultura aqui, na aldeia Baheté.*

Regi: [...] the kids didn't dance the Toré here anymore,

Jessica: No?

Regi: No. They didn't practice the Toré. No one was talking about the elders' stories. And, the elders practically weren't passing down the teachings to their children through the history. Right, and so when we came and we opened- founded the school in '99, and since '99, I became a teacher, of culture, and thank God [we] started, to work little by little on the question of culture here, in Baheté village.

(Reginaldo Titiá February 21, 2015)

For Regi, two critical aspects of maintaining Hãhãhãe culture are practicing the Toré, and

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<sup>56</sup> Regi had previously been living near Pau Brasil, but then moved to the drier, northern valley region near Itaju do Colônia, where the Baenã and Hãhãhãe had first been brought in the early days of the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation.

the retelling of the elders' stories. In other words, the Hãhãhãe story needs to be maintained, and it is in part through the maintenance of this story that the Hãhãhãe retain their culture. Note that, according to Regi, this story does not need to be maintained by the elders themselves; the school and indigenous teachers can step in to fill this role. But what are the stories that the children are learning in reservation schools, and elsewhere, and how do they position themselves in relation to these stories? In schools and elsewhere, elements of both the Hãhãhãe story and mainstream ideologies about indigeneity and race are (re)framed as these stories are retold. The generation of children and teenagers on the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation are the grandchildren of elders of Maura Titiá's generation. Unlike Regi's generation; most of whom remember experiences of (re)becoming indigenous when they returned to the region, discovered their heritage, or (re)assumed an indigenous identity; the current generation of youth have been born into and shaped by the *retomada* movement. They experience the suffering of the early reservation days, the diaspora, and the significance of returning to the reservation only through the stories of their elders. In order for these stories to be maintained, they need to be taken up by the younger generations, who then must position themselves within the stories. Younger people recognize that their role is not (yet) that of story teller, in the same way as this role has been conferred on the community leaders, at least, of Regi's generation. Marcelo, a 19 year old who helps to round cattle for his family, is one of Maura Titiá's grandchildren. In an informal interview, I asked him if he thought young people considered the Hãhãhãe language to be important because they heard their elders talk about its importance. In responding, Marcelo aligns himself with indigenous people throughout Brazil:

*Eu acho que sim, né, porque é uma coisa que vem de tradição ... [...] só que ha muitos anos atras se perdeu, né. Porque teve, igual os povo fala é que Pedro Alves Cabral descobriu o Brasil, mas na verdade ele não descobriu, já existia índio, né. E com [a] massacre que teve, que eles fizeram, aí a gente foi [e] perdeu um pouco da língua da gente. Mas agora, com [o] resgate*

*[da língua] a gente pode aprender mais e passando para frente.*

I do think so, because it's something that comes from tradition ... [...] except that many years ago it was lost, right. Because there was, just like people say that Pedro Alves Cabral discovered Brazil, but in reality he didn't discover it, the Indians already existed. And with the massacre that happened, that they did, we ended up losing a little of our language. But now, with the *resgate* [the project to recover the language] we can learn more and pass it on.

(Marcelo, April 8, 2015)

Like almost everyone of his generation, Marcelo has heritage from more than one Hãhãhãe ethnicity; he is Baenã, Hãhãhãe and Kariri-Sapuyá. As I discuss in Chapter 2, the Kariri-Sapuyá and the Baenã and Hãhãhãe have different linguistic heritages and histories of language loss. Possibly this difference is the motivation behind Marcelo's framing of the Hãhãhãe struggle as a shared struggle between all indigenous people of Brazil. Beginning with the discovery of Brazil by Pedro Alves Cabral, he describes the colonization process as a massacre through which "Indians", with whom he aligns by using the first person plural "a gente", "ended up losing a little of our language". In the last line, he projects a future role for himself as someone who passes on what they have learned of the language. Marcelo's response challenges the erasure of indigenous peoples and glorification of European colonization of Brazil still commonly reproduced in educational materials, drawing on anti-Colonial discourses widely circulating throughout indigenous North and South America that challenge the Eurocentric framing of contact as "discovery" by pointing out that the "Indians were already here." However, at the same time, he draws on dominant ideologies in Brazil that racialize indigenous people as Indians with a single language and culture. In my time on Caramuru-Paraguaçu, I commonly witnessed people of different generations explicitly engaging with ideas about what it means to be Indian, an identity reclaimed as part of the *retomada* movement. I focus on this as a semiotic process in Chapter 7. For now, I only emphasize that Marcelo aligns himself with a shared

struggle, framed in broad terms, and that he projects a role for himself in maintaining the language, a key icon of indigenous culture, by passing on what is “retaken” to future generations.

Orienting to a shared history is a part of daily life around the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation. It is not confined to political events or interviews with foreign researchers, but is an extension of the *retomada* movement to “retake” Hãhãhãe land, language and identity that permeates how people orient to each other in everyday interactions and informs how the present is framed as a continuation of a shared history of struggle.

## 5.4 Discussion

In a way, I have retold the Hãhãhãe story here myself. I have also shown how speakers locate themselves discursively within stories of a shared indigenous struggle as Pataxó Hãhãhãe. I argue that this is a key aspect of indigeneity in the region, one that is associated with the ongoing resistance, and existence, of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe as indigenous people (see Kroskrity 2009 for a related example of the indexicality of storytelling practices among the Arizona Tewa). In her work in New England, in the Northeastern United States, Ann McMullen argues that “With classifications based on physical appearance and folk biology, Native people must move themselves into arenas where more flexible cultural and ethnic symbols – blood, culture, and history – are more important” (2002, 273). For the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, many of whom are phenotypically indistinguishable from their non-indigenous mixed-race neighbors, the Hãhãhãe story is a discursive resource that they can use to locate themselves as indigenous people.

Non-indigenous narratives of the ongoing land conflicts on the PI Caramuru-Paraguaçu are understandably different. For many of those most recently removed from their lands, the

story begins in the 1980s, when Indians began to “invade” their properties. Their families had been on the lands for generations, some for more than half a century. As for the powerful *fazendeiros*, whatever tactics they, or their predecessors, had employed to secure those lands do not need to be included in public retellings of the story, whether or not it is more privately remembered through the generations. This is the narrative that was most often recirculated in the state and national news during the 2012 *retomadas*. The news stories implicitly reproduce the stereotype of the lazy Indian, portraying the *fazendeiros* as producers of important agricultural products in the region, identified by occupation or agricultural product, *pistoleiros* as “security guards”, and the Hãhãhãe as the invading “Indians”. In one such article, published by G1 Bahia, a state-level section of the news conglomerate Globo, a “cattle rancher” is quoted: “My grandfather built the house. It was done in 1956. I wasn’t even born yet” (Gonçalves and Machado 2012).

For the *fazendeiros*, who have counted on the “unconditional support of important economic groups” (Paraíso 1988:57) for decades, the motives for beginning the story after they already had land titles seem obvious, even strategic. It is understandable that any non-indigenous person whose family’s heritage and well-being has been tied to the lands demarcated as the Caramuru-Paraguaçu for generations should be invested in a narrative that begins just before indigenous “invasions” rather than the settler “invasions” of decades before. But even for those who have no interest in the lands, personal or financial, and who might live far from southern Bahia or in some urban center, there exists a skepticism about the Hãhãhãe as *Indians*. And in many ways, the Hãhãhãe who retook reservation lands *were* different than their ancestors of the *mato*: They spoke Portuguese, often without a regional accent, and in fact could not speak their heritage language(s) fluently; they wore Western clothing, even when it was in combination with

paint, feathers and jewelry symbolic of indigeneity in Brazil; they enjoyed many of the same leisure activities as non-indigenous Brazilians; they planted the same crops, watched the same telenovelas, ate the same foods, and participated in the economy. Even more significant in terms of how Indians are imagined in Brazil, the Hãhãhãe now had mixed heritage. From a Brazilian common sense perspective about race, according to which having a mixed racial heritage is a defining part of being Brazilian, the indigenous heritage of the Hãhãhãe is no different from that imagined to be shared by all Brazilians. This perspective is often directly expressed. For example, I met a man from the region in the nearby city of Itabuna who, after learning that I was working with “the Indians”, did not hesitate to comment that they were actually *índios que não são nada de índio*, or “Indians who aren’t Indian at all”. He explained that you can still recognize some Indians, rubbing his hand over his forearm to indicate skin color. He then pointed to a light-skinned man of obvious Afro-Brazilian heritage across the street as an example of what Indians look like who *tem nada ver com índio*, or “have nothing to do with being Indian” (August 2014). On the streets of Pau Brasil, these ideologies are reinforced through casual conversations like one I overheard coming back from buying bread, about how (real) “Indians live in *ocas*,<sup>57</sup> don’t they?”, and narratives about a past in which Indians are portrayed as only coming to town to sell vegetables or get drunk.

In contrast, some (mostly non local) non-Indians align with the Hãhãhãe story, a critical aspect of taking a up a position as ally. Locating oneself within the Hãhãhãe story, however, is both a critical part of being Hãhãhãe and not something to which just anyone might have equal access. One of the current teachers at the reservation school at Bahetá, for example, openly

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<sup>57</sup> The name of a structure made of wood and grassy fibers, typically associated with Amazonian indigenous groups.

acknowledges that he has both indigenous and African heritage,<sup>58</sup> but explains that he personally identifies with his indigenous heritage. He is actively involved in the transmission of indigenous cultural knowledge, especially the learning and teaching of Toré songs. He does not claim to be Hãhãhãe, however, because he does not know the genealogies, or ethnicities, of his indigenous ancestors. One elderly man declined an interview with me because while he is indigenous, he is originally from another region. This indicated to me that he did not feel that he was fully part of the Hãhãhãe community, despite having married into the community and lived in the region for decades. One young woman likewise declined an interview, explaining that even though she is Hãhãhãe she did not feel she should be interviewed because she did not grow up in the region. While these community members may well have had other reasons for declining an interview, their stated reasons reinforce connections between the perceived legitimacy of Hãhãhãe identities, and the specificity and groundedness of personal heritage stories in the Caramuru-Paraguaçu region. Differences in access to the Hãhãhãe story affect access to cultural, symbolic and also physical resources in the form of access to reservation lands, which are retaken and claimed according to extended ethnic family.

Race can also have a role in defining differentiated access to Hãhãhãe identities. As is common among Northeastern indigenous people, almost all of the Hãhãhãe have a mixed heritage. Young people taking “selfies” for WhatsApp and Facebook talk about looking Indian because of *olhos puxados*, or ‘slanted eyes,’ while dark skin and other phenotypical features associated with African heritage might earn someone the nickname ‘surname’ *nego* or *preto*, both terms for ‘black’.<sup>59</sup> In general, people are aware of and explicitly reject stereotypical

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<sup>58</sup> Specifically, descendance from a local quilombo, or escaped slave settlement.

<sup>59</sup> *Nego* is a regional pronunciation of *negro*, lit. ‘black’, a neutral-positive reference to African heritage. The regional pronunciation lends the name additional indexical meanings of working-class, rural, folk heritage, and familiarity. *Preto*, also lit. ‘black’, is more often reserved for referring to the color of inanimate objects and non-



concepts of Indianness according to which the Hãhãhãe would be judged as fraudulent, though symbols and phenotypes associated with indigenous purity are nonetheless valued while those associated with whiteness or African heritage may be devalued - even to the extent that identity claims are rejected. While I was carrying out my fieldwork in 2015, for example, I heard rumors of some Kamakã who brought some of their relatives to join the Hãhãhãe and were rejected in a community meeting because of their *olhos claros*, or 'light eyes.' I met one man working in a store in Pau Brasil who claimed that his family had indigenous heritage and "100 years of history" in the region, but when lands were redistributed in the *retomadas* his family was left "without any right to anything." He explained that his grandmother married a black man, and now his family all has dark skin so people "don't respect the fact that they are indigenous, too", that he has cousins on the reservation who are "less Indian" than his family but who "look more Indian". He emphasized that the question of respect was more important than the financial loss of not having the land. (Anonymous, May 6, 2015). In this case, his family's knowledge of their story was not enough to counteract the effect of their racialization as black.

Sarah Shulist (2016, 113) reminds us that "language revitalization contexts are sites in which the broader political questions of what it means to be indigenous - and by extension, how it is that one might become non-indigenous - also come into play." In the Caramuru-Paraguaçu region, narratives of local history as shared experience help to shape how indigeneity is imagined and lived. For some, it is also a part of experiences of exclusion. Whether as a site for cultural maintenance or a resource for the drawing of ethnic boundaries, the Hãhãhãe story, and how speakers are able to locate themselves within and/or align themselves with it, plays an important

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humans, and can also be considered to be a racial slur depending on context. *Índio*, or 'Indian', is another nickname on the reservation and elsewhere in Brazil, though on Caramuru-Paraguaçu I have only known it to be used to refer to an elder considered to be 'pure' or 'from the forest.'

role in (re)defining indigeneity in Southern Bahia, Brazil.

## 6 “*A luta sempre continua.*”: Racialized Solidarity Stances in Rural Bahia

### 6.1 Introduction

It was November 16th, 2014, in a small town in rural Bahia, Brazil, a region known for its African heritage. It is the kind of town that only locals are likely to have heard of: possibly one hundred houses, a few bars and stores, a public square or two, and, at the top of a hill, a school, where a *romaria*, a meeting that is both spiritual pilgrimage and political organizing, was to be held. The town stands on a steep hilly landscape, surrounded by a rolling green sub-tropical expanse dotted with similar towns in the distance. When it appears, the sun is certainly harsh, but on that day there was a fine drizzle. A handful of grassroots agrarian reform groups and CIMI, the activist branch of the Catholic Church that works closely with indigenous groups, had organized the *romaria* to raise awareness about pollution of the town’s water sources by agrochemicals used by eucalyptus producers in the region. Locals described their water as “100% contaminated.” Supposedly, people now purchased tap water from a neighboring town, but I doubted that many in the town could afford to purchase water for everyday necessities such as washing clothes, or even for cooking and drinking. Other themes of the *romaria* were broadly relevant to much of Brazil’s working-class populations: socio-economic inequalities, human rights abuses, the right to a “differentiated” (or culturally appropriate) education, and citizenship.

I had traveled by bus with a small group of activists from the Pataxó Hãhãhãe indigenous community and the *movimento negro*, or ‘Black Movement’, of Camacã, a larger town a few hours away. On the way, Fabio Titiá, a Pataxó Hãhãhãe activist, led everyone in singing Toré songs to the rhythm of a rattle painted with geometric designs iconic of regional indigeneity. The Pataxó Hãhãhãe have painted such designs on their arms and faces in advance for the event, using a dark, tattoo-looking and semi-permanent ink made from *jenipapo* fruit (*Genipa americana* sp.), resulting in a strikingly indigenous appearance. I have been painted as well, in

solidarity. As the scenery gave way from Atlantic rainforest and cocoa plantations to the rolling hills of eucalyptus fields, we passed a building with a billboard-style painting on the side that read “*ecologicamente correto, eucalypto madeireira,*” “ecologically correct, eucalyptus lumber.” There was a sense of excitement as we arrived at the school where the talks and break-out sessions would be held. Many people stared with open curiosity as we come into the main room, painted as we were, to do an opening presentation. Some of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe wore brightly colored seed and feather jewelry. Some also changed into long grass skirts for the event. It was obvious to everyone: the Indians<sup>2</sup> had arrived.

Or had they? In Brazil, and especially in places like Bahia, which is closely linked to Brazil’s colonial past and African heritage in the national imaginary, indigenous people regularly face skepticism about their ethnic identity. Often this circulates in the form of gossip, supported by stereotypical ideas about what it means to be indigenous in Brazil. I will use the term “Real Indian” here to refer not to actual indigenous people, but to the Indian of the popular imaginary. Real Indians, it is commonly believed, live in remote villages in the Amazon. They do not wear Western clothing, and they do not speak Portuguese, or at least, they do not speak it well. I have even been asked if I was afraid to work with Indians, the implication being that if they are (still) Indians then they might be wild, dangerous, and unpredictable. As Jonathan Warren (2001) points out, “most Brazilians still consider Indians to be types of “wild animals”” (159). And if they are not all of these things, if they wear jeans, and sunglasses, and speak Portuguese with the same regional accent as everyone else, the reasoning goes, then they must not be Real Indians.

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<sup>2</sup> I use the term Indian to refer to the concept of the Indian in the national imaginary, and at times to refer to indigenous people in a way that reflects local use of the term. Its meaning, and that of indigenous, *caboclo*, *branco* and other racial-ethnic identity terms, is complex, dependent on context, and at times ambiguous.

Any signs of perceived racial mixture, whether according to racially marked phenotypes or cultural practices, are also taken to mean that an individual must not be truly indigenous. This is particularly so because of Brazil's origin story, according to which the nation was formed from the coming together of three races - African, indigenous and European (see DaMatta 1981). In other words, because indigenous heritage is imagined to be shared by non-indigenous Brazilians, indigenous heritage in itself is not thought of as a legitimate basis from which to claim an indigenous identity. This is especially problematic for indigenous people like the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, many of whom also have African heritage.

Having pride in one's mixed heritage has been seen as an important part of being a good and patriotic Brazilian since at least the early 1900s, despite the role that social distinctions such as race continue to play in maintaining Brazil's stark inequities (see Holston 2008, Roth-Gordon 2017). Recently, as part of Brazil's re-democratization and the rise of the New Left, communities have recently mobilized not only as landless (see Welch 2009) but also as indigenous and afro-descendant (see Warren 2001, French 2009) in order to secure access to resources such as land, healthcare, and quality education. In Bahia, and the Brazilian Northeast more broadly, indigeneity has become closely linked with the mobilization for community rights, especially land rights. Just before coming to the *romaria*, one woman confided to me that she was not used to painting her face and arms. "They will think we are getting together to take over some land," she told me in a hushed voice as we waited for the bus, looking to the side around the empty streets of the early morning, streets that might appear to be empty but that always seemed to have unseen ears and eyes.

Despite the recent mobilization of indigenous and afro-descendant communities, and a so-called "resurgence" of indigenous groups throughout the Northeast (see Warren 2001), ideas

about Brazilian racial harmony and mixed heritage have remained much the same. These ideas underlie widespread skepticism of the authenticity of mixed-race indigenous groups like the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, who have mobilized to reclaim reservation lands that had been appropriated by powerful cacao farmers and cattle ranchers. Similar skepticism has been aimed at communities mobilizing for rights based on their identity as descendants of *quilombos*, or “fugitive slave communities,” who have been accused of being “fraudulent” (see Farfán-Santos 2015). Afro-Brazilian intellectuals have long been aware that “discourses of racial harmony could quickly turn into instruments of political inertia or reaction against race-based mobilization” (Alberto 2012, 264). At events like the *romaria*, solidarity between grass-roots activists is highly valued but ideologically fraught. For many participants, racialized identities such as those taken up by indigenous and afro-descendant activists contradict what they understand to be true of race and their own heritage as Brazilians. On the other hand, ideologies of racial mixing undermine the mobilization efforts of indigenous and afro-descendant communities and erase the ongoing racism that has been a part of their shared experiences of disenfranchisement and violence, both social and physical.

In this chapter, I explore the speech of social movement activists at the *romaria* agrarian event in the rural backlands of Bahia, commonly considered to be the “most “African” state in Brazil” (Weinstein 2015, 226), where the largely afro-indigenous rural working class has been marginalized and exploited for centuries. While on the surface most of the talk at the *romaria* emphasizes solidarity in defense of collective rights and the environment, I explore an implicit sub-text in which speakers struggle with how to (re)frame concepts of race in the context of their mobilization and solidarity. In doing so, I draw on the concept of “stancetaking” as it has been developed in sociolinguistics, “as a social act performed in speaking and located within an

interaction, whose course it influences” (Irvine 2009, 54). My interest in using this concept here lies in its usefulness to reveal how speakers reference broader social frameworks over the course of an interaction and, in doing so, (re)make the social meanings that they reference.<sup>4</sup> I argue that because of the close association between racialized identities and rights mobilization in the region, examining the discursive mechanics of stancetaking related to solidarity, or “solidarity stancetaking,” reveals key aspects of local racial meaning-making. I do not claim that groups have come to (re)claim or elaborate indigenous and afro-descendant identities as a result of legislation that outlines collective rights for indigenous and afro-descendant communities. Farfán-Santos (2015, 113) correctly points out that such an analysis “maintains an underlying valuation regarding the authenticity or “truth” claims of quilombolas” and, I would add, indigenous people. Instead, I focus on how processes through which solidarity is negotiated overlap with, and even become, processes through which racial meaning is (re)made.

Explicitly addressing race is often considered to be impolite or not “cordial” in this context (see Sheriff 2003, Roth-Gordon 2017). For this reason, I keep especially close track of more implicit references to concepts embedded with racial meaning. These markers of racial meaning, in combination with shifts in footing revealed through speakers’ sometimes unconventional choice of grammatical person references, outline what I call the “racialized solidarity stances” taken throughout the *romaria*. Overall, the stancetaking and (implicit) race talk at the *romaria* reveal an ongoing ideological tension in which speakers struggle with perceived contradictions between solidarity and racialized identities. While racialized identities potentially provide a means through which communities can gain access to collective rights,

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<sup>4</sup> See also Jaworski and Thurlow (2009) for a discussion on the dialectic relationship between stancetaking and ideology.

ideas about race are also used to make sense of the very inequalities that activists are attempting to mobilize against. In other words, racialized identities are at once unifying and a potential source of conflict, just as they are both a means of obtaining community rights and resources, and an integral part of the perpetuation of inequalities and various forms of violence in Brazil, whether they be social, structural, physical, or symbolic.

## 6.2 Indigenous Solidarity

Members of many different social movements had gathered at the *romaria* in support of the environmental causes of protecting the land and water. In addition to the group of Pataxó Hãhãhãe activists and members of the local *movimento negro*, or ‘Black Movement,’ from Camacã, there were representatives from the *Movimento Sem Terra* (MST), Brazil’s massive and well-known landless movement, as well as local residents organizing in resistance to the eucalyptus farms that had contaminated their water. It was immediately clear that the activists shared a way of speaking about their different *lutas*, or ‘struggles.’ Activists spoke of ‘maintaining the culture’ of a rural town, being part of a shared ‘struggle’ as an ‘excluded’ community, or the importance of access to ‘culturally-appropriate education’ for an indigenous community, a rural town, or an urban neighborhood<sup>60</sup>. This shared way of speaking was central to solidarity stancetaking at the *romaria*.

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<sup>60</sup> In context, such an urban *comunidade*, or ‘community’ would be strongly associated with blackness and the urban *periferia*, or periphery.



At the meeting, only the indigenous group was singled out in explicitly racialized terms. If there were members of the *quilombola* movement present, they easily blended into the crowd, at least in the larger general gatherings. The small group representing the Black Movement, who rode with us from Pau Brasil and Camacã, were introduced but were not been singled out in the same way as the indigenous group. The Pataxó Hãhãhãe stood out visually, because of the body paint and other adornments that explicitly marked their indigeneity. They were also called upon to perform and address the audience in a way that no one else was. In this sense, the indigenous group were in a unique position. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that Fábio, the spokesperson for the Hãhãhãe, seemed to do the most discursive work to create a solidarity stance with the other *romaria* participants, as I will discuss shortly.

When we first arrived at the *romaria*, the indigenous group immediately prepared to perform a Toré as Fábio introduced the group to the already-assembled audience. This address was fairly short. In it, he briefly introduced the group from Pau Brasil as being from the indigenous and black [social] movements before transitioning to a story that presents the Pataxó Hãhãhãe as experienced in political organizing, specifically on the theme of the current *romaria* (lines 15-21).

(1a)

Fábio Titiá

11 *então pessoal,*

So,

12 *nós chegamo aqui nesse momento aqui, a gente,*

we are here at this moment now, we,

13 *veio (...) de Pau Brasil pessoal do movimento negro movimento indígena? ...*

- came (...) from Pau Brasil people from the bBlack Movement the indigenous movement? ...
- 14 *a gente (agradece nesse movimento assim principalmente) falando por uma terra? sem males.*  
we (are grateful to this [social] movement principally) speaking for an "Earth without Evil."
- 15 *nós lembramos que no ano de dois mil e,*  
we remember that in the year two thousand and,
- 16 *dois?*  
two?
- 17 *teve esse movimento por uma terra sem males lá na nossa aldeia.*  
this movement was held for an Earth without evil over in our village.
- 18 *Caramurú?*  
Caramuru?
- 19 *aonde reuniu caravana de vários município aonde reunimos bastante pessoas*  
where caravans from various cities gathered where we brought many people together
- 20 *(acredita? sim) que na:quela época a gente f- teve mais ou menos: umas cinco mil pessoas,*  
(do believe) that at that time we were- there were around some five thousand people,
- 21 *lá na aldeia,*  
there in the village.

Notice that Fábio uses the term *aldeia*, or "village", to refer to Caramuru-Paraguaçu (lines 17, 21). This term is iconic of indigeneity in Brazil, and calls to mind images circulated in the media of more isolated indigenous villages in the Amazonian regions: typically, a single settlement with grass-roofed living structures and possibly a communal hall. In actuality, the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation is spread over many kilometers, and is spotted with family farms and brick houses, many different community centers, and also a few schools and churches. Still, in everyday speech the Hãhãhãe use the term *aldeia* to refer to the reservation as a whole. This term functions as a marker of indigeneity, often in opposition to the implicitly non-indigenous *cidade*, or 'city.' In the context of the *romaria*, using this term clearly marks the

Hãhãhães' indigeneity for the audience. It also makes it clear that even though he introduces "people from the Black Movement" in line 13, he is speaking mainly for the indigenous group.

Note that in line 19, above, he uses both the third person in a passive voice, *reuniu caravana*, or "caravans gathered", and the first person plural, *reunimos*, or "we brought together". In line 20, his use of the first person plural, *a gente*, or "we", forms a false start as he transitions to a more distant, third person, *teve*, "there were". He continues to use the third person rather than the first to refer to the Pataxó Hãhãhãe as a whole for the rest of his narrative. In some places it even seems quite awkward. In line 24 below, for example, he could have simply said *ajudou*, or "helped". Instead, almost to emphasize the fact that he is using the third person, he includes the optional third person object pronoun *os*, or 'them', in the place that the third person pronoun *nos*, or 'us', would otherwise have been required.

(1b)

- 23 *e foi um encontro, muito forte,*  
and it was a very powerful meeting,  
24 *do qual os ajudou bastante a comunidade indígena.*  
which helped them the indigenous community substantially.  
25 *eh Pataxó Hãhãhãe.*  
uh Pataxó Hãhãhãe.  
26 *então a luta e::h*  
so the struggle u::h  
27 *a vitória da luta do povo Pataxó Hãhãhãe é muito grato aos movimentos sociais*  
the victory of the struggle is very grateful to the social movements  
28 *às pessoas que acredita,*  
the people who believe,  
29 *e defende o povo,*

and defend the people,  
30 *que é excluído,*  
that is excluded,  
31 *né da sociedade.*  
right from society.

In line 27, rather than saying *estamos grato*, or “we are grateful”, he says that the victory itself is grateful, which is as odd of a statement in Brazilian Portuguese as it is in English. All of this points to an almost extreme amount of care taken to avoid setting up an us-you dichotomy. By referring to both indigenous and non-indigenous actors in his narrative in the third person, he works to discursively neutralize the implicit division between the *romaria* audience and the Hãhãhãe. Fabio’s lessening of the social distance between the Hãhãhãe and their non-indigenous allies through the use of the third person is important, because he is using his narrative to both flatter his audience and to construct the kind of solidarity relationship between them that he describes in his story of past Hãhãhãe success - despite the kind of racialized difference that was semiotically entailed by the very presence of the Hãhãhãe as the indigenous group of the *romaria*. This becomes clear in line 14, and again in line 27, as he describes the gratitude that the Hãhãhãe have toward social movements in general, a gratitude that therefore extends to the current *romaria* participants.

Having made this link between the non-indigenous activists in his story and his non-indigenous audience, he can then attribute actions to the activists in his narrative and thereby implicitly confer them to the audience as well. He does this in two closing summaries (lines 26-31, above, and lines 32-36, below), after which he introduces the Toré.

(1c)

32 *então a vitória Pataxó Hãhãhãe não foi só dos indígena,*  
 so the Pataxó Hãhãhãe victory wasn't just an indigenous [victory],  
 33 *mas de todos aqueles que apoiaram, né,*  
 but [the victory] of everyone who supported, right,  
 34 *que oraram, né,*  
 who prayed, right,  
 35 *que rezaram, né,*  
 who prayed, right,  
 36 *e que defenderam a história desse povo.*  
 And who defended the story of this people.

In these summaries, he extends responsibility for the Hãhãhãe's success to their non-indigenous allies, who are described in positive terms as people who believe and defend (lines 28-9), and who support, pray and defend (lines 33-36). As for the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, they are described as a people who are not just defended, but believed in (line 28), and who are not just defended in physical terms, but whose *story* is defended (line 36). They are also described as a people who are excluded from society (lines 30-1, above), a description that is common in social movement discourse in the region in general, setting up an implicit solidarity between the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and people in other social movements. In this context he also exploits the multiple potential meanings of *povo*, or 'people.'

Through this complex discursive positioning, Fábio established an alignment with the audience that might otherwise have been jeopardized by the indigeneity of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe. The effect would also have been quite different, for example, had he told the Hãhãhãe's story in terms of an indigenous retaking of reservation lands from non-indigenous settlers. This common framing of Hãhãhãe mobilization as an indigenous group would likely have been received as threatening to inter-group solidarity. Having constructed a solidarity stance through narrative parallels and the use of the third person to lessen the social distance between himself and his

audience, the “taking back” of Caramuru-Paraguaçu becomes a shared victory for an “Earth without Evil” toward which the Hãhãhãe, as experienced victors, can lead their current non-indigenous allies, the *romaria* audience. Perhaps the fact that this solidarity stance was constructed through such implicit means is also significant, considering that the Hãhãhães’ racial difference was both a fundamental part of their presence, from the moment we entered the room and likely from the moment Fábio made arrangements for our attendance, and a figurative elephant in the room, since it would be considered impolite to discuss directly. Significantly, Fábio does not reference the metaphor of the three races, which would have reduced indigeneity to one component of shared racial heritage and located it in the distant past.

### **6.3 The Three Races at the *Romaria*: Race as an Obstacle to Solidarity**

After Fábio’s introductory address, the audience was broken up into smaller groups for breakout sessions on topics related to the *romaria* theme, such as deforestation and its effect on waterways, and access to culturally relevant education. Shortly after everyone had reconvened as a larger group in the main room, one of the event organizers invited volunteers from the breakout sessions to report the main points of their discussions to the audience. Addressing the crowd in this role, one volunteer explains that a ‘much-discussed’ theme in her group was the question of how different social movements can join forces in opposition to large companies. She sets up an ideal opposition in lines 8-11, below, between social movements in general and large corporations. She does not explicitly discuss race as a topic in her address. However, it forms an important subtext to her argument.

(2a) Volunteer

1     ... *é. uma coisa que fo:i muito debatida no grupo?*  
       ... right. one thing that wa:s discussed a lot in the group?  
 2     *(foi como fica ...) as forças?*  
       (was what about ...) the momentum?  
 3     *né? (todo) movimento socia:l,*  
       right? (every) social mo:vement,  
 4     ***movimento indígena movimento quilambo:las,***  
       the indigenous movement the quilombola movement,  
 5     *então assi:m,*  
       so it's li:ke,  
 6     *os os nossos (empates) né?*  
       our our (impasses) right?  
 7     *(vá lá pro) negócio,*  
       (go to) the thing,  
 8     *as grandes corporações que estão os as grandes projetos,*  
       the big corporations that are the the big projects,  
 9     *a gente só vai conseguir*  
       we're only going to succeed  
 10    *unificar a força quando a gente se juntar,*  
       in unifying our forces when we join together,  
 11    *todos esses movimentos,*  
       all of these [social] movements.

Using the metapragmatic knowledge that she and her audience share about the fable of three races, she implicitly sets race up as the main obstacle to this idealized coming together of social movements without ever having to directly state it. She accomplishes this simply by listing the indigenous and *quilombola* social movements specifically when setting up the idea of divisions between different social movements as an obstacle to productive organizing or joining of forces (line 4). *Quilombola* communities, who claim direct descent from communities established by escaped slaves, are, like indigenous groups, entitled to traditional lands and the maintenance of their cultures according to the 1988 Constitution (see Warren 2001, French 2009,

Farfán-Santos 2015). These two social movements are set apart in Brazil in that their position for claiming rights to land, health care, culturally-specific education, etc. are based at least in part in their ethnic identity, indigenous and afro-descendant, respectively. As such they also neatly entail the African and indigenous components of Brazil's racial origin narrative, pulling via this metaphor the associated idealization racial mixing as a means of National unity.

Throughout the middle of her narrative, as she builds on the idea of this ideal coming together of social movements in opposition to the big corporations, she focuses on rural social movements joining with urban and university-based social movements (lines 12, 19-21). She uses the first person when referring to rural social movements (lines 18, 22-23), as would be appropriate in order to include the *romaria* audience. She frames this rural-urban coming together in positive terms, as a conquering of urban space (line 24) by rural people with important experiences to share (line 22).

(2b)

12 *movimentos campo movimentos da cidade,*  
rural movements urban movements,  
13 *(pra ... uma grande projeto de ...).*  
(for ... a big project ...).  
14 *(ao modelo do negócio que está aí)*  
(the model of the business there)  
15 *(... como .... a primeira etapa ... ).*  
(... as ... a first step ...).  
16 *e uma outra questão também,*  
and another issue as well,  
17 *é:: se: o senhor colocou: Fábio colocou também,*  
u::h i:f you propo:sed Fábio also proposed,  
18 *é? o diálogo que a gente deve ter?*  
right? the dialogue that we should have?  
19 *com a população urbana.*



with the urban population.  
 20 *e essa- e esse diálogo,*  
 and that- and that dialogue,  
 21 *(por mais que ... tem que estar) dentro das universidades.*  
 (for as much as ... it needs to be) in the universities.  
 22 *né? leva:r? essa nossa histó:ria essa nossa experiê:ncia de vi:da de lu:ta,*  
 right? to ta:ke? this our story this our li:fe experience [our experience] of stru:ggle,  
 23 *pra discussão dentro das comuni- das universidades porque a gente precisa-,*  
 for discussion within the communi- the universities because we need-,  
 24 *conquistar esse espaço também.*  
 to conquer that space as well.

In closing, she again lists different groups, this time three: rural, indigenous, and quilombola (lines 31-2). This time she is emphasizing the importance of a differentiated education that is relevant to the lived realities of people of these three different groups, again clearly entailing the metaphor of three races.

(2c)

25 *e as (...) que (...) coloca,*  
 and the (...) that (...) proposed,  
 26 *né?*  
 right?  
 27 *a gente tem uma atitude da terra,*  
 we have a perspective about the land,  
 28 *mas a gente também tem que conquistar uma atitude do sabe:r que é o conhecimento e*  
*educação.*  
 but we also need to acquire a perspective about kno:wledge that is information and  
 education.  
 29 *e uma educação contextualizada,*  
 and a contextualized education,  
 30 *né?*

right?

31 (com visto da) *realidade do povo camponê:s,*

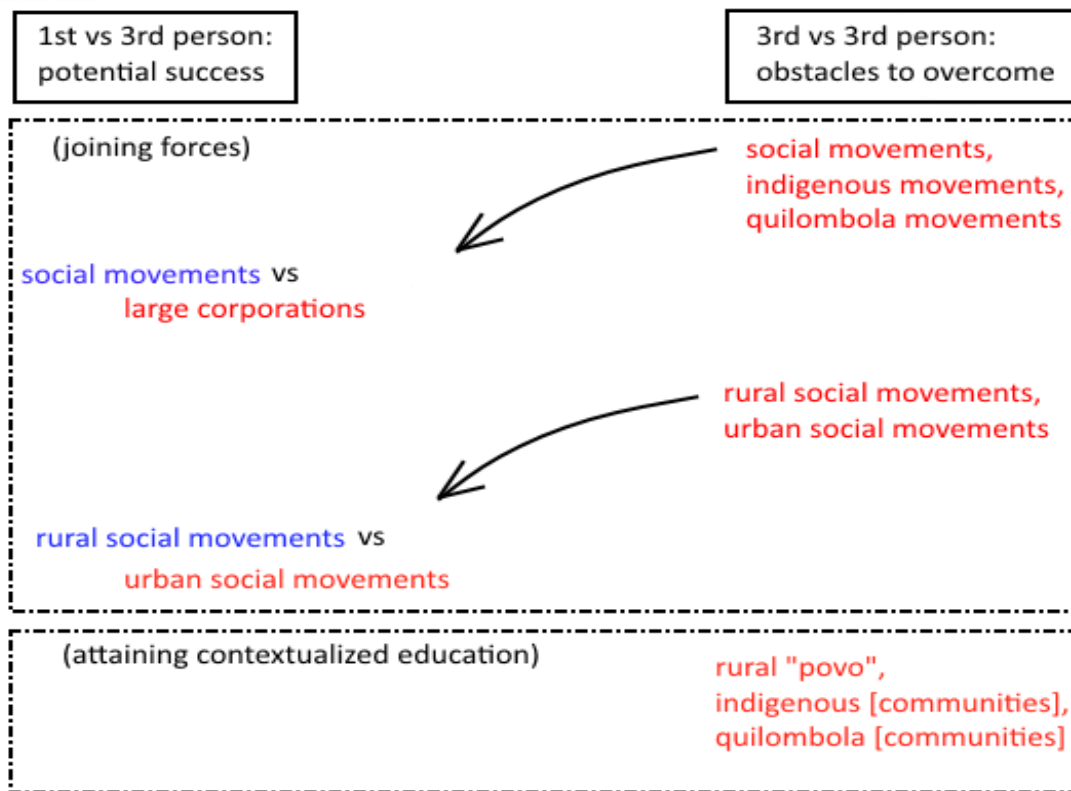
from the perspective of the ru:ral people's reality,

32 (e com visto da) *realidade dos indí:gena dos quilombo:las então é isso que foi,*

(and from the perspective of) the indi:genous the quilombo:la's reality so that's what was,  
33 *muito debatido no grupo.*

discussed a lot in the group.

It is useful to get a broader perspective on her shifts in stance as reflected in her patterned use of grammatical person references. I attempt to illustrate these shifts in Figure 6.1, below, in which blue represents the first person and red represents the third.



6.1: Speaker 2's shifts in grammatical person patterns relative to topic. 1st person is represented in blue, while 3rd person is represented in red. General topics are labeled in parentheses and enclosed in dashed rectangles.

Twice in her narrative, she starts with a 3<sup>rd</sup> person – 3<sup>rd</sup> person contrast when describing obstacles that need to be overcome (lines 3-4 and 12, in bold), followed by a shift to a 1<sup>st</sup> person to 3<sup>rd</sup> person contrast when describing an ideal solution to the problems she just introduced (lines 18, 22 and 23, underlined above). In setting up the first obstacle to overcome, she implicitly references the metaphor of three races (lines 3-4). This first contrast positions race as an obstacle to the opposition between unified social movements and large corporations (lines 18, 22 and 23), an idealized opposition that was an ongoing theme throughout the *romaria* event.

By invoking the race metaphor at the beginning and end of her narrative (lines 31-2), she implicitly emphasizes racial difference as an important part of her argument. In contrast to the explicitly positive tone of her narrative, she positions race as an obstacle, a barrier to political organizing and solidarity. The story she tells is not just a story about effective organizing for a specific cause, but about an ideal, unified and homogenized larger social movement without divisions between different groups, and especially without racialized divisions between groups. In essence, she is describing an idealized Brazilian *povo*, or “people”, with strong rural roots, rising up against powerful, capitalist, corporations. The Marxist influences that political organizing has traditionally had in Brazil are clear, but the implications about race are also important. This *povo* is predicated on the idealization of Brazilian racial mixing, and as such leaves no room for race-based mobilization..

#### **6.4 (Re)Building Solidarity**

By the time the indigenous group made their leave, race had been implicitly established as an obstacle to effective organizing and solidarity. Seemingly in response to this tone, Fábio provides a longer and more complex narrative as indigenous spokesperson to take leave of the other *romaria* participants. In his first address, he used the third person to construct a narrative that implicitly flattered the *romaria* audience as allies in a shared solidarity stance with the Hãhãhãe. In this closing address he again uses grammatical person references to reaffirm the solidarity between the indigenous group and the other *romaria* participants. Using an inclusive first person plural and an inclusive third person, as I discuss below, he constructs the Hãhãhãe and others in social movements in general not only as allies, but as participants in the same fight, as seekers of the same dream, in opposition to the media and powerful corporations. On the surface, he is telling another story of the Hãhãhãe's success in retaking reservation land, this time in more detail and including a voicing of the Hãhãhãe elders addressing Hãhãhãe youth, followed by an admonition of young people more broadly to listen to their elders. A closer look reveals an underlying narrative of solidarity in the same larger struggle.

(3a)

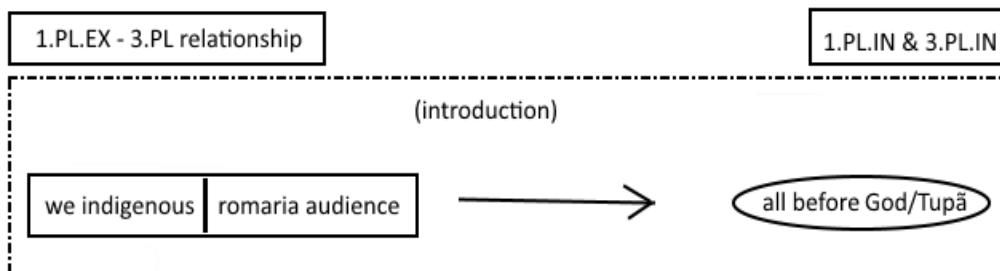
- 1 *eh ... pessoal. a gente: só tem agradecer a [...] mas assim na região nossa,*  
uh ... [addressing audience]. we: just have to thank [...] but in our region,
- 2 *(... também) tá chovendo muito.*  
(... also) it's raining a lot.
- 3 *e aí pra nós: sair do Pau Brasil pra ir pra aldeia a noite é meio complicada:do certo?*  
and so for u:s to go from Pau Brasil to go to the village at night is a little co:mplicated right?
- 4 *e aí a gente só tem mais agradecer aqui né a (comida),*  
and so we just have to give our thanks here right for the (food),
- 5 *e dizer pra os demais as pessoas que estão aqui pessoas ligada,*

6 and to say to the rest of the people who are here people involved,  
*ao movimento social,*  
 in the social movement,  
 7 *e:h a pessoas que: com certeza, a gente não escolhe nada por, pela gente mesmo?*  
 u:h to people that surely, we don't choose anything for, by ourselves?  
 8 *a gente escolhe porque Deus, né, Tupã,*  
 we choose because God, right, Tupã,  
 9 *e nos ilumina e nos orienta,*  
 and lights us [lights our way] and guides us,  
 10 *e diz o que devemos seguir.*  
 and tells what we should follow.  
 11 *as vez **tem muito que escuta** o chamado e as vez,*  
 sometimes there are many who listen to the call and sometimes,  
 12 ***não quer aceitar.***  
 don't want to accept it.  
 13 *né,*  
 right,  
 14 *e prà questão assim de só fortalecer*  
 and for in terms of just strengthening  
 15 *porque a [h]ente teve um momento da gente contar um pouquinho de história,*  
 because we had a moment for us to tell a little of our story,  
 16 *lá: na nossa (plenaria né... no instante),*  
 there at our (breakout session right ... just now),

After a brief explanation about our leaving, Fábio begins addressing the audience as people involved in a larger, generalized social movement (line 6). He then leaves unfinished what would have been an explicit description of his audience as members of this social movement, as if almost accidentally recasting his initial implicit descriptions in too direct a voice, and abruptly changes topic using an informal first person plural, *a gente* (line 7). This shift

is significant, as is his use of a social distance bridging informal tone, a tone that he maintains throughout through his use of *a gente*, frequent use of the discourse marker *né*, as well as regional markers such as a softening of the voiced post-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ into a voiceless glottal fricative [h] (line 15) and dropping plural markers to the right of the nominal head, as in *peessoas ligada* in line 5, and *as vez* in line 11.

The first person plural is broadly inclusive not only of everyone at the event, but of everyone before God, as revealed in line 8 - a religion-specific inclusivity that is appropriate for the Catholic event. Fábio also equates the implicitly Catholic God with *Tupã* (line 8), an indigeneity-marking term for God that is used interchangeably in everyday speech in Caramuru-Paraguassu, where most practice a syncretism between Catholicism and various indigenous spiritual practices and beliefs. That Fábio uses the terms interchangeably here is significant, as it simultaneously marks his indigeneity and constructs indigenous and non-indigenous people as the same in spiritual terms. If “God” is the same entity as “Tupã”, then the Hãhãhãe can remain indigenous while being the same “before God,” just as indigenous Brazilians can now be both citizens and indigenous according to the Constitution of 1988 (Ramos 2003). Continuing with this inclusive first person until line 11, he then shifts to an inclusive third person (lines 11-12) that still refers to all before God, but subtly distances those referred to before from people who do not listen to God’s guidance. I attempt to illustrate this shift in Figure 12, below.



6.2: Fábio's shift in grammatical person patterns in the introduction of his second narrative.

In line 15, above, Fábio shifts again shifts topic, and footing. Here he uses a first person plural inclusive only of the indigenous people present, resuming his role as spokesperson for the indigenous group and excluding the non-indigenous *romaria* participants. Shortly after this, even though he explains again that they are *parte de um povo* or “part of a people”, he does not shift to the third person as he had in his first address, instead maintaining the indigenous first person plural (lines 18-23, below). Note also that the *luta*, “fight” or “struggle” in lines 22-3 refers to the Hãhãhãe's struggle as an indigenous group to reclaim reservation land.

(3b)

- 17 *eh:: eu-*,  
 uh:: I-,  
 18 *nós indígena aqui*,  
 we indigenous here,  
 19 *fazemos parte de um povo*,  
 we are part of a people,  
 20 *do qual nós*,  
 from which we,  
 21 *iniciemos nosso processo numa terra bem pequena, né*,  
 began our process on a very small [amount of] land, right,  
 22 *de luta, ni '82*,

in the fight, in '82,  
23 *a pesar que a nossa luta já foi bem antes.*  
despite [the fact that] our fight was already [started] long before.

I will not analyze his entire address here, though it is included in the appendix. After retelling the story of the Hãhãhãe's success, this time with the added details of community leaders' "having their lives taken" and "spilling blood on the land" (lines 50-51, appendix), and featuring dialog in which Hãhãhãe elders address their children and grandchildren, telling them that "one day this land will be in your hands" (lines 41, 47, appendix), Fábio reframes the concept of *luta*, or "fight." Whereas the Hãhãhãe's struggle, were it only for legal repossession of reservation land, may have ended with the decision of the Supremo Tribunal Federal (STF), Brazil's Federal Supreme Court in 2012, described by Fábio as *hoje conseguiu conquistar*, or "today successfully conquered" (line 60, appendix). Instead, Fábio explains that despite having conquered their *território*, or "territory" (line 70, below), a term that implicitly marks their indigeneity once more, *a luta sempre continua*, "the fight always continues" (line 71). This eternal struggle is framed in terms of the struggle that everyone, indigenous and non-indigenous alike, has been describing at the *romaria*: one for a "differentiated education" (line 74) and for freedom, more broadly (line 77). Having broadened the struggle to include his audience, Fábio elicits their confirmation, "isn't that right?" (line 77).

(3c)

70 *por mais que a gente conquistou o nosso território hoje,*  
although we conquered our territory today,  
71 *a gente não é de desistir da luta porque a luta sempre continua,*



72 we aren't going to give up the fight because the fight always goes on,  
*né,*  
right,  
73 *sempre continua,*  
it always goes on,  
74 *uma luta pra uma educação diferenciada,*  
a fight for a differentiated education,  
75 *uma luta,*  
a fight,  
76 *pela liberdade,*  
for freedom,  
77 *não é?*  
isn't that right?

He then addresses the youths in the crowd using a second person plural that is inclusive of both indigenous and non-indigenous youths who would like to be a part of social movements (line 84), telling them to listen to their elders (line 83). Once again, he frames this advice in religious terms, telling them that if they do not listen to their elders they will fail to make shine “the star that God put into the lives of each one of you” (line 88). He also elicits their confirmation twice with the discourse marker *está certo*, or “isn't that right” (lines 83, 89), framing and softening his advice that might otherwise come across as too much of an admonition.

(3d)

78 *então,*  
so,  
79 *a luta sempre continue então aos jovens que estão aqui hoje,*

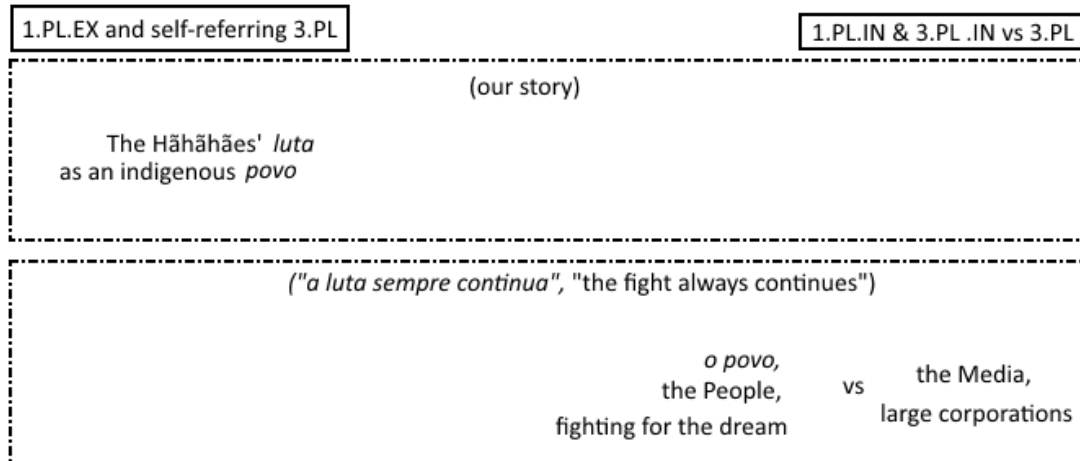
80 the fight always goes on so to the young people who are here today,  
*aqui presente,*  
 present here,  
 81 *tem outros (...) também que tá aqui presente,*  
 there are others (...) also who are present here,  
 82 *eu digo o seguinte.*  
 I say the following.  
 83 *escuta os mais velhos, está certo?*  
 listen to the elders, ok?  
 84 *se vocês querem seguir carreira no movimento social,*  
 if you want to go after a career in the social movement,  
 85 *tem de escutar os mais velho porque se não escutar os mais velho,*  
 you need to listen to the elders because if you don't listen to the elders,  
 86 *com certeza muito de você não vai conseguir,*  
 surely many of you will not succeed,  
 87 *fazer brilhar,*  
 in making [it] shine,  
 88 *a estrela que Deus colocou na vida de cada um de vocês.*  
 the star that God put in the lives of each one of you.  
 89 *está certo?*  
 ok?

Next, he expands the meaning of *povo*, or “people”. Unlike earlier in his narrative, where *povo* invariably referred to the Hãhãhãe, marking their indigeneity as a *povo indígena*, or “indigenous tribe”, in line 94 (below), *povo* refers to the Brazilian people in opposition to the “media” (lines 94-5) and to “big corporations” (line 97). As if in direct response to other participants’ emphasis on unity between social movements and framing race as a potential obstacle to such unity, Fábio emphasizes that this *povo*, in the singular, needs to unite (line 94), and have faith in order to achieve their “dream” (line 99). Again, he is referring to a dream

construed more broadly, a dream shared by the Brazilian people collectively, referred to using the implicitly inclusive first person plural *a gente* (line 99) and *nós* (line 100). I attempt to illustrate these shifts in Figure 3, below the transcript.

(3e)

94 *porque o povo precisa se unir por mais que a mídia,*  
because the people need to come together whatever the media,  
95 *por mais que a mí:dia,*  
whatever the me:dia,  
96 *por mais que-,*  
whatever-,  
97 *(...) das grandes corporações está dizendo aí,*  
(...) the big corporations are saying out there,  
98 *que não vale a pena,*  
that it doesn't matter,  
99 *a gente tem de acreditar que vale acredite no sonho,*  
we have to believe that it matters believe in the dream,  
100 *e lute por ele que nós vamos,*  
and fight for it because we're going to,  
101 *alcançar.*  
achieve it.



6.3: Fabio's shift in grammatical person patterns in his second narrative. Topics are labeled in parentheses and outlined in dashed rectangles.

Finally, Fábio returns to a first person plural that refers to the indigenous participants in line 102, below, thanking the audience on their behalf. In closing, he emphasizes God once more and uses the socially-equalizing regional pronunciation of *gente* (line 103). He also emphasizes solidarity once more, framing it as an already achieved *energia da união*, or “energy of the union” (line 105).

(3f)

- 102 *a todos nosso muito obrigado né,*  
to everyone our thanks right,
- 103 *fique com Deus a [h]ente vai seguir a viagem agora a tarde a gente lamenta*  
go with God we're going to be on our way now we regret
- 104 *(...) não poder continuar,*  
(...) not being able to stay,
- 105 *mas a gente acredita que a energia da união,*  
but we believe that the energy of the union,
- 106 *já (renoua) né aqui com demonstração dentro da (qual) a gente conseguiu participar,*  
already (renewed) right here with the demonstration in (which) we were able to participate,
- 107 *(esta oração).*

(this prayer).  
108 *o nosso muito obrigado.*  
our sincere thanks.

Fábio's address was received by the audience with polite clapping. He had discursively resolved the racialized tension implied by the previous speaker by addressing the crowd with an all-inclusive first person plural, as a single, broadly construed *povo* with the same dream and ongoing struggle. However, he did not succeed in resolving the implicit racial tension at the *romaria*. This was made clear when his address was immediately followed by two speakers who implicitly referred to this tension, as I will discuss shortly. Possibly, the mere presence of the explicitly racialized indigenous group and Fábio's own role as indigenous spokesperson were too much for his verbal artistry to counteract. Still, both his introductory and closing addresses represent an ideological shift in that he makes no reference to the metaphor of the three races, according to which racial meanings are so often made into common sense in Brazil. Instead, he uses discursive resources such as grammatical person to craft solidarity stances that are not predicated on his indigeneity becoming merely one component of a racially homogenized Brazilian identity, as it would, at least implicitly, if the solidarity he constructed were in relation to the metaphor of the three races. By departing from this ideological framework he did not have to conflate time or space in order to construct the Hãhãhãe as indigenous in the present tense. Even though he used only one word in an indigenous language, *Tupã*, or 'God,' and few concepts that directly index the Hãhãhãe's indigeneity, this departure from the ideology of harmonious racial mixing represents a significant ideological shift that creates space for a present-tense and ongoing indigeneity.

## 6.5 Both ‘Together’ and ‘Mixed’

After Fábio’s closing statement, race was immediately reintroduced as an underlying tension at the *romaria*. One of the event’s organizers thanked the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, referring to them as the “indigenous presence,”<sup>61</sup> on behalf of the other (non-indigenous) *romaria* participants. In doing so, he implicitly refers to Brazil’s racialized origin story by referring to indigenous people as *nossas raízes*, or “our roots”, in line 2, below:

(4) Event Organizer

- 1 *nós também agradecemos né a presença indígena porque::,*  
we also thank right the indigenous group for being here becau::se,  
2 ***são nossos raízes né?***  
they are our roots right?  
3 ***todos nós aqui temos sangue:- né?***  
all of us here have bloo:d- right?  
4 *e:: até ancestra:is né **lá na aldeia.***

[membro da audiência] /indígena/

*a::nd even ancestors right there in the village.*

[audience member] /indigenous [blood]/

- 5 *eu mesmo tenho né,*  
I myself do right,  
6 *(nos) dois lados.*  
(on) both sides.  
7 *são da região de Valência e tem na região de Camacã.*  
they’re from the Valencia region and they are in the region of Camacã.

---

61 Referring to the Pataxó Hãhãhães’ presence rather than thanking them directly has the pragmatic function of increasing both the politeness of the speaker’s statement and the social distance between the indigenous group and the other participants.

The metaphor needed no explanation for the Brazilian audience. An audience member even completed his reference to indigenous blood (line 4), though his meaning was already clear. The most interesting aspect of this speaker's address are his time and space references. For example, his time reference in line 2 is ambiguous. By using 'roots' to simultaneously refer to a shared past and to the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, he creates a dissonant conflation of time in which indigeneity exists both in the mythic past and the activist present. The *aldeia*, or "[indigenous] village", explicitly entails an indigenous space, and exists in the discursive present tense in the speaker's speech, represented here in line 4, though he uses the spatial deictic 'there' (line 4) to distance the village (and indigeneity) from the audience members who are 'here' (line 3). It is as if the *aldeia* existed outside of space and time: it is both the location of past ancestors and the location to which the Pataxó Hãhãhãe were about to return. Again, this is not unusual for the *aldeia* concept, which often takes on a timeless aspect. Through this discursive reworking of time and space, the speaker attempts to reconcile the indigeneity of the present Pataxó Hãhãhãe with a metaphor of racial mixture that erases present tense indigeneity.

Despite referencing their relationship, there is no ambiguity in the line that the speaker draws between the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and the non-indigenous *romaria* participants, including himself as their spokesperson. Throughout the small speech, he consistently refers to the indigenous group in the third person. In contrast, he uses a first person plural to refer to himself and the others at the *romaria* in line 1, an even more generalized first person plural to refer to the *romaria* participants in lines 2 and 3. He potentially refers to all present tense Brazilians in line 2, who are described as having indigenous heritage but not as indigenous themselves, in accordance to the three races ideology. Hesitations in lines 1 and 3, and his frequent use of the discourse marker *né* to invite interlocutor uptake, seem to reveal an awkwardness in having to

directly address the question of race in his role as spokesperson. Possibly this awkwardness is also a result of the ideological incompatibility of commonly shared ideas about race and the Pataxó Hãhãhãe assertion of indigeneity. While the event organizer successfully constructs a conciliatory stance in which the Pataxó Hãhãhãe are not only allies, they are relatives, he does so by invoking shared understandings of mixed racial heritage that work to undermine Pataxó Hãhãhãe indigeneity.

The next speaker to address the *romaria*, in contrast, drew a sharp distinction between herself and the Pataxó Hãhãhãe. As part of the group that was going back to Pau Brasil, Fábio had already thanked and taken leave of the crowd on her behalf. However, he had done so as spokesperson of the indigenous group, and his address therefore erased the presence of the Black Movement activists who had come with us. The next speaker's comments were therefore made as spokesperson for the Black Movement activists, though she did not make this role explicit:

(5a) Black Movement Activist

- 1     *[pedindo o microfone] (então rapidamente.)*  
[taking the mic] (just very quickly.)
- 2     *é que- nós viemos co:m os- os,*  
it's just that- we came wi:th the- the,
- 3     *Pataxó Hãhãhãe,*  
Pataxó Hãhãhãe,
- 4     *então vamos voltar com os Pataxó Hãhãhãe.*  
so we're going back with the Pataxó Hãhãhãe.
- 5     *né,*  
right,
- 6     *já já temos né (encontros),*  
we already already had right (meetings),
- 7     *romarias?*  
*romarias?*
- 8     *e que estamos aí né estamos,*  
and that we're there right we're,



- 9        *juntos?*  
           together?
- 10       *e:: mistura::dos [dá rizada alta]*  
           a::nd mi::xed [laughs loudly]

First, she gives an explanation for her addressing the crowd in lines 2-5: that she and others are leaving with the Pataxó Hãhãhãe. Implied in this explanation is that she and the other referents are not Pataxó Hãhãhãe, who are referred to in the third person. There are therefore two reasons for her address: (1) that she and others are leaving, and (2) that they are not Pataxó Hãhãhãe. In line 6 she begins a statement on behalf of the Black Movement activists, explaining that they have gone to other meetings in the past. As in the indigenous group’s introduction, this serves as evidence of the Black Movement activists’ experience in mobilization and lends a sense of already-established solidarity. She further emphasizes this solidarity with the audience by asserting that they are *juntos*, or “together”, implying a shared struggle in line 9, and in her use of the informal *estamos aí né*, “we’re there, right”, in line 8. This sense of solidarity in a shared struggle resonates with the general tone of the meeting, in which a coming together of disparate social movements was emphasized by multiple speakers. Having started out with an implicit framing of racialized difference, she adds another implicit reference to race in line 10, explaining that they are not merely together (in an implied struggle) but that they are also *misturados*, or “mixed”. She emphasizes this last word through increased volume, an elongation of the stressed syllable, and by following this word with laughter that is noticeably louder than the rest of her speech. The joke lies in the multiple potential meanings of the word “mixed.” It simultaneously references: 1) the coming together of different (racialized) social movements, 2) the racialized difference between the Black Movement activists and the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, 3) the fable of the three races and the mixed racial heritage of *brasilidade*, or ‘Brazilianness,’ that had

just been invoked by the previous speaker, and 4) the mixed, and therefore potentially inauthentic, indigenous heritage of the Hãhãhãe. After this racialized contextualizing and verbal artistry, she closes by briefly reframing the overt themes of the romaria, the struggle for land and water, as a struggle for life. In doing so, she uses the first person plural *a gente*, “we”, maintaining an informal tone and further lessening any perceived social distance with her audience. She then ends her statement by thanking the audience.

(5b)

11 *pra a gente lutar por essa terra por essa agua por essa-*,  
for us to fight for this land for this water for this-,

12 *pela vida né?*  
for life right?

13 *na verdade- o a o::,*  
actually- the the the::,

14 *objetivo aqui é lutar pela vida ...*  
objective here is to fight for life ...

15 *sempre. né,*  
always. right,

16 *e:: (mui)to obrigado mais uma vez.*  
a::nd thank you (very) much again.

17 *[gritos e aplauso]*  
[general clapping and cheering]

The audience clapped and cheered loudly, an indication that her meanings resonated well in context. Considering the underlying racial tension present throughout the event, it is not surprising that her short address received such explicitly positive up-take from the audience.

Despite representing a racialized social movement, the Black Movement, this role and the question of race itself both remained implicit throughout her statement. Distancing herself, and the other Black Movement activists, from the explicitly racialized indigenous group, she emphasized their solidarity with social movements in general and the urgency of their collective cause, which she describes metaphorically as ‘life.’ This distancing from explicitly racialized identities and emphasis of solidarity in a shared struggle resonates with broader ideologies of racial harmony, while her ambiguous reference to (racial) mixture allowed for the collective release of underlying tension through humor.

## 6.6 Race and Solidarity in the Brazilian Northeast

As Paulina Alberto (2012, 264) argues, the ideology of racial harmony in Brazil is “a product of diverse local and regional expressions of racial ideologies and interactions,” and is (re)constructed both from the top-down and the bottom-up. The implicit racial tension revealed through speakers’ racialized solidarity stancetaking at the *romaria*, is evidence of a complex and ongoing meaning-making process in which concepts of race and indigeneity are redefined in ways that either erase or make space for racialized identities such as that of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and other indigenous groups, Black Movement activists, or *quilombola* and other afro-descendant communities.

The discursive (re)working of racialized meanings by each speaker are complex. Fábio, the indigenous activist, discursively separates indigeneity from the shared colonial past and (re)locates it in the present. He accomplishes this in part through the conspicuous *absence* of any

reference to Brazil's origin story of three races, and his use of racially marked concepts such as the *aldeia*, or [indigenous] 'village,' and *Tupã*, or 'God'. At the same time, his lack of reference to mixture erases the mixed heritage of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, and the idea of mixture remains problematic for the Pataxó Hãhãhães' assertion of indigeneity. The event organizer's speech, on the other hand, highlights the complexity of the temporal contrasts that must be navigated in order to accept both present day assertions of indigeneity and ideologies of racial mixing that would locate indigeneity as part of a shared national past. The speech of the Black Movement activist discussed in the previous section is significant in that she distances herself from explicit racialization, while using humor to call attention to the underlying race-based tension at the event.

This implicit subtext of race talk makes it clear that race continues to be important to how people make sense of themselves and others, as well as to how lines of solidarity are being (re)drawn in Northeastern Brazil. In this chapter, I have shown that while stancetaking in grassroots organizing in rural Bahia may at first seem to take place in relation to shared political objectives, it is inseparable from the (re)working of ideas about race and racial mixture. The analysis of speakers' use of linguistic resources to establish such subtle alignments allows us to identify ongoing ideological shifts and contradictions as speakers work to make sense of, and (re)define, changing concepts of race. For the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, such discursive (re)working of ideas about race is critical to reclaiming an indigenous identity that contradicts ideologies of racial mixing and commonly held ideas about what it means to be Brazilian.

## 7 Reworking “the Indian”: Language and the Semiotics of Northeastern Indigeneity

### 7.1 Introduction: A Day to Play Indian

It was the Friday before Brazil’s national Indian Day, or *Dia do Índio*. School children throughout Brazil would be learning about indigenous heritage according to Brazil’s national origin story and carrying out their own performances of indigeneity using paper feathers, brightly colored face paint, and other symbols that have become iconic of stereotypical representations of “Indians” in Brazil. Some symbols, such as fringed leather pants with breech cloths, have been borrowed from the internationally circulating images of “Plains Indians” commonly featured in Hollywood films and now also on commercial products across Brazil. Worksheets would be completed featuring smiling cartoon Indian caricatures, bows and arrows, *ocas*, or ‘grass huts’, and hammocks. Often paired with stories of Brazil’s “discovery,” Indian Day lessons and performances locate indigenous peoples in a shared national past while celebrating Brazil’s racially mixed heritage. They are in this way simultaneously an idealization of the Indian within and as racialized other. Figure 1, below, is an image produced by the school Madre Celeste, located in Belem, in the Amazonian region of Northern Brazil, for Indian Day in 2016. I provide a translation of the text in Figure 2, below.



7.1: An image produced by the school Madre Celeste, located in Belem, in the Amazonian region of Northern Brazil, for Indian Day in 2016. <http://www.madreceleste.com.br/artigo/escola-madre-celeste-comemora-o-dia-do-indio> Accessed March 19, 2018.

2)

(2)

1 “To multiply our culture, from generation  
2 to generation, is to guarantee the memory of the  
3 riches discovered and created by  
4 our ancestors - The Indians!  
5 Congratulations to those who are alive  
6 until the present day in our blood,  
7 our culture, our science,  
8 among others.  
  
9 Congratulations and all our respect  
10 to the Indigenous Peoples!!!!  
  
11 April 19 - Indian Day”

In the celebratory tone typical of the genre, the text of this Indian Day image takes on the voice of all Brazilians. Referencing both the “Indians” of a shared national past and present-day indigenous peoples, it blurs the distinction between the two. At first it seems as if present-day indigenous people will be congratulated: “Congratulations to those who are alive until the present day ...” (line 5) until it becomes clear that this “life” is only metaphorical, as these Indians are located in the “blood”, “culture”, and “science” of implicitly non-indigenous Brazilians (lines 6-7).

In the Brazilian Northeast, the region most closely associated with Brazil’s colonial heritage and racial mixing, indigenous people are often thought to no longer exist.<sup>62</sup> For some it is perhaps especially surprising to find indigenous people in Bahia, the Northeastern state associated with Brazil’s African heritage and the location of the colonial capital city, Salvador. For the Pataxó Hãhãhãe of southern Bahia, most of whom have a racially mixed heritage, Indian Day is a day to celebrate an indigenous identity that, for many Brazilians, does not make sense.

At the Bahetá Village school on the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation, teachers have been

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<sup>62</sup> I discuss this in more detail in the introduction.

painting their students for two days in preparation for a Toré celebration that coincides with their Indian Day festivities, which I had been invited to film. A path for the dancing had also been cleared out a few hundred yards behind the school, under the direction of a *pajé*, or spiritual leader, in the shade of a scrubby stand of trees that would protect participants from the sun on the brutally hot autumn day. After hearing of the event, the local education director arranged to bring children from the adjacent school in Itajú de Colônia to witness the event, including its final preparations, which thereby became a performance of identity in a more explicit sense. Whether by intention or design, preparations went on longer than the other students' schedule would allow, and a separate, impromptu, performance was put on in the main classroom of the two room reservation school. The students from the off-reservation school have dressed in everyday clothing, without racially marked symbols such as seed necklaces, feathers or body paint. At the direction of their teachers and school officials, they distributed pencils they had apparently prepared for the event to the indigenous children, each with a paper Indian head covering the eraser. Noticeably light in color, each smiling paper Indian face is decorated with marks of paint on the cheeks, short black hair, and a brightly colored feather headdress. They are immediately recognizable as metonyms of the Indian of the national imaginary, a figure that is both romanticized and located in the past. The smiling paper faces are also part of a genre of (often) implicitly racist stereotypical caricatures that present indigenous people as simple and primitive.<sup>63</sup> The indigenous children were excited to receive these semiotically marked objects; some fought for the possession of one or another (see Figure 4, below), while others shook them as if they were rattles, another object iconic of indigeneity throughout Brazil, to the sound of other rattles already being shaken in rhythm.

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<sup>63</sup> I discuss the "Indian" stereotype in more detail below.



7.2: Young Pataxó Hãhãhãe boys fight for possession of a pencil gifted by students from the neighboring town of Itaju do Colônia for Indian Day. Faces have been cropped to protect their identities. April 17, 2015.

In moments like these,  
contrasting ideologies meet and

overlap at their most semiotically salient. The Pataxó Hãhãhãe children have been born into a *retomada* movement in which their parents and grandparents have mobilized to retake reservation lands, reclaim an indigenous identity and revitalize their cultural-linguistic heritage. The signs that mark them as indigenous now - the seed necklaces, body paint, feathers, and going without a shirt or with only a bikini top - combine to mark their bodies as indigenous bodies. These signs are used in contexts of political mobilization just as much as they are used for celebrations of (national) identity such as Indian Day. Icons such as the Indian head pencils belong to overlapping indexical fields: one in which indigeneity is located within a shared national past, and another in which the Indian as social persona is relocated in a lived present. While the latter is part of an ongoing reclaiming and reworking of indigeneity, both are simultaneously remade in moments such as the Indian Day events at Baheté Village.

In this chapter, I make sense of how the Pataxó Hãhãhãe use language and other semiotic resources to refashion ideas about indigeneity and relocate it in the present. In doing so I draw on Asif Agha's (2005) concept of semiotic repertoire in order to situate current use of the Hãhãhãe language within a broader semiotic pattern. I argue that locating language use within multimodal semiotic processes allows us to explore critical links between processes of language revitalization and processes through which ideas about indigeneity, race and racism are remade.



## 7.2 Meanwhile, in the Amazon ...

In contrast to the Northeast, Brazil's Amazonian regions are associated with a timeless, pre-contact kind of authentic indigeneity in the national (and even international) imaginary. This fact has impacted political mobilization in the region and the semiotic context of indigeneity in Brazil more broadly. In the early 1980s, just as the Pataxó Hãhãhãe were starting to reclaim reservation lands in southern Bahia, Amazonian indigenous groups in Western Brazil were mobilizing to defend their own community rights. This period was marked by Brazil's transition from dictatorship to democracy, and an international rise of neoliberal multiculturalism that sparked ethnic rights movements throughout Latin America and informed provisions for indigenous and afro-descendant community rights in Brazil's new Constitution of 1988. As Amazonian indigenous peoples formed new alliances with international environmental groups, they also learned to strategically use visual signs such as feathers and body paint to construct presentations of self that drew on existing romanticized ideas of Indianness, in contexts of both political mobilization and cultural performance (see Redford 1991, Ramos 1994, Conklin and Graham 1995, Conklin 1997, Turner 2002, Oakdale 2004, Graham 2002, 2005). In the process, some bodily adornments became decontextualized (Briggs & Bauman 1992) and enregistered (Agha 2005) as signs of indigeneity in a general sense while remaining closely associated with indigenous mobilization and resistance to the former dictatorship.

The Kayapó style of *cocar*, or 'feathered headdress', is a good example of an object that has been decontextualized enough to be used as an index of indigeneity in a wide variety of contexts across Brazil, from the logo of the National Indian Foundation (Fundação Nacional do

Índio - Funai), to Carnival costumes and Mickey Mouse t-shirts.<sup>64</sup> Beth Conklin (1997, 727) explains: “The feathered headdresses that formerly were part of Kayapó sacred rituals have become secular political props and the sine qua non of activist apparel.” See Figure 5, below, for some examples.



7.3: Clockwise from upper left: A group of Kayapó leaders protesting the construction of the Belo Monte dam, photo credit: Greenpeace (Survival International 2009); the logo of Brazil's National Indian Foundation (funai.gov.br accessed March 29, 2018); Pataxó Hãhãhãe community members on motorcycles participating in a parade in celebration of pipes for potable water (finally) being installed in one area of the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation (May 2015); Carnival revelers in the Northeastern state of Pernambuco pose for a photo (Acervo PE no Carnaval 2016).

Like other Brazilians, indigenous people in the Northeast were consumers of images of indigeneity that originated in the ethnic politics of the Amazon and were circulated in national

<sup>64</sup> I noticed such a shirt for sale in Pau Brasil during my fieldwork there in 2014-2015.

and international media. Many Pataxó Hãhãhãe activists of the *retomada* generation who returned to Caramuru-Paraguaçu to reclaim reservation lands also traveled to the national capital to participate in protests and other political gatherings alongside other indigenous activists mobilizing for community rights. For an entire generation prior to the 1980s community members had either lived in diaspora, actively denied being indigenous for fear of physical harm, or were unaware of their indigenous heritage.<sup>65</sup> As items such as seed jewelry and feather headdresses, especially the Kayapó style headdress, became enregistered as signs of indigeneity, there was a noticeable increase in the use of bodily adornments indexical of indigeneity by indigenous people in the Northeast (see also Paraiso 1988, Conklin 1997), especially in contexts of political activism and community rights mobilization, as people actively and explicitly (re)claimed indigenous identities. This shift can be appreciated, for example, when comparing images of Pataxó Hãhãhãe activists in the early 1980s and the present day, as illustrated in Figures 7.4 and 7.5, below. The indexical meanings associated with these signs of indigeneity are in this sense inseparable from broader contexts of ethnic mobilization and the reclaiming of

Delegação Pataxó Hã-Hã-Hãe na Casa do Ceará, em Brasília.



foto Roque Sá/Jornal de Brasília

7.4: A group of Pataxó Hãhãhãe activists in Brasília in the early 1980s (reproduced from CEDI 1984).

Policiais de guarda na Fazenda Paraíso (BA).

<sup>65</sup> I discuss this in more detail in Chapter 5.

indigeneity in which ideas related to regional anti-Indian racism hold that indigenous people no longer exist in the Northeast.



7.5: Community members pray before taking part in a Toré dance to celebrate water pipes being laid in a section of the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation (2015).

In addition to the *cocar*, key bodily adornments that index

indigeneity in the Northeast are: seed jewelry, often brightly colored; beaded bracelets and necklaces with geometric patterns; brightly colored feathers, or feathers in general; black, semi-permanent ink made from *jenipapo* (*Genipa americana*) fruit, used to paint geometric designs on face and body; less commonly, bright red paint traditionally made from the spice *urucum* (*Bixa orellana*). Especially during events with potentially spiritual meanings, such as Toré events, it is also common to remove shoes or, for men, to go without a shirt, while women may use bikini tops. While going without a shirt is socially marked, going without shoes in a public space is especially so, and in other contexts would be strictly avoided. Shirts and bags from indigenous mobilization events are another key marker of indigeneity in Northeastern Brazil, often taking on a meta or recursive quality by depicting an indigenous person or an object that has become an icon of indigeneity. Note, for example, the event shirt featuring a *cocar* worn by the man in a *cocar* in the bottom image of Figure 6, above.

To be clear, I am not saying that the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and other Northeastern indigenous people have become “generic Indians” or that they are indexing a generic indigeneity through the use of these signs, but that some of the signs used in their semiotic repertoire have become detached from their original context enough that they have become available for broader semiotic use. In other words, key items in the semiotics of Northeastern indigeneity became enregistered as indexical of indigeneity more broadly, as well as of indigenous mobilization and resistance, and have been incorporated into the semiotic repertoires of indigenous groups in the Northeast like the Pataxó Hãhãhãe. The co-occurrence of Amazonian ethnic and eco-activism, the rise of international neoliberal multiculturalism, and Brazil’s re-democratization all gave further impetus to the use of these signs of indigeneity and imbued them with additional meaning. As I discuss in more detail below, I am not interested in these signs’ function as direct indexes of indigeneity, but in their use in combination with other signs and communicative strategies to rework meanings associated with indigeneity itself.

### **7.3 Signs of Authenticity**

Scholars have critically explored indigenous uses of visual symbols that index ethnic authenticity for non-indigenous audiences, but that also draw on and reproduce dominant ideologies of indigeneity as an anti-modern, racialized other (see Redford 1991; Ramos 1994; Conklin and Graham 1995; Conklin 1997; Turner 2002; Oakdale 2004; Graham 2002, 2005). Conklin (1997, 720) argues that the “tactical deployment of native body images and symbols” by the Kayapó and other indigenous groups to attract media attention during Brazil’s redemocratization period was key to the inclusion of provisions to the Constitution of 1988 that

guarantee indigenous community rights to traditional lands and cultural traditions. Laura Graham has explored how Xavante performers have tailored excerpts of longer ceremonies into visually striking and carefully choreographed performances that cater to “European romanticized ideas of authenticity” (2005, 635).

Some have also pointed out the conflicting pressures between contexts in which “exotic body images” (Conklin 1997) are valued as indexes of authentic indigeneity, and contexts of local anti-Indian racism in which signs of indigeneity are taken to be indexical of negative characteristics associated with racialized stereotypes of Indians. As Graham (2005, 629) explains of the Xavante:

... the positive reception they generally receive in urban and international contexts, in which audiences positively value unique expressions of Xavante culture, contrasts with the systematic racism that Xavante encounter at the regional level from members of a population that views them as backward and “uncivilized.”

Indigenous people have employed nuanced semiotic strategies for navigating this treacherous ideological contradiction. Conklin (1997, 716-7) argues that clothing that conforms to local social norms can be used by indigenous people “to gain greater respect and equality in face-to-face interactions” and to avoid being targeted in openly racist contexts. She frames the use of such clothing as a “strategic adaptation” rather than “a simple matter of acculturation or loss of cultural integrity” (Conklin 1997, 716-7). Such strategies were certainly used by indigenous people in the Brazilian Northeast and elsewhere in previous decades. More recently, Conklin notes a tendency to combine “Western” clothing with “native body decorations” that, she argues, mark indigeneity in contexts such as urban centers where indigenous people would otherwise not be recognized as Indian. She also notes that such combinations have an “aesthetic appeal” for non-indigenous allies (ibid). Particularly popular among outside audiences, including

anthropologists, are images of indigenous people that combine symbols that index the same romanticized ideas of indigenous authenticity reproduced in choreographed performances and protests, with signs of modernity. One such example includes the images described by Conklin (715) of Kayapó cameramen “resplendent in headdresses, body paint, feathered armbands, and earrings” that have been widely disseminated by global media. The cover for an edited volume on the cultural and political “re-elaboration” of Northeastern Brazilian indigenous groups, Figure 7.6, below, is another example.



7.6: Cover of the volume “The return trip: Ethnicity, politics and cultural re-elaboration in the indigenous Northeast”, edited by João Pacheco de Oliveira. Photo credit: Fernando Barbosa (GT Indígena/UFPB) 2004.

In this image, sunglasses perform the semiotic work of indexing modernity. As the only visual element with this indexical value, it also highlights a contrast to the other adornments in the image, all of which are established icons of indigeneity in Brazil: a bow and arrows, a rattle, seed necklaces with feathers, feather headdresses, relative nudity, and body paint. This imbalance of signs is important; if there were a more balanced mix between signs that index modernity and signs that index indigeneity, the contrast between these concepts would not be reproduced so explicitly. In Brazil, objects such as cameras and sunglasses also index wealth and, as it is inseparable in this ideological context from wealth and modernity, whiteness. Sunglasses in

particular have become an icon of “the good life” and upward mobility. Conklin (ibid) argues that Kayapó cameramen, by appropriating “complex Western technologies” as indigenous people, challenge “views that equate authenticity with purity from foreign influences.” I would argue that such images resonate so well with non-indigenous audiences precisely because they so clearly index, and reify, this contrast. Note also that as a visual metaphor, the semiotic contrast between indigenous and modern entails other related indexical contrasts, some less romantic than others: between primitive and modern, between indigenous and white, and therefore between primitive indigenous and modern white.

Conklin (725-6) also points out that because indigenous bodily ornaments are taken to be “integral expressions” of “spiritual and cultural roots”, in other words, as directly indexical of authentic indigeneity, a lack of such signs can be taken as indexical of inauthenticity. She gives the example of attacks in Brazilian news magazines that featured photos of Kayapó activists both “exotically costumed” and “engaged in ‘civilized’ pursuits inaccessible to poor Brazilians - driving a car, eating at a fancy restaurant, working with high-tech equipment.” One consequence of the symbolic politics of indigeneity is the establishment of a hierarchy of authenticity according to which indigenous people across the Americas have been judged. As Conklin (728) explains:

People like the Wari’, who do not conform to idealized images, tend to be seen by outsiders as not Indian enough, or not the “right” kind of Indians. People like the Kayapó, who capitalized on symbolic identifications with Western values, are perceived as corrupt poseurs when their actions diverge from the messages that outsiders read in their public images.

This hierarchy of indigenous authenticity has had a broad range of effects, both internal and external to indigenous communities. For example, Laura Graham (2005) explores how outsiders’ appreciation of the Xavante as more “authentic” than other indigenous groups has, among other things, affected Xavante cultural concepts and dynamics between rival Xavante



communities. Graham and Penny (2014, 16) suggest that the performance of indigeneity may be even more critical to indigenous peoples who do not conform to “common stereotypes of the “Indigenous””; they are urban, for example, or have agricultural rather than hunter-gatherer traditions. Among the potential consequences for not conforming to these stereotypes is the loss of nonindigenous allies. For example, Alcida Rita Ramos (1994) has criticized the tendency of Brazilian “indigenists”, or (often academic) supporters of indigenous political actions and rights mobilization, to support or criticize indigenous people based on how well they conform to their perceptions of how “real Indians” should be, or act.

Having a racially mixed heritage and the loss of cultural knowledge and means of subsistence contribute to the perception that indigenous people of the Brazilian Northeast are less authentic Indians. In my experience the Pataxó Hãhãhãe explicitly reject the idea that race or shared cultural practices might make them less indigenous, and view such perspectives as an element of anti-Indian racial prejudice. Still, pressures of this symbolic hierarchy surface nonetheless in more subtle forms, such as the valuation of Amazonian groups such as the Kayapó and the Xavante as *índios bonitos*, or ‘beautiful Indians.’

Though I have consciously resisted the effects of such ways of thinking, it has affected my field experience. By the time I arrived in Caramuru-Paraguaçu in 2009, a range of bodily adornments were being used by the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and other indigenous groups throughout the Northeast to explicitly mark their indigeneity: various styles of feathered headdresses, some with colorful Amazonian style feathers and others with brown spotted chicken feathers; necklaces, arm bands and bracelets made from colorful seeds, beads, or even monkey teeth; red and black body paint in geometric patterns; on special occasions, grass skirts; even some plugs and piercings. What I did not see as an outsider, though I had expected to, was an effort by the

Pataxó Hãhãhãe to present themselves in a visually cohesive manner. When attending a Toré dance, for example, I had expected the kind of carefully choreographed performance described by Graham (2005): groups of people dressed in similar manner doing the same movements. I expected to see more matching: matching colors, matching designs. As an anthropologist I knew that this expectation was the result of my own bias toward a constructed notion of indigenous authenticity, and I consciously rejected the thought that the Pataxó Hãhãhãe should be any less indigenous because of not conforming to what I recognized as a racialized stereotype couched in colonial logic. Still, I tried to scan the participants for some kind of pattern. Did it seem to be the case, for example, that only men wore a certain kind of headdress? Only to an extent. There were some patterns; there were groups of young girls who wore matching down feather headdresses, for example. But it seemed like for every pattern I could find, there were multiple exceptions. Some took off their shoes; others did not. Some men went without shirts; others did not. More men wore Kayapó style headdresses, but so did a few women. Overall, my first Pataxó Hãhãhãe Toré event presented a seemingly haphazard mix of indexes of indigeneity.

For me this experience raised a question: considering the ideological context in which the Pataxó Hãhãhães' authenticity is put into question, and the widespread use of symbols of indigeneity to highlight indigenous authenticity, however problematic it might be, why were the Pataxó Hãhãhãe not making more of an effort to present themselves as authentic? After all, this was an event framed around the presentation of traditional culture. It seemed almost as if they were intentionally not playing to outsiders' expectations. In fact, that is exactly the point. The Pataxó Hãhãhãe are not using signs of indigeneity to perform what might seem to others to be a more authentic indigeneity; the haphazardness and individual creativity with which they use these signs to assert their indigeneity in a context of anti-Indian racism and indigenous erasure is

itself a rejection of the limitations of how indigenous authenticity is imagined. In using recognizable markers of indigeneity the Pataxó Hãhãhãe draw on and to some extent reproduce existing concepts of indigeneity, and even racialized stereotypes. However, as I explore in more detail below, the intertextual layering of meaning resulting from the manner in which the Pataxó Hãhãhãe use these signs also reworks ideas of indigeneity.

#### **7.4 The Semiotics of “Retaking”: (re)Indigenization on Caramuru-Paraguaçu**

The context in which the Pataxó Hãhãhãe are reasserting their indigeneity is best understood not in terms of using specific signs to index a more or less authentic indigeneity, but in terms of a broader semiotic pattern of (re)indigenization that exists recursively at multiple levels of everyday life. The generations born after the Pataxó Hãhãhãe returned to Caramuru-Paraguaçu and began reclaiming reservation lands farm by farm, and after the enregisterment and spread of key signs of indigeneity, have grown up immersed in this semiotics of “retaking”. In this section I will describe this pattern as it occurs in various spheres or levels of everyday life, from the (re)indigenization of the reservation landscape to the everyday objects that are commonplace in Hãhãhãe homes, and explore how the use of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and other indigenous languages can be understood to be situated within it.

The retaking of lands demarcated for the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation is an ongoing process, and has resulted in a swiss-cheese-like indigenous/nonindigenous occupation of reservation lands. The spaces that have been reclaimed by the Pataxó Hãhãhãe have also been (re)indigenized in a variety of ways. Both linguistic and other kinds of semiotic resources are used to accomplish this (re)indigenization. For example, different regions of the reservation itself

are known informally by their names from the times when seasonal migration was still common in the area. Some of these names have been changed officially. The São Lucas farm near the town of Pau Brasil was the first to be retaken in the *retomada* movement, and is now known as Caramuru Village. The area on the reservation where the Pataxó Hãhãhãe were first made to live was originally known as Caramuru and is now named Bahetá Village in honor of the last recorded speaker of Hãhãhãe. Some signs remain with the names of many of the non-indigenous farms, but through this second layer of names, a common practice in Northeastern Brazil, the Hãhãhãe locate themselves in an indigenous landscape.

The Pataxó Hãhãhãe also use language to situate themselves as indigenous people on this (re)indigenized landscape. In rural Bahia, the phrase most commonly used to indicate that someone is going to town would be *Vou para rua*, literally ‘I’m going to the street’. It is the same phrase that is used in urban centers to describe informally the act of leaving home, or going ‘out’, in the *rua/casa* (street/house) dichotomy. In the countryside this opposition is recursively overlaid onto the urban/rural contrast, so that the phrase when used in town might mean that someone is ‘going out’, and when used on one of the outlying farms would mean both to ‘go out’ and to go ‘to town’, locating the farm as ‘home’. The corresponding phrase would be *Vou para roça*, or ‘I’m going to the fields’, which would indicate that someone is leaving town to go to the countryside, most likely a home that is located on a farm in the countryside. By replacing the home/country reference with *aldeia*, a concept that has become iconic of indigeneity in Brazil, as in the phrase *Vou para a aldeia*, ‘I’m going to the village’, or *Vim da aldeia*, ‘I came from the village’, the Pataxó Hãhãhãe discursively indigenize the countryside and connect themselves to an indigenous metaphorical ‘home’.<sup>66</sup> This layering of meaning related to

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<sup>66</sup>At the same time, the *rua/aldeia* dichotomy reproduces the opposition between indigeneity and whiteness, as well as the indexical links between indigeneity and primitivity, and whiteness and modernity. See also Shulist 2018.

indigeneity onto an existing local phrase or practice is a key feature of local constructions of indigeneity.

Signs of indigeneity are also layered onto physical structures. Homes and other structures have been constructed since the *retomadas*, but existing structures have also been re-purposed, not only for living space but also as schools and cultural centers. Images iconic of indigeneity, such as a figure with long black hair and a headband, have been painted onto a community center, the Hãhãhãe Indigenous Association of Agua Vermelha (lit. ‘red water’, the name of a region of the reservation) (*Associação Hãhãhãe Indígena de Água Vermelha – AHIAV*). The Hãhãhãe language is also used as a semiotic object in this physical reclaiming and indigenizing of spaces, especially in classrooms. In the reservation school of Bahetá Village, for example, word lists decorate the walls alongside hanging grass skirts as symbols of indigenous culture (see Figure 8, below). In some cases, when a Pataxó Hãhãhãe word is unavailable, it is borrowed from Patxohã, the re-elaborated variety of the related Pataxó language.<sup>67</sup>



7.7: A grass skirt hangs to the right of a list of greetings in Brazilian Portuguese and Patxohã on a wall of the main classroom of the reservation school at Bahetá Village. To the left is a state sponsored poster promoting habits related to health and nutrition; in the upper right is a poster describing social ‘values’ and featuring various signs of indigeneity including geometric designs, a man in a feathered headdress, and Bahetá herself (2015).

Inside homes, many of the same objects that decorate rural homes throughout the region; such as portrait photographs of relatives, calendars,

<sup>67</sup> I discuss Patxohã in more detail in Chapter 2.

rosaries, and soccer team emblems; are combined with photographs of families in indigenous dress, and indigeneity indexing bodily adornments not currently in use: seed necklaces, feather headdresses, grass skirts. Rattles, another icon of indigeneity in Brazil, are everyday objects; these may be on display and/or be used as toys by children, who are encouraged to play at singing their own *Torés*. In one elderly man's home, proudly displayed in a central location where guests are received, two photos hang side by side: one of the man on his favorite horse, and an otherwise identical photo in which he is also wearing a feather headdress.

These two photographs illustrate a key feature of how indigeneity is expressed in the region, and of the broader semiotic pattern that I explore here. The photograph in which he is wearing the *cocar*, or feather headdress, explicitly marks his indigeneity. The second photograph, identical in every way except that it lacks an explicit marker of his indigeneity, does not detract from the first, though it may have had a different semiotic effect were it displayed on its own. The fact that he is on a horse with a leather saddle and harness could, without the presence of a marker of indigeneity like a feathered headdress, index a persona associated with non-indigenous *fazendeiros*, the powerful landowners who still control stretches of the reservation. Locally, *fazendeiros* and *índios*, or "Indians", are social personae that represent opposing viewpoints, lifestyles, ethnicities, and sides of the land conflict. This is true despite the reality that many indigenous people, for example, participate in activities like cattle ranching that are associated with *fazendeiros*.

The similarity between the two photographs *of the same subject*, and the fact that they are displayed side by side, result in important semiotic effects: 1) it highlights the point that the man's indigeneity remains the same, with or without an explicit marker like the headdress, and 2) it lessens the semiotic distance between indigeneity and the other meanings or personae

potentially indexed by the photographs that are not stereotypically associated with indigeneity: a “country” lifestyle, current fashion norms, and relative wealth/status. Modernity, a concept stereotypically opposed to indigeneity but associated with concepts such as wealth, status and current fashion, is also brought closer to conceptions of indigeneity through this kind of overlaying of signs. In other words, these photographs have the opposite effect of the book cover I discussed in section 7.3 . Instead of reproducing and making explicit the perceived contrast between indigeneity and modernity, the photographs work to diminish this contrast.



7.8: Clockwise from upper left: a young girl’s white, blue-eyed doll has been indigenized with “face paint” using ball point pen (2014); bow and arrow, feathered headdress, and a wood carving featuring an indigenous figure decorate a home in Bahetá Village; Wagner Titiá, dressed in feathered headdress and seed jewelry, poses for a photo before his interview about the Hãhãhãe language; the poem on the wall, written by Paulo Titiá, reads: ‘Hands off ... Brazil is our indigenous ground. What is that yelling, the Indian people have never been quiet’ (2009); Rosalina de Jesus holds a photograph of herself and her husband dressed in traditional clothing during the construction of their house on Caramuru-Paraguaçu (2015); the ruins of a garage once used to house the car of the Serviço de Proteção dos Índios (SPI) in the early days of the reservation that was being reformed into another classroom for the reservation school of Bahetá Village (2015); A building on a former cocoa plantation that has been converted into the ‘Hãhãhãe Indigenous Association of Agua Vermelha’ community center; note the iconic images that have been painted on the exterior (2009).

Of any Pataxó Hãhãhãe social context, the use of indigeneity-marking signs and the Hãhãhãe language is most concentrated at Toré events. The Toré is a multi-layered and complex social practice that is many things to varying degrees based on context. It is at once prayer, dance, (explicit) performance, game, political protest, assertion of identity, site for identity play, and a connection with indigenous ancestors and an indigenous past. It has had a central role in processes through which indigenous groups in the Brazilian Northeast obtained federal recognition, and has been explicitly taught, learned and revitalized between different indigenous groups as part of regional ethnic mobilization. Songs are shared between indigenous group, written by community members, and learned by youth groups and on reservation schools. It is both “the main symbol of Indianness in the region” (Grünwald 2005, 17) and “work related to the realization of praxis that brings [a people] into existence” (14). On and around the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation, it is a social activity enjoyed by all generations. The Toré is performed for non-indigenous audiences at political events and in towns, and danced at family gatherings for celebrations or merely for enjoyment and to celebrate being able to be together. Community poets, activists, youth groups and spiritual leaders compose lyrics that potentially circulate widely throughout the region, and take pride in the popularity of their Torés. Even at Toré events, these signs of indigeneity are used in creative and at times seemingly haphazard combinations. I briefly described this pattern above in relation to bodily adornment, but the same is true of Toré lyrics. I provide three examples in Figures 8a-c, below. At any given Toré event a variety of songs will be sung ranging from songs composed entirely in indigenous language(s) (see 8a) to songs exclusively in Brazilian Portuguese (see 8c).

8a) Toré song sung at Bahetá Village, April 2015.



- 1 Pa kaĩka kana ue ho pa kaĩka kanao ha.
- 2 Pa kaĩka kana ue ho pa kaĩka kanao ha.
- 3 Ho kana ue kana ua kanao he.
- 4 Ho kana ue kana ua kanao ha ha.
- 5 Ha ha ha ha ha kanao he he.
- 6 Ha ha ha ha ha kanao ha.

8b) A popular Pataxó Hãhãhãe Toré song. Words in BP are in bold.

- 1 *Tihi Pataxó Hãhãhãe hameá **no** hamanguí,*  
Indian Pataxó Hãhãhãe dance in.the forest
- 2 **com** *puhui atexé e maracá,*  
with bow arrow and rattle
- 3 *hameá Pataxó **no** hamanguí.*  
dance Pataxó in.the forest

‘The Pataxó Hãhãhãe Indian dances in the forest with bow, arrow and rattle.  
The Pataxó dances in the forest.’<sup>68</sup>

8c) Toré song sung at Bahetá Village, April 2015.

- 1 *Jurema flororô, jurema flororá,*  
Jurema flororô, jurema flororá.<sup>69</sup>
- 2 *Ô desamarra essa corrente deixe o índio trabalhar.*  
Oh untie that chain let the Indian work.
- 3 *Oi quem deu esse nó não soube dar,*  
Hey whoever tied this knot doesn’t know how,
- 4 *esse nó tá dada e eu desato já.*  
that knot is tied and I undo it already.

I am unable to parse the lyrics featured in 8a. It may have been borrowed from another indigenous group, composed using another indigenous language, or be partly (or entirely) composed of rhythmic words that have an indigenous aesthetic for the participants. Regardless, it blends seamlessly into the semiotics of a Pataxó Hãhãhãe Toré event as an indigenous-language

<sup>68</sup> Reproduced from Gerlic (2012:34). The translation from Brazilian Portuguese is my own.

<sup>69</sup> Flororô and flororá are rhythmic/melodic words possibly derived from *florir* or ‘to blossom’.

Toré, and while participants have usually learned and practiced the Torés beforehand, the call and response structure of Toré singing facilitates the participation of anyone unfamiliar with a particular song. Note that in addition to featuring words in Hãhãhãe and other indigenous languages, the lyrics in 8b refer to established icons of indigeneity: the bow, arrow, rattle and forest. This is often true of Torés composed in Brazilian Portuguese, which sometimes also refer to feathers. Another key feature of many Torés is that they explicitly refer to *o índio*, or ‘the Indian’. This Indian character metaphorically represents all Pataxó Hãhãhãe, or even all indigenous people, and is a means through which specialized knowledge (“*a ciência do índio*”, or ‘the Indian’s science’) or counter-to-stereotype characteristics can be associated with local indigeneity. The lyrics in 8c, for example, address current anti-Indian oppression or social injustice, represented by the “chain” in line 2, and the common “Lazy Indian” stereotype that positions indigeneity in opposition to social ideals such as progress and, yet again, modernity.

It is also common practice around Caramuru-Paraguaçu to have more than one name. Having, and giving, nicknames is a common practice in Brazil. The Brazilian national soccer team, for example, is the only national team that uses first names, and nicknames, on team shirts. The process of acquiring a nickname is not entirely voluntary, and many grow up with nicknames like “spaghetti” (a reference to thinness), “fat”, or the particularly unfortunate “[stomach] parasite.” Some of the younger generations of Pataxó Hãhãhãe have legal names either in their heritage language or another indigenous language, or surnames that refer to their ethnicity, a common practice for indigenous people in Brazil. For others, especially those of earlier generations, a name in the Hãhãhãe language might be used only in certain contexts, in addition to their legal name in Brazilian Portuguese. Many of my contacts preferred to use the name of an ancestor as their surname. In this way ancestor names are sometimes used to identify

the different extended families on the reservation and their relation to specific ancestors who were ‘taken from the forests’ during the early days of the reservation. As such they are both markers of indigeneity more broadly, and also, at least for those with the local knowledge required to recognize them, markers of ethnic identity and authenticity. In online spaces such as facebook, the online blog “indiosonline”, and in email accounts some also use a chosen indigenous first name that they may or may not use in face to face contexts. Even if someone rarely uses their indigenous name, it is often personally meaningful to them.

The same can be said of the Hãhãhãe language itself. Almost everyone I talked to expressed a desire to know more of the language and be able to speak it. However, many had little to no access to the language outside of Toré events, where songs featuring words in Hãhãhãe and other indigenous languages are sung in call and response fashion. Even in public speaking contexts, for example, speakers would use strategies available to them in Brazilian Portuguese, such as reference to an *aldeia*, or ‘[indigenous] village’, rather than using the Hãhãhãe language itself as a marker of their indigeneity (see Chapter 6). Even so, some made a point of using words in Hãhãhãe and other indigenous languages in their speech. One young man reported using Hãhãhãe words as slang with his friends at the reservation school. In Brazilian Portuguese, the word *veado*, or ‘deer’, is used as a slang word for ‘homosexual’. By replacing this with the Hãhãhãe word /mãŋgãĩ/, or ‘deer’, the young man and his friends accomplish the pragmatic work of defining their gendered identities in relation to idealized heterosexual social norms while also making the Hãhãhãe language relevant to their current social context. In this example, the language is layered onto existing social practice; it is not primarily a connection to the past or to shared ancestors, or a marker of authenticity, but a means of defining a locally relevant, indigenous masculinity.

## 7.5 Cowboys and Indians: Intertextual Resources for the Remaking of Indigeneity

Some of the signs used to mark, and refashion, indigeneity in the Northeast have originated from even further than the Amazon. Brazilians, including indigenous Brazilians, have also been consumers of North American constructions of indigeneity. This is especially true of those circulated in movies and series that were then dubbed and broadcasted on Brazilian television. For some Pataxó Hãhãhãe growing up in diaspora in large urban centers, these images were a first reference for indigeneity. Wagner Titiá, who grew up in São Paulo unaware of his indigenous heritage, explains that he “*torcia contra os índios porque não sabia que era um*”, ‘rooted against the Indians because [he] didn’t know [he] was one’ (Wagner Titiá, quoted in Souza 2017, 118). For Fábio Titiá, the opposition between “cowboys” and “Indians” is a framework for understanding the local opposition between the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and the powerful non-indigenous landowners whose rich cacao plantations and cattle ranches were established on reservation lands, the *fazendeiros*. This cowboys and Indians opposition did not exist historically in Brazil, but it is an opposition that all Brazilians are familiar with through their exposure to American media productions. Recently, signs are being borrowed from Country Western aesthetics into Brazilian rural fashion, along with corresponding English words such as “cowboy” and “country.” In the excerpt below, Fábio aligns borrowed items such as North American style cowboy hats (lines 6 and 10) and belts with large, ornate buckles (lines 5 and 10) with the *fazendeiros* in opposition to the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, who he associates with the feathered headdress and grass skirt (line 9):

9)

- 1 *E as vezes, eu fico assim chateado quando eu vejo, eh, indígena, né,*  
Sometimes, I get mad when I see, uh, an indigenous person, right,  
2 *hoje depois de uma luta tão forte hoje tem indígena que as vez,*  
today after such a strong struggle today there are indigenous people who sometimes,  
3 *age dessa forma.*  
act that way.  
4 *ao ponto de de- ... de de de buscar uma vestimo uma calça,*  
To the point of of- ... of of of getting an outfit some pants,  
5 *um um: com cinto de cowboy tipo ...*  
a a: with a cowboy's belt like ...  
6 *aquele chapéu redondo pra mim ali ele tá se materializando fazendeiro.*  
that round hat for me he's materializing himself as a *fazendeiro*.  
7 *[...] você vai (e) copia o que o o seu inimigo é ...*  
[...] you go (and) copy what your enemy is ...  
8 *[...] usar símbolos que pertencia ao inimigos n- d- dois lados.*  
[...] use symbols that belong to the enemies r- t- two sides.  
9 *um lado tá meu cocar ... né ... tá meu cocar minha tanga. ...*  
[on] one side is my *cocar* ... right ... my *cocar* my grass skirt ...  
10 *do outro lado tá o chapéu de cowboy né tipo chapéu de fazendeiro,*  
on the other side is the cowboy hat right like the *fazendeiro*'s hat,  
11 *o cinto de fazendeiro, a taca do fazendeiro [...]*  
the *fazendeiro*'s belt, the *fazendeiro*'s leather whip [...]

(Fábio Titiá November 18, 2014)

For Fábio, it is not merely a question of manner of dress but of manner of being. It angers him (line 1) when indigenous people “act that way” (i.e. like cowboys, line 3) after everything that has happened in the struggle over reservation land (line 2) – a struggle that is inseparable from the Hãhãhãe reclaiming, and reworking, of indigeneity.

For others, current “country” fashion and cowboy semiotics is not incompatible with indigeneity, and many Pataxó Hãhãhãe do use items such as cowboy hats and belts, sometimes in combination with bodily adornments marked as indigenous. Some items, such as piercings with plugs, could be associated with either indigeneity or “rock” music subcultures. What items from which original contexts are appropriate for indigenous expression is sometimes explicitly discussed, often using humor. One uncle teased his young niece for using lipstick, for example,

explaining that Indians use face paint [and not lipstick]. Another young girl's blond doll was indigenized by her older male cousins, who "painted" the doll's face using ball point pen. One man in a WhatsApp texting group shared an image of a young man wearing sunglasses and a thick chain necklace, items associated with both Hip-Hop fashion and wealth in Brazil. Underneath, he added the question: *Playboy indígena, pode isso?*, or '[An] indigenous *playboy*, is that allowed?'. This intentionally humorous social critique implicitly questions the compatibility between indigeneity and the meanings associated with the "playboy," a slang term that originated in Brazilian Hip-Hop culture that refers to white wealthy male youth (see Roth-Gordon 2007, 2011); and implicitly, between indigeneity and both wealth and whiteness. All of these examples are part of an ongoing reworking of indigeneity as the Pataxó Hãhãhãe continue to navigate the ideological contradictions that arise as they make indigeneity relevant in their everyday lives. A key element of this ongoing process is the playfulness and creativity with which individuals draw on and modify existing semiotic repertoires. Figure 10, below, is an example of this kind of creative redrawing of semiotic boundaries. In this Facebook profile, combination of a background image and profile image that is the visual self-representation seen by anyone accessing a Facebook user's webpage, he draws on at least three different kinds of

social persona: the cowboy, the Indian, and Hip-Hop youth culture.



7.9: The Facebook background image and profile picture of a young Pataxó Hãhãhãe man on Indian Day, 2018.

In the background image, a light skinned couple wearing white hold hands as they guide their horses along a country road. Their whiteness, the woman’s blond hair, and the man’s North American style cowboy hat index both “country” fashion and “First World” modernity. However, they are walking toward a forest, one of the key signs of indigeneity in Bahia, that looks very much like the remaining stands of Atlantic rainforest on the south side of the reservation where the young man is from. In his profile picture, the young man is seated with this forest as a background, wearing the indigenous *tanga*, or ‘grass skirt’, and using traditional *jenipapo* semi-permanent body paint. The *tanga* is draped casually around his shoulders, and he holds his right hand in a Hip-Hop style “peace” gesture, with the back of his hand facing the camera. His demeanor and facial expression match this sense of casual, street-smart coolness.

At one level, this combination of signs makes links between indigeneity and, through both the “country” and Hip-Hop indexes, a kind of First World modernity usually inaccessible to Brazilians in rural Bahia. However, these signs have already been borrowed into an intermediary semiotic context. Both “country” fashion items such as North American style cowboy hats and

signs borrowed from North America into Brazilian Hip-Hop culture, such as the back-handed peace gesture, sunglasses and metal chain necklaces, have already become popular in local fashion and the *seresta* music scene in rural Bahia. This intertextual trajectory creates a second semiotic order that builds upon the first, resulting in links between indigeneity and both First World modernity and localness. This kind of complex semiotic work is common and fluid around Caramuru-Paraguaçu. It is a metapragmatic context in which indigeneity is constantly (re)defined and debated, but in which it is consistently valued, made locally relevant and (re)located in the present.

## 7.6 Discussion

When I first began working with the Pataxó Hãhãhãe, language activists suggested that I frame my research not in relation to the “revitalization” of the language, a word that would not be meaningful to many community members, but as part of a *retomada da língua*, or ‘retaking of the language’. I have come to understand that this linguistic ‘retaking’, itself inseparable from the idea of ‘retaking’ reservation land, is how the Pataxó Hãhãhãe make sense of shared experiences of loss and ongoing processes of reclaiming. As I have shown in this chapter, the semiotics of this ‘retaking’ is part of a cohesive pattern that is present in various spheres of everyday life, from the refashioning of buildings and reservation spaces to the refashioning of self through the use of language and other semiotic resources. Many of the signs used by the Pataxó Hãhãhãe to mark their indigeneity, such as feathered headdresses and political event shirts, also resonate with this idea of ‘retaking’ because of links between indigeneity and mobilization enregistered in the context of Amazonian indigenous activism. Use of Hãhãhãe and



other indigenous languages by the Pataxó Hãhãhãe is best understood not in terms of numbers of speakers or degrees of fluency, but in terms of this pattern of ‘retaking’ in which indigeneity is semiotically brought into the present and made locally relevant. Indigeneity continues to be a contested identity here, as elsewhere, but Pataxó Hãhãhãe valuing of individual creativity and a heterogeneous mixing of signs destabilizes the ideological framework in which the “authentic Indian” makes sense. Still, questions remain about race and indigeneity on Caramuru-Paraguaçu. The Pataxó Hãhãhãe are (re)claiming their indigeneity and (re)locating in the present, but what of their African heritage? Most Pataxó Hãhãhãe do have indigenous, African and European heritage. As a mixed-race indigenous group, how is their blackness being valued, or erased? This is a complex issue that merits further research.

## 8 Conclusion

Overcoming distances is a part of daily life on the Caramuru-Paraguaçu reservation, as it is in many rural places. A generation ago, the distance from homes on the reservation to schools in the neighboring towns was a factor that for many limited their access to education. For those who were able to go to school, stories of traveling there by foot or by donkey are told with pride as signs of dedication in the face of adversity, as are stories of attending city schools during a time of intense anti-Indian racism. Nowadays children either attend reservation schools, or take a bus to attend school in town, and count non-indigenous children among their friends. Many adults also catch a ride on the school bus, or pay five *reais* (the equivalent of US\$2-3) each way to ride the market bus to town and back once a week. Some also ride motorcycles or pay a “moto-taxi” to drive them. As an outside researcher, learning to get around the reservation as the Pataxó Hãhãhãe do gave me insight not only into daily life on and off the reservation and practical considerations, but also about the history of conflict in the region. As with many social relationships in Brazil, it is important to hire a moto-taxi driver *de confiança*, in other words, who has the confidence of someone you trust. In Pau Brasil, if you ask an indigenous person to recommend a moto-taxi they will recommend one person: Jota<sup>70</sup> da Moto, or ‘Jay the mototaxi’. Appreciated for his punctuality and friendliness, without gossiping or asking questions of riders, Jota has the trust of the indigenous community. And, what was especially fortunate for me as a researcher, he likes to tell stories. When I asked him about the recent land conflicts, Jota explained that it was a dangerous time for him. Not indigenous himself, Indians<sup>71</sup> criticized him for giving rides to non-Indians, and non-Indians criticized him for giving rides to Indians. This

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<sup>70</sup> A pseudonym.

<sup>71</sup> I use the term “Indian” here to reflect Jota’s wording. It is commonly used in the region, by indigenous people and non-indigenous people alike.

pressure to choose sides could have severe consequences during a time when armed gunmen literally waited in ambush along the reservation roads, often with specified targets. As we rode along, I noticed that Jota seemed to look over at tufts of vegetation along the road, especially around curves, though he assured me that these were more peaceful times. He also warned me, however, that the conflict would soon heat up again if the federal government did not reimburse relocated non-indigenous settlers soon. As with all things in the Pataxó Hãhãhãe struggle to reclaim land, language and identity, this struggle is ongoing, despite the recent ruling of the Supreme Federal Tribunal (Supremo Tribunal Federal – STF) in 2012.

Much has changed since the initial *retomadas* of the 1980s, and the political climate that in many ways shaped and gave further impetus to the Hãhãhãe reclaiming has recently undergone change itself. In 2014, while I was still in the field, the Worker’s Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores – PT) candidate, Dilma Rousseff, was democratically elected. Representing “the Left” in Brazil, associated with social programs intended to alleviate poverty and the democratic era following the dictatorship, President Rouseff would soon be impeached in what is recognized by many as a political coup and replaced by the decidedly right leaning Michel Temer of the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro – PMDB). In 2016, the Pataxó Hãhãhãe “took back” an area of the reservation near the neighboring town of Itajú do Colônia and were forcibly removed (Zelic 2016). In March 2018, an Afro-Brazilian councilwoman and black human rights activist, Marielle Franco, was murdered in what seems to have been a coordinated assassination, sparking national outrage and protest (Reeves 2018). In April of 2018, former president Inácio “Lula” da Silva was jailed on charges of corruption and money laundering (G1 Brasilia 2018). The Pataxó Hãhãhãe, and Brazilians in general, are split between those who support the recent shifts in the government and

argue, for example, that ex-President Lula's imprisonment represents a crackdown on governmental corruption rather than an attack on the Left. This lack of unified outcry about these recent events underscores a significant shift away from the social and political climate that supported both the redemocratization of Brazil and the grassroots movements for community rights and, by extension the Pataxó Hãhãhãe reclaiming of both reservation land and indigenous identity. This shift seems likely to exacerbate local tensions about conflicts over reservation land as well as anti-Indian sentiment.

In this dissertation, I have employed theoretical and methodological tools from the fields of linguistics and of linguistic anthropology in order to answer questions relating to the structure of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe language and the social context of its current use and potential revitalization. Seeking to understand this social context has led me to explore questions about changing ideas about race and how these ideas continue to be shaped through everyday social and linguistic practices. My work contributes to scholarship on race and racism in Brazil by asking where indigeneity fits into what is often treated as a black and white issue. I hope to have shown that it is not a simple matter of contradicting dominant ideologies about race by relocating indigeneity in the present, but a complexly layered and ongoing process as the Pataxó Hãhãhãe and others (re)work social connections such as solidarity, physical spaces, and linguistic and other semiotic practices that are themselves inseparable from ideas about race and indigeneity. I argue, as does Ann McMullen in her work on race in Native New England, that "examining race as a factor is crucial in understanding Native identity over time" (2002, 281).

This work also contributes to a growing body of literature on blackness and indigeneity in mixed race contexts (see Lewis 2000; Brooks 2002; French 2004; Hooker 2005; Safa 2005; Anderson 2007, 2009; Wade 2010; Carvalho 2011; Mollett 2011; Seigel 2011; Lawrence 2014;

Farfán-Santos 2015; Feliciano-Santos 2017). Some striking parallels exist within the broad range of contexts of race and racism covered in this literature. For example, one question that has arisen in my research is how racial ideologies in Brazil function such that blackness is seen as something that takes effort to avoid (see Roth-Gordon 2017), whereas indigeneity beyond a sense of shared national heritage is often viewed with suspicion. It is interesting to see that similar ideological effects exist in the United States, which is so often contrasted with Brazil in terms of conceptions of race. As Eva Marie Garrouette explains in her book “Real Indians”: “Far from being held to a one-drop rule, Indians are generally required – both by law and by popular opinion – to establish rather *high* blood quanta in order for their claims to racial identity to be accepted as meaningful, the individual’s own opinion notwithstanding” (2003, 47). In New England, this racial ideology has led to experiences of indigeneity that are strikingly similar to the Brazilian Northeast. As McMullen explains:

The primacy of phenotype as a means of racial and cultural identification – especially skin color and hair texture – and a general belief that there were no longer any New England Indians led non-Natives to identify most Indian people as either White or Black ... To some Whites, “not looking Indian” signifies mixed ancestry and cultural dilution. Rejection of the priority of appearance leads Native people to define themselves through “blood” – genealogies and genetic descent – or “culture” – adherence to group traditions... early-twentieth-century pan-Indianism and public cultural practice grew out of Native attempts to be recognized as Indians within a bipolar racial framework and demonstrate the continued existence of local Indians. (2002, 264, 272)

For the many indigenous people in the Brazilian Northeast, (re)claiming an indigenous identity has required just such a rejection of the priority of appearance, and involved pan-Indian mobilization and public cultural practice, especially in terms of Toré dances (see Grünewald 2005). Even for indigenous groups who never lost federal recognition, such symbolic practices have become a part of everyday life and something that differentiates them from their non-indigenous neighbors, both in the view of outsiders and in terms of how indigeneity is lived

practice.

I have also taken up the call for “prior ideological clarification” in language revitalization work (see Fishman 1991, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998, Kroskrity and Field (eds) 2009). In Chapter 7, I contribute to this effort by locating current strategies of language use within a semiotic context in which linguistic and nonlinguistic signs are used in parallel ways within a broader ideological framework. By broadening my scope to include semiotic practices that would be rendered invisible by approaches focused on speaker fluency, I build on language revitalization scholarship that increasingly recognizes indigenous perspectives and revitalization goals (see, for example, Hale and Hinton 2001, Meek 2010, Leonard 2011, Hinton 2013, Cruz and Woodbury 2014, Bower and Warner 2015). Barbra Meek describes common differences between community and expert perspectives on language revitalization goals and practices as “discursive disjunctures” that emerge “at the intersection of fundamentally different, though rhetorically similar, ideologies about language and the process of language revitalization” (2010, 153). Community discourses, she explains, depict language as a community resource and social practice whereas “government and expert rhetorics” portray language revitalization work in terms of linguistic structures, verbal competency and the creation of numbers of speakers (ibid).

The comparative historical research elaborated in this dissertation illustrates possibilities of recovering information about an underdocumented language that is not straightforwardly evident from the original documentation. It is at times daunting to work with a language that is only documented in a handful of imperfect lists. In the media, and even the scholarly literature, it is often assumed that such languages have been “lost” without the possibility of being recovered. More can be done to analyze the Hāhāhāe language. For example, Wetzels (2009) has recently used patterns of nasalization of Brazilian Portuguese loans naturalized into Maxakalí to explore

processes of nasalization that are ambiguous when considering data from Maxakalí alone. A similar approach might be fruitful in exploring phonological features of Hãhãhãe by examining the speech of the last recorded speaker Bahetá, who recorded more phrases in Brazilian Portuguese than Hãhãhãe in the original tapes; this speech seems to be clearly influenced by her first language.

More importantly however, and regardless of how much information is recoverable about some past form of the language, the Pataxó Hãhãhãe are among a growing number of communities that demonstrate the resurrection of a language formerly considered to be “extinct” (see Hinton 2001, Yamane 2001, Leonard 2011). Wesley Leonard (2011), for example, asserts that the reclamation of the *Myaamia* language from historical documentation after three decades of dormancy is difficult for “experts and nonexperts alike” to understand because of existing ideologies of linguistic purity and the permanency of linguistic “extinction” (137). Leonard ties current Miami language use to a broader ideological struggle in which indigenous people “challenge existing power structures by showing that Indians can and do participate in all aspects of life and will not accept an imposed narrative in which they live(d) only in the past” (136). As I have shown in detail in this dissertation, the Pataxó Hãhãhãe are using both Brazilian Portuguese and their heritage language(s), as well as nonlinguistic semiotic means, to reshape existing racial ideologies that would erase their presence as indigenous people on the social landscape of Northeastern Brazil. Furthermore, I hope to have shown that the Hãhãhãe language is being used as part of a broader semiotic repertoire that works to relocate the Pataxó Hãhãhãe in the present; in other words, what is most critical is not so much that the language continues to be used, though that is in itself significant, but how the language is being used within a broader social context that works to challenge existing ideologies of race and indigeneity.

9 Appendix A Pataxó Hãhãhãe Dictionary



Bahetá. Photo: CPI-SP archive, 1982.

DICIONÁRIO  
PATAXÓ HÃHÃHÃE



*Com todas as palavras da Cartilha “Lições de Bahetá,” e mais!*





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Este dicionrio ainda est sendo desenvolvido. Ser aumentado, e sero corregidos quaisquer erros, pendente a disponibilidade de mais informaes. Para contribuir qualquer informao, por favor contacte Jessica Nelson atravs do email: [jfnelson@email.arizona.edu](mailto:jfnelson@email.arizona.edu) ou (71)8466-2287

### Fontes de dados:

Cartilha baseada em gravaes feitas com **Bahet**, por Araci Lopes da Silva, Maria Hilda Paraiso, e Greg Urban: Comisso Pr-ndio de So Paulo. 1984. *Lies de Bahet: sobre a lngua Patax-Hhhi*. So Paulo/Campinas: USP/UNICAMP.

Gravações feitas em 1979 e 1982 com **Bahetá**, por Araci Lopes da Silva, Maria Hilda Paraiso, e Greg Urban, e escritas por Jessica Nelson.

Lista de palavras fornecidas por **Titia** e escritas por Wilbur Pickering, publicado no livro: Meader, Robert E. 1978. *Indios do Nordeste: Levantamento Sobre os Remanescentes Tribais do Nordeste Brasileiro*. Brasília: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Lista de palavras colhidas por Paulo Scheibe e publicado em: Loukotka, Āestmir. 1963. Documents et Vocabulaires Inedits de Langues et de Dialectes Sud-Américains. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*. pp7-60., usando a fonte: Scheibe, Paulo. “Idioma Pataxó em 1957.” (manuscrito inédito, arquivo de Prof Darci Ribeiro, Rio de Janeiro)

Lista de palavras colhidas por Curt Nimuendajú na sua visita à região do PI Caramuru-Paraguaçu no ano 1938. A lista indica que as palavras foram fornecidas por **Tamaní** e **Bekoi**.

Palavras fornecidas por outras pessoas serão indicadas com o nome da pessoa em parênteses.

### Guía de Pronúncia<sup>72</sup>:

Vogais:

	IPA		IPA
a	a	i	i
â	ə	ì	ɪ, ɨ
à	ʌ	ô	o
ê	e	o	ɔ
e	ɛ	u	u

---

<sup>72</sup>Adaptado aos símbolos do IPA seguindo o guía de pronúncia em *Lições de Bahetá* (1984). A letra “v” não estava na lista mas provavelmente representa o som /v/. Conforme a ortografia original, a sílaba tônica é a última salvo indicação em contrário. As explicações estão baseadas na pronúncia na região onde está localizada o Posto Indígena Caramuru-Paraguaçu, no interior da Bahia.

a: é parecido com o som da primeira "a" na palavra "batata."

â: é parecido com o som de última "a" na palavra "feijoada"

à: é parecido com o som de "u" na palavra "funk."

ê: é parecido com o som de "e" na palavra "beco."

e: é parecido com o som de "é" na palavra "pe"

i: é parecido com o som de "i" na palavra "bico"

î: não é parecido com nenhum som no português Brasileiro. É um pouco parecido com o som de "i" na palavra "is" em inglês.

ô: é parecido com o som de "o" na palavra "olho"

o: é parecido com o som de "ó" na palavra "pó"

u: é parecido com o som de "u" na palavra "rua"

~: representa a nasalização de um som igual no português Brasileiro, como a diferença entre "pais" e "pães."

Consoantes:

	IPA		IPA		IPA
b	b	m	m	w	w
g	g	ng	ŋ	x	ʃ
h	h	p	p	'	ʔ
j	ʒ	t	t		
k	k	tx	tʃ		

b: é parecido com o som de "b" na palavra "**b**ebé"

g: é parecido com o som de "g" na palavra "**g**avião"

h: é parecido com o som de "r" na palavra "**r**apaz"

j: é parecido com o som de "j" na palavra "**j**aca"

k: é parecido com o som de "c" na palavra "**c**ô**c**o"

m: é parecido com o som de "m" na palavra "**m**ãe"

ng: é parecido com o som de "ng" na palavra "**eng**olir"

p: é parecido com o som de "p" na palavra "**p**ai"

t: é parecido com o som de "t" na palavra "**t**empo"

tx: é parecido com o som de "t" na palavra "**t**eatro"

w: é parecido com o som de "u" na palavra "cacaueiro"

x: é parecido com o som de "x" na palavra "pexe"

## ~ Gramática ~

### Formação de Palavras

Nenhum idioma para de mudar, e nem de formar palavras novas. Porém, as técnicas usadas na formação de palavras novas não são sempre as mesmas. Novas técnicas de criar palavras surgem assim que técnicas antigas param de ser usadas. As técnicas explicadas abaixo já foram usadas na formação de palavras novas em Baenã-Pataxó Hãhãhãe.

#### Palavras Compostas

Na língua Baenã-Pataxó Hãhãhãe, certas palavras são usadas na construção de outras palavras. Esta capacidade é muito útil na formação de palavras novas. Em português, por exemplo, a mesma técnica foi usada na formação das palavras "sanguessuga" (de "sangue" e "suga"), e "guarda-chuva" (de "guarda" e "chuva"). As vezes a "nova" palavra já está tão velha que as pessoas usam ela sem pensar mais nos significados de cada uma das suas partes.

Na língua Maxakalí, por exemplo, a palavra para "casa" é feita das palavras para "madeira" e "mãe". A palavra para "carro" é feita das palavras para "madeira", "mãe", e "vai", ou seja, "casa" e "vai". A palavra para "sal" é feita das palavras para "areia" e "saborosa".

As seguintes palavras Baenã-Pataxó Hãhãhãe são usadas na formação de outras palavras:

àb	<i>osso</i>
heb	<i>líquido</i>
kui	<i>comprido</i>
mĩm	<i>madeira</i>
'ui	<i>buraco</i>

Por exemplo:

*cana*..... mĩp'âb  
                   mĩm       +       àb  
                   *madeira*               *osso*

*cachaça*..... mĩp'âb'heb'  
                   mĩm       +       àb       +       heb  
                   *madeira*               *osso*               *líquido*

*canoa*..... mĩp'oi  
                   mĩm       +       'ui  
                   *madeira*               *buraco*

*buraco*..... hamp'ui  
                   hãm+       'ui  
                   *terra*               *buraco*

Palavras correspondentes a estas acima são usadas para formar palavras diferentes em maxakalí. Também, na língua maxakalí, também são usadas as palavras para "tampa", "coração", "cabeça", "pé", "mão", "mãe", e "filho". É possível que estas palavras adicionas também fossem usadas na formação de palavras Baenã-Pataxó Hãhãhãe, mesmo que não temos mais conhecimento delas.

## Prefixos e Sufixos

Certos prefixos e sufixos também são usados na língua Baenã-Pataxó Hãhãhãe na formação de palavras, ou para mudar o significado de palavras. Isto também é comum entre outros idiomas, como por exemplo "**refazer**" em português, que significa "fazer **de novo**" ou ainda "**pezinho**" para dizer "pé **pequeno**". As vezes a "nova" palavra já está tão velha que todos usam ela sem pensar mais no significado das suas partes.



O prefixo ã- é usado em coisas que não podem ser separadas de uma pessoa, como, por exemplo, as partes do corpo, ou parentes. Mesmo se forem perdidos, não deixa de ser daquela pessoa. O mesmo prefixo também é usado no começo de verbos como "chorar" e "morrer" (veja a explicação sobre verbos abaixo).

*sangue*..... ãheb  
                             ã                  +          heb  
                             *seu*                            *líquido*

O sufixo -nã é usado no final de uma palavra para dar ênfase à palavra, por exemplo:

*doce*..... txôipehinã  
                             txôipe          +          hi          +          nã  
                             *gostoso*                            *satisfaz*           *muito*

O sufixo -'ai é um sufixo "nominalizador". Com este sufixo, um verbo deixa de ser verbo e se torna em um substantivo relacionado à ação do verbo original.

*caneca*..... hãmptxu'ai  
                             heb          +          txu          +          'ai  
                             *líquido*                            *carregar*          *para*

Infelizmente, na língua Baenã-Pataxó Hãhãhãe só foi registrada este único exemplo de uma palavra com este sufixo, então não podemos ter certeza do seu significado e uso, que foram esclarecidos através de uma comparação com a língua Maxakalí. Na língua Maxakalí, este sufixo é usado como marcador de aspecto potencial (como, por exemplo, "ia" na palavra "poderia"), e como nominalizador (se torna verbos em substantivos). É possível que também seja usado assim também na língua Baenã-Pataxó Hãhãhãe.

### Formação de Frases

A grande maioria das palavras Baenã-Pataxó Hãhãhãe que foram registradas até agora são substantivos. Existem poucos verbos ou frases registrados. Por isso, é difícil saber muito sobre a formação de frases em Baenã-Pataxó Hãhãhãe. Porém, existem algumas palavras e frases que nos dá algumas pistas.

### **Adverbos e Adjetivos**

Tem evidencia de que um adjetivo segue a coisa descrita. Os adjetivos também funcionam como verbos, assim formando uma frase completa. Por exemplo:

"Txipai koi." ..... (*pescoço comprido*)

*"O pescoço é comprido."*

É provável que os advérbios também sigam o que descrevem e funcionem como verbos.

### **Ordem de Palavras**

Nas frases já registradas, o verbo vai no final da frase depois do sujeito. É provável que a ordem comum de palavras nesta língua é de SV, ou "sujeito verbo". Em Maxakalí esta ordem (SV, ou "sujeito verbo") e SOV, ou "sujeito objeto verbo", é a mais comum, embora existe uma certa variação na ordem de palavras em geral.

### **Versões Longas e Curtas de Palavras**

Em Baenã-Pataxó Hãhãhãe existem certas palavras que tem duas formas, longa e curta. Por exemplo:

hãhãm..... *terra*

"Hãm o txe." ..... "*A terra está seca.*"

bôhôb..... *macaco*

"Bôb txeg." ..... (*macaco grande*)  
"O macaco é grande."

Estas palavras tem as duas versões registradas:

ãkehe, âke..... *barriga, tripa*  
bôhôb, bôb..... *macaco*  
hãhãm, hãm..... *terra*  
mĩhĩm, mĩm..... *madeira*  
txahab, txab..... *fogo*  
txâhâb, txâb..... *cateto/caititu, porco*  
'u'ũi, 'ũi..... *fumaça*

É provável que estas palavras também tenham duas versões:

bohoi, boi..... *flecha, arco e flecha*  
kehe, ke..... *chuva*  
kohoi, koi..... *cipó*  
mãhãm, mãm..... *peixe*  
pâhâi, pâi..... *casa*  
txaha, txa..... *flor*

Saber disso ajuda na formação de frases e na construção de outras palavras.

A língua Maxakalí também tem versões longas e curtas de certas palavras. Igual a Baenã-Pataxó Hãhãhãe, são as palavras que, na versão longa, tem o mesmo vogal antes e depois de h, ou então de ', como, por exemplo, nas palavras tihik ("homem") e po'op ("macaco").

Em Maxakalí, a versão curta é usada antes de: (1) um modificador (como, por exemplo, um adverbo ou adjetivo), (2) verbos intransitivos (os que não requerem objeto), (3) posposições (parecidos com preposições, só que em um lugar diferente na ordem da frase) e (4) palavras que "marcam" o sujeito da frase. (Para uma explicação mais detalhada, veja Popovich e Popovich 2005). Se tudo isso não for o caso, por exemplo se a palavra vier no final de uma frase, a versão longa é usada.

~ Português--Baenã-Pataxó Hãhãhãe ~

**A**

<i>abelha, mel</i> .....	papai
<i>abelha de cor preta</i> .....	pàgnom
<i>abelha de cor verdinha</i> .....	pehnã
<i>abelha de cor vermelha</i> .....	pepai
<i>acender</i> .....	eummã
<i>adulturar</i> .....	àtxiupa
<i>agua</i> .....	ngãhãng
<i>aimpim</i> .....	uhui
<i>Alô.</i> .....	kokaã'ũ
<i>alto</i> .....	<i>grande, alto</i> kehãtia
<i>amanha</i> .....	hãngnahai
<i>amargo</i> .....	txamannà
<i>amigo</i> .....	ãkahoĩ
<i>anta</i> .....	hãmãhãĩ
<i>apagar</i> .....	b'ak'ahàb'
<i>arco, arco e flecha</i> .....	b'ôk'ãĩ, pohoi
<i>areia</i> .....	hãwúĩ
<i>arvore</i> .....	mihnã
<i>assobiar</i> .....	ãmbwì

**B**

<i>banana, banana da terra</i> .....	kebka
--------------------------------------	-------

<i>banana pequena</i> .....	pahabnã
<i>banho</i> .....	<i>tomar banho</i> àmàngàm <i>Você tomou banho?</i> Atxi àmàngàm?
<i>barco</i> .....	mip'oi
<i>barriga</i> .....	barike, ãmbũ <i>barriga, tripa</i> ãkehe, ãke
<i>batata</i> .....	txupà, popa
<i>beber</i> .....	txôhôb
<i>bem</i> .....	<i>Tudo bem.</i> Akte.
<i>besouro grande</i> .....	àtói
<i>bicho (vários)</i> .....	ithai, tahu, txàuhiñà, txuk'ãi
<i>bicho de pé</i> .....	tetoiài
<i>bicho preguiça</i> .....	txôuing
<i>bigode</i> .....	<i>meu bigode</i> ête
<i>boca</i> .....	hĩtai <i>minha boca</i> angtai, ãtakaôî
<i>bocejar</i> .....	koktxã
<i>boi</i> .....	kab, txo'opã
<i>bolsa</i> .....	<i>bolsa feita de cordão, como se faz uma rede de pescar</i> kàhài <i>saco de couro de muriquí, para mel e</i> <i>agua toktai</i>
<i>borboleta</i> .....	ipakéi
<i>bota</i> .....	goagnàm
<i>braço</i> .....	em <i>antebraço</i> ã <i>parte superior do braço</i> ã, anĩ
<i>buraco</i> .....	uhãĩ, hamp'ui <i>versão usada na formação de</i> <i>palavras 'ui</i>

## C

<i>cabeça</i> .....	ãmbàkohai
<i>cabelo</i> .....	ãntxe
<i>cabelo branco</i> .....	bôkôhaimmã
<i>cachaça</i> .....	mĩp'áb'heb'

<i>cachorro</i> .....	bue
<i>cacique</i> .....	akâiéko
<i>cágado</i> .....	<i>cágado, jabuti ewaĩng</i>
<i>caititu</i> .....	<i>porco, cateto/caititu txâhâb. txâb cateto/caititu</i>
txâbna	<i>porco doméstico txâbtxia</i>
<i>cama</i> .....	mimnà
<i>caminho</i> .....	àmbwai 'ôi
<i>cana</i> .....	mĩp'âb
<i>caneca</i> .....	<i>caneca, panela hãmptxu'ai</i>
<i>canoa</i> .....	mĩp'oi
<i>cansado</i> .....	katxahab, nãnggunã
<i>canta (a canta)</i> .....	piôu
<i>capim</i> .....	txagi
<i>capivara</i> .....	txawã
<i>cará</i> .....	pâkai
<i>carga (?)</i> .....	ìbwai
<i>carne</i> .....	<i>carne txôwĩng carne/corpo xĩm assar carne mohab</i>
<i>carneiro</i> .....	txôkôinnã
<i>carvão</i> .....	tab'okà
<i>carrapato</i> .....	txakid
<i>casa</i> .....	pâhâi, bahiko
<i>cascudo (o peixe)</i> .....	tàgwei
<i>casar-se</i> .....	niama'atxi
<i>castigar</i> .....	toihnã
<i>cateto</i> .....	<i>porco, cateto/caititu txâhâb. txâb cateto/caititu</i>
txâbna	<i>porco doméstico txâbtxia</i>
<i>cavalo</i> .....	kabahai
<i>cavar</i> .....	'oi
<i>cego</i> .....	ã'wà'wi
<i>céu</i> .....	itôhã, hãwauhe <i>céu, sol mãnggutxia</i>

<i>chão</i> .....	mikahab
<i>chapéu</i> .....	bôkôihaliu, ãmbàkohaitai
<i>chateado(a)</i> .....	bàkaitxã <i>Estou chateado(a)</i> . Hamikai.
<i>chifre</i> .....	empub
<i>chorar</i> .....	ãmpôka
<i>chuva</i> .....	<i>chuva, trovão</i> kehe
<i>cinza</i> .....	<i>cinza, cinzas</i> buku, bukuhu
<i>cinzas</i> .....	<i>cinza, cinzas</i> buku, bukuhu
<i>cipó</i> .....	kohoi
<i>cobra</i> .....	<i>cobra, rabo</i> ãnggã
<i>côco</i> .....	pahábm
<i>coçar</i> .....	<i>Ele está coçando a perna.</i> ãnggãniao.
<i>comer</i> .....	komá <i>Quero comer</i> . Kuin kahab mikahab.
<i>Como vai?</i> .....	Adjàài?
<i>correr</i> .....	<i>Corra!</i> Moatepá!
<i>comprar</i> .....	ãnggàipihì (?)
<i>comprido</i> .....	koi <i>O pescoço é comprido</i> . Txipai koi.
<i>copo (veja "caneca")</i>	
<i>coração</i> .....	ã'ãtxo, ãta
<i>corpo</i> .....	<i>meu corpo</i> ãmpekoi <i>corpo dele</i> kove koi
<i>coruja</i> .....	tôhõ
<i>costas</i> .....	nãiko, ã'uhã
<i>cotovelo</i> .....	eimãnggãi
<i>couro</i> .....	<i>couro, pele</i> paaïg, txoktxad
<i>coxa</i> .....	atxekõ
<i>criança</i> .....	kupik <i>menino</i> kupinene
<i>crocodilo</i> .....	<i>jacaré, crocodilo</i> mmãï
<i>cutia</i> .....	ngahe

## D



<i>dança</i> .....	hamkahài
<i>dedo</i> .....	àmpahàb <i>dedo médio</i> àmpahabokoi <i>dedo polegar</i> àmpahabtadi <i>meu pé, dedo do pé</i> ãpaka
<i>deitar</i> .....	<i>dormir, deitar, deitado</i> ãgum
<i>dente</i> .....	ãthui
<i>despejar</i> .....	ngakua
<i>devagar</i> .....	ãnghukàb'
<i>dez</i> .....	aktxe (?)
<i>Deus</i> .....	Tupá <sup>73</sup>
<i>dia</i> .....	ãngtxai, hàmitxihã
<i>dinheiro</i> .....	piái
<i>doce</i> .....	txôipehinã
<i>doente</i> .....	à'ãmpà'ĩ
<i>dois</i> .....	abatxe
<i>dormir</i> .....	<i>dormir, deitar, deitado</i> ãgum <i>Ele dorme.</i> Mowĩ bukehe.
<i>duro</i> .....	hampôtxig

## **E**

<i>embira</i> .....	kaa'i
<i>engolir</i> .....	kumã
<i>espetinho</i> .....	mĩptói
<i>espingarda</i> .....	àitàbm
<i>espinho</i> .....	mãnguaham
<i>esposa</i> .....	<i>minha esposa</i> ãtekài

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<sup>73</sup>

Uma vez Bahetá traduziu o conceito de "Deus" usando a palavra para "onça", e em outro momento o traduziu com a palavra para "chuva". Em vez de ser erro ou falta de palavra, talvez isso nos dá mais informação sobre a crença tradicional Baenã-Pataxó Hãhãhãe.

*estrangeiro*..... mu'anggàmuniàm  
*estrela*..... mǎnggũhǎ

## **F**

*faca*..... hǎmǎnggǎiko, hǎmǎnggǎi  
*facão*..... hǎmǎnggǎi  
*farinha*..... oitám  
*feijão*..... kavang  
*fígado*..... txàmǎnggǎi  
*filho*..... *meu filho, nenê, menino pequeno, moça, rapaz* ãkô  
*flecha, arco e flecha*..... b'ôk'ǎi, pohoi  
*flor*..... txaha  
*fogo*..... tahab, tab  
*folha*..... hǎmǎhǎi  
*formiga*..... txipàm *formiguinha de casa* mangĩ  
*frio*..... taptàbm  
*fruta*..... hũnka, mĩkà  
*fumaça*..... 'u'ũi, tab'õi  
*fumo*..... txàminiǎũ kahab *tabaco* kahab

## **G**

*galinha*..... pakai, pakaitxeó, bakaitxingǎ  
*gato*..... hǎpe  
*gavião*..... pôa  
*gente*..... abkahâi  
*gordura*..... kobm *sua gordura* ãkobm *gordura de jabuti*  
ewaĩngkobm *gordura de costela* oipá  
*grande*..... txeg *grande, alto* kehǎntiá

*gritar*..... atxaka

## **H**

*homem*..... kahnakô

## **I**

*idade*..... mukuhaimã

*inhame*..... àpoi

*irmão*..... ãhũ *irmão, primo* pio

## **J**

*jabuti*..... *cágado, jabuti* ewaĩng

*jaca*..... *pé de jaca* koitka

*jacaré*..... *jacaré, cascudo* tàgwei *jacaré, crocodilo* mmãĩ

*jaguar*..... *jaguar, onça* eihnã

*jararacuçu*..... *jararacuçu, cobra* ãnggã

*javali*..... mãb'ô

*joelho*..... amahâi, ãmagi

## **L**

*lagarta*..... piâi

*lagarto*..... ipakeĩng, bômãnggãhiã

*lança*..... itxhãhãkeb

*laranja*..... mimamãká

*lenha*..... euhmã

*ligeiro*..... ãngkupà

<i>limpo</i> .....	hamptxoã
<i>língua</i> .....	ãtxõhũ
<i>linha</i> .....	kãhĩ'
<i>líquido</i> .....	heb ( <i>palavra também usada na formação de palavras</i> )
<i>lua</i> .....	angoho, mangutiá, mahũ'
<i>luz</i> .....	pàhĩ

## M

<i>macaco</i> .....	bôhòb, bôb, txavi, biki'ũ, ukĩ, bôitũ hintad, kokonimbo <i>macaco guigó</i> apki <i>macaco grande</i> bôbtxeg O <i>macaco é grande</i> . Bôb txeg.
<i>machado</i> .....	à, àkà
<i>madeira</i> .....	mĩhĩm, mĩm
<i>madrugada</i> .....	hàmi
<i>mãe</i> .....	êkâi
<i>mama</i> .....	ãnũkâi
<i>mandioca</i> .....	ohoi
<i>mão</i> .....	pahab <i>minha mão</i> ãmpahab
<i>maribondo</i> .....	kàhàbm
<i>marido</i> .....	etxuí
<i>mato</i> .....	hamãgui, mĩmpaká
<i>mel</i> .....	p'ap'ai, àopai, pàhnã
<i>menino</i> .....	kupinene <i>meu filho, nenê, menino pequeno, moça,</i> <i>rapaz</i> ãkô
<i>milho</i> .....	pahôbtxab
<i>moça</i> .....	<i>meu filho, nenê, menino pequeno, moça, rapaz</i> ãkô
<i>mole</i> .....	hampwìtxìg
<i>morcego</i> .....	pàmmia
<i>morrer</i> .....	amohoi, ãtxuku <i>morto</i> moho <i>Ele morreu</i> . A' to.

*mosca*.....ibikãĩ  
*mulher*..... bektia, beketxia, ntxekũi  
*mutum*..... hĩntaĩn

## **N**

*nariz*.....*meu nariz* ãtxihĩ  
*negro*..... sapôkâia  
*noite*..... hanguĩ  
*nomes de homem*..... Kokái, Txeije, Dújio, Majué, Õhak  
*nomes de mulher*..... Txihimĩnguĩ, Petxáing, Txitxiak, Butx, Baheta

## **O**

*olho*.....*meu olho* ãwa  
*ombro*..... inggwà  
*onça*..... *jaguar, onça* eihnã  
*orelha*..... ãmohábm *ouvido emp'oi surdo* ãmp'oi mmãnggĩng  
*osso*..... ãbtoi *versão usada na formação de palavras* àb  
*ouvido*..... emp'oi *orelha* ãmohábm *surdo* ãmp'oi mmãnggĩng  
*ovo*..... ãitxã

## **P**

*paca* .....tapa  
*pai*..... ãka  
*pagar*..... hamptxi  
*panela*..... *caneca, panela* hãmptxu'ai  
*pano*..... *pano, roupa* bôhi  
*papagaio*..... naktxe

<i>pássaro</i> .....	pàkâi, pàkâinã <i>passarinho que mora em buracos na terra</i>
<i>pássaro</i> .....	kôkeekà <i>um tipo de pássaro</i> ãnkopa ( <i>um tipo de pássaro</i> )
<i>pau</i> .....	mĩngĩng
<i>pé</i> .....	<i>meu pé, dedo do pé</i> ãpaka
<i>pedra</i> .....	bawai, padi, p'a'ai
<i>pegar</i> .....	nĩngmâng
<i>peito</i> .....	angôkai, txôhôb
<i>peixe</i> .....	mãhãm, txà'kuei
<i>pele</i> .....	kũidã <i>couro, pele</i> paaĩg, txoktxad
<i>pena (de pássaro)</i> .....	atxe, b'akãi
<i>perna</i> .....	amahâi, ãnggĩngkui, inggihôbbôkô
<i>perua</i> .....	<i>um tipo de perua</i> mãtá
<i>pescoço</i> .....	txipai <i>meu pescoço</i> ãtxipai <i>O pescoço é comprido.</i>
<i>Txipai</i>	koi.
<i>pica-pau</i> .....	bikakai
<i>pinto</i> .....	mãngaham
<i>piolho</i> .....	pôkotxõng, txeithui, <i>poucos piolhos</i> p'akatxe (?)
<i>porco</i> .....	<i>porco, cateto/caititu</i> txâhâb. txâb <i>cateto/caititu</i>
<i>txâbna</i>	<i>porco doméstico</i> txâbtxia
<i>povo</i> .....	Hãhãhãi, <i>outro povo</i> Bainã
<i>primo</i> .....	<i>irmão, primo</i> pio
<i>pulso</i> .....	impwabuku
<i>punho</i> .....	à'ũhàki

## Q

<i>quero-quero</i> .....	pakka
<i>Quebre</i> .....	(imperativo) Naô.
<i>queixo</i> .....	ãtiati

## R

<i>rã</i> .....	b'iitxàb'
<i>rabo</i> .....	<i>cobra, rabo</i> ãnggã
<i>rapaz</i> .....	<i>meu filho, nenê, menino pequeno, moça, rapaz</i> ãkô
<i>rato</i> .....	<i>hampê rato do mato</i> tetô
<i>rio</i> .....	<i>ngahã rio cheio</i> nàkupà
<i>rir</i> .....	ãntxad
<i>roupa</i> .....	<i>pano, roupa</i> bôhi

## S

<i>sacola</i> .....	kànggã
<i>sangue</i> .....	ãheb
<i>sapo</i> .....	uank'i, hampágn
<i>sariguê</i> .....	txahu
<i>seco</i> .....	<i>A terra está seca.</i> Ham o txe'.
<i>semente</i> .....	mĩkahab
<i>serra</i> .....	hamtiá
<i>socó</i> .....	tatiá
<i>sol</i> .....	bekoi, manu, <i>céu, sol</i> mǎnggutxia
<i>sorrir</i> .....	atxuhĩ
<i>suar</i> .....	hamp'átxe
<i>sucurí</i> .....	angatxia
<i>surdo</i> .....	ẽmp'oi mmǎnggĩng

## T

<i>tabaco</i> .....	<i>kahab fumo</i> txàminiãũ kahab
<i>tamanduá</i> .....	txuĩ

<i>tatu</i> .....	uhãi, uwid
<i>taquara</i> .....	àkai
<i>teiú</i> .....	aktxe
<i>terra</i> .....	hãhãm, hãm <i>A terra está seca</i> . Hãm o txê'.
<i>testa</i> .....	'ã'ii
<i>tossir</i> .....	à'amahe
<i>tres</i> .....	mounhí
<i>tripa</i> .....	<i>tripa, barriga</i> ãke, ãkehe
<i>trovão</i> .....	kegtom <i>chuva, trovão</i> kehe
<i>tucano</i> .....	àngài

## U

<i>um</i> .....	abakatxe
<i>unha</i> .....	pahabtai <i>minha unha</i> ãpahabtai
<i>urinar</i> .....	ãntiuitiui
<i>urubu</i> .....	sapôkâi, taahài
<i>urucum</i> .....	iegôtxu

## V

<i>Vamos!</i> .....	Ahĩkabm!
<i>vara de pesca</i> .....	paibm
<i>vassoura</i> .....	hoi
<i>vazio</i> .....	hàmtxôai
<i>veado</i> .....	mãngãĩ
<i>vento</i> .....	hàmtxha'i
<i>Venha!</i> .....	Txopa!



~ Baenã-Pataxó Hãhãhãe--Português ~

A

abakatxe .....	<i>um</i>
abatxe .....	<i>dois</i>
abkahâi .....	<i>gente</i>
Adjàài? Akte. ....	<i>Como vai? Tudo bem.</i>
Ahĩkabm!.....	<i>Vamos!</i>
akâiéko .....	<i>cacique</i>
aktxe.....	<i>dez (?), teiú</i>
amahâi .....	<i>joelho, perna</i>
amohoi .....	<i>morrer</i>
anĩ.....	<i>parte superior do braço</i>
angoho .....	<i>lua</i>
angôkai .....	<i>peito</i>
angtai .....	<i>minha boca (veja hĩtai, ãtakaôï)</i>
atxaka .....	<i>gritar</i>
atxekõ .....	<i>coxa</i>
Atxi àmàngàm? .....	<i>Você tomou banho?</i>
atxihĩ .....	<i>nariz</i>
atxipai .....	<i>pescoço</i>
atxuhĩ .....	<i>sorrir</i>
A' to.....	<i>Ele morreu.</i>

Ã

ãhũi .....	<i>irmão, primo</i>
ãkahoĩ.....	<i>amigo</i>
ãke.....	<i>barriga, tripa</i>
ãkehe.....	<i>barriga, tripa (forma comprida de ãke)</i>
ãkobm.....	<i>sua gordura</i>
ãkô.....	<i>meu filho, nenê, menino pequeno, moça, rapaz</i>
ãngtxai .....	<i>dia</i>
ãnũkái.....	<i>mama</i>
ãpahabtai.....	<i>minha unha</i>
ãpaka.....	<i>meu pé, dedo do pé</i>
ãta.....	<i>coração</i>
ãtekài.....	<i>esposa</i>

## À

à.....	<i>machado</i>
àhà .....	<i>machado</i>
àitàbm.....	<i>espingarda</i>
àkai.....	<i>taquara</i>
àkà .....	<i>machado</i>
àmàngàm .....	<i>tomar banho</i>
àmbàkohai .....	<i>cabeça</i>
àmbàkohaitai.....	<i>chapéu</i>
àmbwai 'ôi .....	<i>caminho</i>
àmbwì .....	<i>assobiar</i>
àmpahàb .....	<i>dedo</i>
àmpahabokoi .....	<i>dedo médio</i>
àmpahabtadi .....	<i>dedo polegar</i>
ànggàipìhì (?) .....	<i>comprar</i>
àopai.....	<i>mel</i>

apki.....	<i>macaco guigó</i>
àb.....	<i>osso (versão usada na formação de outras palavras)</i>
àbtoi.....	<i>osso</i>
àpoi.....	<i>inhame</i>
àtói.....	<i>besouro grande</i>
àtxiupa .....	<i>adulturar</i>
à'amahe .....	<i>tossir</i>
à'ãmpàĩ .....	<i>doente</i>
à'ũhàki .....	<i>punho</i>

## Ã

ãgum .....	<i>dormir, deitar, deitado</i>
ãheb .....	<i>sangue</i>
ãitxã .....	<i>ovo</i>
ãnkopa.....	<i>um tipo de pássaro</i>
hãmãnggãi .....	<i>faca, facão</i>
ãmagi .....	<i>joelho</i>
ãmbũ .....	<i>barriga</i>
ãmpahab .....	<i>minha mão</i>
ãmpekoi .....	<i>corpo</i>
ãmpôka .....	<i>chorar</i>
ãnggã .....	<i>cobra, rabo, jararacuçu</i>
ãnggãtxia .....	<i>sucurí</i>
Ãnggãniao. ....	<i>Ele está coçando a perna.</i>
ãnggìngkui .....	<i>perna</i>
ãnghukàb' .....	<i>devagar</i>
ãngku .....	<i>nenê</i>
ãngkupà .....	<i>ligeiro</i>
ãntiuitiui .....	<i>urinar</i>

ãntxad .....	<i>rir</i>
ãntxe .....	<i>cabelo</i>
ãtakaôï .....	<i>minha boca (veja angtai, hĩtai)</i>
ãthui .....	<i>dente</i>
ãtiati .....	<i>queixo</i>
ãtxihĩ .....	<i>nariz</i>
ãtxipai .....	<i>meu pescoço</i>
ãtxõhũ .....	<i>língua</i>
ãtxukú .....	<i>morrer</i>

ãwa.....	<i>olho</i>
ã'ãtxo .....	<i>coração (veja ãta)</i>
ã'uhã .....	<i>costas</i>
ã'wà'wi .....	<i>cego</i>

## **B**

Baheta .....	<i>nome de mulher</i>
bahiko.....	<i>casa (veja pâhâi)</i>
Bainã.....	<i>outro povo</i>
bakaitxingã.....	<i>galinha</i>
bawai .....	<i>pedra</i>
bàkaitxã.....	<i>chateado(a)</i>
beketxia .....	<i>mulher</i>
bekoi .....	<i>sol</i>
bektxia .....	<i>mulher</i>
bìkakai.....	<i>pica-pau</i>
biki'ũ .....	<i>macaco</i>
bohoi .....	<i>arco, flecha, arco e flecha</i>
bôhi .....	<i>pano, roupa</i>

bôhôb .....	<i>macaco (versão comprida de bôb)</i>
bôitũ hintad .....	<i>macaco</i>
bôkôhaimmã .....	<i>cabelo branco</i>
bôkôihaliu .....	<i>chapéu</i>
bômãnggãhiã .....	<i>lagarto</i>
bue.....	<i>cachorro</i>
buku.....	<i>cinza, cinzas (versão curta de bukuhu)</i>
bukuhu .....	<i>cinza, cinzas (versão comprida de buku)</i>
Butx.....	<i>nome de mulher</i>
b'âkâi .....	<i>pena de pássaro</i>
b'âk'âhâb' .....	<i>apagar</i>
b'itxâb' .....	<i>rã</i>
b'ôk'âi.....	<i>arco, flecha, arco e flecha</i>

## **D**

Dújio.....	<i>nome de homem</i>
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## **E**

eihnã.....	<i>jaguar, onça</i>
eimãnggãi .....	<i>cotovelo</i>
em.....	<i>braço</i>
etxũí .....	<i>marido</i>
euhmã.....	<i>lenha</i>
eummã .....	<i>ascender</i>
ewaĩng.....	<i>cágado, jabuti</i>
ewaĩngkobm.....	<i>gordura de jabuti</i>

## **Ê**

ẽ.....	<i>braço, antebraço, parte superior do braço (veja anã)</i>
ẽmohábm.....	<i>orelha</i>
ẽmpub .....	<i>chifre</i>
ẽmp'oi .....	<i>ouvido</i>
ẽmp'oi mmãnggĩng.....	<i>surdo</i>
ẽngkài .....	<i>mãe</i>
ẽka.....	<i>pai</i>
ẽté.....	<i>meu bigode</i>

## *G*

goagnàm.....	<i>bota</i>
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## *H*

hanguĩ .....	<i>noite</i>
hãhãm .....	<i>terra (a versão comprida da palavra hãm)</i>
hãm.....	<i>terra (a versão curta da palavra hãhãm)</i>
hamãgui .....	<i>mato</i>
Hamikai.....	<i>Estou chateado(a).</i>
hamkahài.....	<i>dança</i>
hampágn.....	<i>sapo</i>
hampôtxig .....	<i>duro</i>
hamptxì .....	<i>pagar</i>
hamptxoã .....	<i>limpo</i>
hampwìtxìg .....	<i>mole</i>
hamp'ãtxe .....	<i>suar</i>
hamp'ui .....	<i>buraco</i>
hamtia.....	<i>serra</i>
Hãhãhãi .....	<i>povo</i>

hãngnahai .....	<i>amanha</i>
hãpe .....	<i>gato</i>
hãwauhé.....	<i>céu</i>
hãwúi.....	<i>areia</i>
hãmaitxihã.....	<i>dia</i>
hãmàhãi .....	<i>folha</i>
hãmàhãĩ .....	<i>anta</i>
hãmãnggãai.....	<i>faca, facão</i>
hãmãnggãaiko .....	<i>faca</i>
hãmi.....	<i>madrugada</i>
hãmpê .....	<i>rato</i>
hãmptxu'ai .....	<i>caneca, panela</i>
hãmtxha'ĩ .....	<i>vento</i>
hãmtxôai .....	<i>vazio</i>
heb.....	<i>líquido (palavra também usada na formação de palavras)</i>
hĩtai.....	<i>boca (veja angtai, ãtakaôĩ)</i>
hĩntaĩn .....	<i>mutum</i>
hoi.....	<i>vassoura</i>
hũnka .....	<i>fruta</i>

## **I**

iegôtxu.....	<i>urucum</i>
impwabuku .....	<i>pulso</i>
inggihôbôkô .....	<i>perna</i>
inggwà .....	<i>ombro</i>
ipakéi .....	<i>borboleta</i>
ipakeĩng .....	<i>lagarto</i>
ithai .....	<i>um tipo de bicho</i>

itôhã .....céu  
itxhãhãkeb .....lança

## *I*

ìbikãĩ .....mosca  
ìbwai .....carga (?)

## *K*

kaa'ì .....embira  
kab .....boi  
kabahai .....cavalo  
kahábm .....tabaco  
kahnakô .....homem  
katxahab.....cansado  
kavang .....feijão  
kãhĩ'.....linha  
kàgnggã .....sacola  
kàhàbm.....maribondo  
kàhài.....bolsa feita com um cordão, como se faz uma rede de pescar  
kebka .....banana, banana da terra  
kegtom.....trovão  
kehãntiá .....grande, alto  
kehe.....chuva, trovão  
kobm.....gordura  
kohoi .....cipó  
kokaã'ú.....Alô.  
kôkeekà.....passarinho que mora em buracos na terra



koi.....	<i>comprido</i>
koitka .....	<i>pé de jaca</i>
Kokái .....	<i>nome de homem</i>
kokonimbó.....	<i>macaco</i>
koktxã .....	<i>bocejar</i>
komá .....	<i>comer</i>
kove koi .....	<i>corpo dele</i>
Kuin kahab mikahab. ....	<i>Quero comer.</i>
kuki .....	<i>macaco</i>
kumã .....	<i>engolir</i>
kupik.....	<i>criança</i>
kupinene .....	<i>criança (menino)</i>
kūidã.....	<i>pele</i>

## **M**

Majué .....	<i>nome de homem</i>
mahũ' .....	<i>lua</i>
manu .....	<i>sol</i>
mangĩ.....	<i>formiguinha de casa</i>
mãb'ô.....	<i>javalina</i>
mãhãm .....	<i>peixe</i>
mãngãĩ .....	<i>veado</i>
mãnguaham .....	<i>espinho</i>
mãngaham.....	<i>pinto</i>
mãnggũhã .....	<i>estrela</i>
mãnggutxia .....	<i>céu, sol</i>
mãtá.....	<i>um tipo de perua</i>
mihná .....	<i>arvore</i>
mikahab .....	<i>chão, semente</i>

mimamãká	<i>laranja</i>
mimnà .....	<i>cama</i>
mĩhĩm.....	<i>madeira (versão longa da palavra mĩm)</i>
mĩkà .....	<i>fruta</i>
mĩkahab .....	<i>semente</i>
mĩm.....	<i>madeira (versão curta da palavra mĩhĩm)</i>
mĩmpaká.....	<i>mato, floresta</i>
mĩngĩng.....	<i>pau</i>
mĩp'áb .....	<i>cana</i>
mĩp'áb'heb'.....	<i>cachaça</i>
mĩp'oi.....	<i>canoa</i>
mĩptói.....	<i>espetinho</i>
mmãĩ .....	<i>jacaré, crocodilo</i>
Moatepá!.....	<i>Corra!</i>
mohab .....	<i>assar carne</i>
moho .....	<i>morto</i>
mounhí .....	<i>três</i>
mukuhaimã.....	<i>idade</i>
mu'anggãmuniàm .....	<i>estrangeiro</i>

## N

Naô.....	<i>Quebre. (imperativo)</i>
nãiko .....	<i>costas</i>
naktxe.....	<i>papagaio</i>
nàkupà .....	<i>rio cheio</i>
-nã.....	<i>suffixo que dá ênfase</i>
nãnggunã .....	<i>cansado</i>
niama'atxi .....	<i>casar-se</i>
nĩngmâng.....	<i>pegar</i>

ntxekũi .....mulher

## **NG**

ngahã ..... rio

ngahe ..... cutia

ngakua ..... despejar

ngãhãng .....agua

## **O**

ohoi.....mandioca

oipa.....gordura de costela

oitam.....farinha

## **Õ**

Õhak ..... nome de homem

## **P**

paaĩg ..... couro, pele

padi .....pedra

pàgnom.....abelha de cor preta

pahab ..... mão

pahabm..... côco

pahabnã..... banana pequena

pahabtai..... unha

pahôbtxab ..... milho

paiàbm..... vara de pesca

pakai.....	<i>galinha</i>
pakaitxeó .....	<i>galinha</i>
pakka .....	<i>quero-quero</i>
papai.....	<i>abelha, mel</i>
pâhâi .....	<i>casa (veja bahiko)</i>
pâkai .....	<i>cará</i>
pâhĩ.....	<i>luz</i>
pâhnã.....	<i>mel</i>
pâkâi .....	<i>passarinho, pássaro</i>
pâmmia .....	<i>morcego</i>
pâkâinã.. .....	<i>pássaro</i>
pegpai.....	<i>abelha de cor vermelha</i>
pehnã.....	<i>abelha de cor verdinha</i>
Petxáing .....	<i>nome de mulher</i>
piâi .....	<i>lagarta</i>
piái .....	<i>dinheiro</i>
pió .....	<i>irmão, primo</i>
piôu.....	<i>a canta</i>
pohoi.....	<i>arco, arco e flecha</i>
popa.....	<i>batata (veja txupà)</i>
pôkotxõng .....	<i>piolho</i>
pôa.....	<i>gavião</i>
p'akatxe.....	<i>poucos piolhos (?)</i>
p'ap'ai .....	<i>mel</i>
p'a'ai.....	<i>pedra</i>

## S

sapôkâi.....	<i>urubu</i>
sapôkâia.....	<i>negro</i>

## **T**

tab.....	<i>fogo (versão curta de tahab)</i>
tahab .....	<i>fogo (versão comprida de tab)</i>
taahài.....	<i>urubu</i>
tahu.....	<i>um tipo de bicho</i>
tapa .....	<i>paca</i>
tab'ôi.....	<i>fumaça</i>
tab'okà.....	<i>carvão</i>
taptàbm.....	<i>frio</i>
tatia.....	<i>socó</i>
tàgwei.....	<i>cascardo, jacaré</i>
tetôi.....	<i>rato do mato</i>
tetoiài.....	<i>bicho de pé</i>
tôhõ.....	<i>coruja</i>
toihnã.....	<i>castigar</i>
toktai.....	<i>saco de couro de muriquí para mel e agui</i>
Tupa.....	<i>Deus</i>
Txopa!.....	<i>Venha!</i>

## **Tx**

txà'kuei.....	<i>peixe</i>
txagi .....	<i>capim</i>
txaha .....	<i>flor</i>
txahu .....	<i>sariguê</i>
txakid .....	<i>carrapato</i>

txamannà .....	<i>amargo</i>
txavi .....	<i>macaco</i>
txawã .....	<i>capivara</i>
txâb.....	<i>porco, cateto, caititu (forma curta de txâhâb)</i>
txâbná.....	<i>cateto, caititu</i>
txâhâb .....	<i>porco, cateto, caititu (forma longa de txâb)</i>
txâbtxia.....	<i>porco doméstico</i>
txàminiãũ kahabu.....	<i>fumo</i>
txâuhiñà .....	<i>um tipo de bicho</i>
txeg.....	<i>grande</i>
Txeije .....	<i>nome de homem</i>
txeithui .....	<i>piolho</i>
Txihimĩnguĩ .....	<i>nome de mulher</i>
txipai.....	<i>pescoço</i>
txipàm .....	<i>formiga</i>
Txitxiak .....	<i>nome de mulher</i>
txàmãnggãi.....	<i>fígado</i>
txoktxad.....	<i>couro, pele</i>
txo'opã .....	<i>boi</i>
txôhôb .....	<i>beber, peito</i>
txôipehinã .....	<i>doce</i>
txôkôinnã.....	<i>carneiro</i>
txôuing .....	<i>bicho preguiça</i>
txupà .....	<i>batata</i>
txuí .....	<i>tamanduá</i>
txôwĩng .....	<i>carne</i>
txuk'ãi .....	<i>um tipo de bicho</i>

## *U*

uangk'i ..... *sapo*  
 uhãï ..... *tatu*  
 uhãï ..... *buraco*  
 uhui..... *aimpim*  
 uhũï..... *mandioca*  
 uki ..... *macaco*  
 ukĩng ..... *macaco*  
 uwid ..... *tatu*  
 'ui..... *buraco (versão usada na formação de palavras)*

## X

xĩm ..... *carne/corpo*

,

'ai..... *sufixo que se torna verbos em substantivos*

'ã'ï ..... *testa*

'u'ũï ..... *fumaça*

'oi..... *cavar*

### ~Palavras sem significado conhecido~

hamoi

hampkìhìt

kaai

mĩkahe'bkoï

nahã

'ã'ãï

## ~ Kamakã ~

Estas palavras na língua Kamakã foram encontradas em uma lista comparativa de Curt Nimuendajú do ano 1938. Algumas também foram contribuídas por Marinho Pereira dos Santos no dia 29 de janeiro de 2015.

**Pronúncia:** Estas palavras estão escritas usando as mesmas letras que as palavras Baenã-Pataxó Hãhãhãe, então segue as mesmas dicas de pronúncia, com as seguintes diferenças: (1) quando uma palavra não tiver ênfase na segunda sílaba, ênfase está marcada com " ´ ", (2) "ǰ" é parecido com o som de "r" na palavra "porta", como é pronunciada na Bahia (IPA /x/), (3) "y" é parecido com o "i" em "mandioca", (4) tenha cuidado de pronunciar "h" separadamente, quando segue "p", "k" e "s".

Marinho Pereira dos Santos também explicou que para chamar alguém, se diz "Guãni!". A resposta, quando alguém for chamado assim, seria "Háo."

## Vocabulário

### Português - Kamakã

<i>agua</i> .....	<i>agua, chuva</i> txã
<i>anta</i> .....	ere
<i>arco</i> .....	kuã
<i>arma</i> .....	<i>espingarda, fuzil, carabina, qualquer arma</i> likokrína
<i>árvore</i> .....	huĩ
<i>boca</i> .....	(txa)harekó
<i>braço</i> .....	nihũá
<i>branco</i> .....	kekoro
<i>cabeça</i> .....	hero
<i>cabelo</i> .....	ke
<i>cachorro</i> .....	txaǰke
<i>canoa</i> .....	wĩka



<i>casa</i> .....	dea
<i>chuva</i> .....	<i>agua, chuva</i> txã
<i>cobra</i> .....	khe
<i>comer</i> .....	<i>Vamos comer!</i> Nyũkwaǎká!
<i>criança</i> .....	kwã'kara
<i>dente</i> .....	txo
<i>espingarda</i> .....	<i>espingarda, fuzil, carambina, qualquer arma</i>
likokrína	
<i>estrela</i> .....	phiõ
<i>flecha</i> .....	huã'i
<i>fogo</i> .....	txaǎke
<i>grande</i> .....	ĩ'kiwa
<i>homem</i> .....	dyíma
<i>lenha</i> .....	wuindá
<i>língua</i> .....	txahaé
<i>lua</i> .....	txie
<i>macaco</i> .....	káũ
<i>machado</i> .....	katxakedoǎkó
<i>mãe</i> .....	dira
<i>mandioca</i> .....	khax
<i>mão</i> .....	nĩkǎ
<i>milho</i> .....	kotxu
<i>mulher</i> .....	ĩerá
<i>nariz</i> .....	nĩdyikó
<i>negro</i> .....	guahdaxué
<i>olho</i> .....	khedo
<i>onça</i> .....	txake-hidyé
<i>orelha</i> .....	nĩkó(ka)
<i>pai</i> .....	dyiã
<i>pássaro</i> .....	xana

<i>pau</i> .....	<i>huĩ'</i>
<i>pé</i> .....	<i>wade</i>
<i>pedra</i> .....	<i>kĩa</i>
<i>peixe</i> .....	<i>huã</i>
<i>pequeno</i> .....	<i>ĩ'galahádã</i>
<i>perna</i> .....	<i>tse</i>
<i>preto</i> .....	<i>ĩ'kedá</i>
<i>sol</i> .....	<i>dyotse</i>
<i>terra</i> .....	<i>e</i>
<i>veado</i> .....	<i>harĩ'</i>

### ***Kamakã - Português***

<i>dea</i> .....	<i>casa</i>
<i>dira</i> .....	<i>mãe</i>
<i>dyiã</i> .....	<i>pai</i>
<i>dyíma</i> .....	<i>homem</i>
<i>dyotse</i> .....	<i>sol</i>
<i>e</i> .....	<i>terra</i>
<i>ere</i> .....	<i>anta</i>
<i>guahdaxué</i> .....	<i>negro (pessoa)</i>
<i>harĩ'</i> .....	<i>veado</i>
<i>hero</i> .....	<i>cabeça</i>
<i>huã</i> .....	<i>peixe</i>
<i>huã'i</i> .....	<i>flecha</i>
<i>huĩ</i> .....	<i>árvore</i>
<i>huĩ'</i> .....	<i>pau</i>
<i>ĩerá</i> .....	<i>mulher</i>
<i>ĩ'galahádã</i> .....	<i>pequeno</i>
<i>ĩ'kedá</i> .....	<i>preto (a cor)</i>

ĩkiwa.....	<i>grande</i>
katxakedoǰkó.....	<i>machado</i>
káũ.....	<i>macaco</i>
ke.....	<i>cabelo</i>
kekoro.....	<i>branco</i>
khax.....	<i>mandioca</i>
khe.....	<i>cobra</i>
khedo.....	<i>olho</i>
kĩa.....	<i>pedra</i>
kotxu.....	<i>milho</i>
kuã.....	<i>arco</i>
kwã'kara.....	<i>criança</i>
likokrína.....	<i>espingarda, fuzil, carabina, qualquer arma</i>
nĩdyikó.....	<i>nariz</i>
nihũá.....	<i>braço</i>
nĩkó(ka).....	<i>orelha</i>
nĩkǰ.....	<i>mão</i>
Nyũkwaǰká!.....	<i>Vamos comer!</i>
phiõ.....	<i>estrela</i>
tse.....	<i>perna</i>
txã.....	<i>agua, chuva</i>
txahaé.....	<i>língua</i>
(txa) harekó.....	<i>boca</i>
txake-hidyé.....	<i>onça</i>
txaǰke.....	<i>cachorro</i>
txaǰke.....	<i>fogo</i>
txie.....	<i>lua</i>
txo.....	<i>dente</i>
wade.....	<i>pé</i>
wĩka.....	<i>canoa</i>

wuindá..... *lenha*

xana..... *pássaro*

## ~ Kariri-Sapuyá ~

A grande maioria destas palavras foram registradas por Karl Friedrich Philipp von Martius em 1818. Nimuendajú usou uma lista delas em uma comparação linguística depois da sua visita na região em 1938, e aparece algumas que não foram publicadas na lista de von Martius. É possível que alguém dos Sapuyá que Nimuendajú conheceu nessa viagem ainda conhecia alguma palavra nesta língua.

**Pronúncia:** Sem gravações das palavras, não podemos ter certeza de quais sons von Martius queria representar com estas letras. Para facilitar a leitura, as consoantes foram modificados para refletir a guia de pronúncia do início do dicionário. As vogais são iguais às da lista original. Isto também significa que ênfase **não** está marcado nas palavras. Qualquer diacrítico (marca) é da lista original.

### Vocabulário

#### Português - Kariri-Sapuyá

<i>amarelo</i> .....	kruhellihüh
<i>azul</i> .....	krakullihüh
<i>baixo, pequeno</i> .....	hanyehéh
<i>banho</i> .....	<i>Eu tomo banho.</i> Latibögiroanah.
<i>barba</i> .....	zanatih
<i>barriga</i> .....	muttuh
<i>beber</i> .....	<i>Eu bebo.</i> Mitsxätzufazikuyeng.
<i>boca</i> .....	<i>boca, rosto</i> orizeh
<i>bonito</i> .....	kanglitsxuih
<i>braço</i> .....	tzaneh
<i>branco</i> .....	( <i>pessoa</i> ) karai
<i>brincar</i> .....	<i>brincar, fazer piada</i> kurazikhülèh
<i>cabeça</i> .....	zabuh (nukibmú maíp)

<i>cabelo</i> .....	hotsebuh
<i>cachimbo</i> .....	poiuh-poiüh
<i>calor</i> .....	buikobehüh
<i>cantar</i> .....	<i>Eu canto</i> . Dokakammaräüleh.
<i>carne</i> .....	<i>carne assada</i> thabuneh gratzo
<i>casa</i> .....	baté
<i>céu</i> .....	legge
<i>chamar</i> .....	<i>Eu chamo</i> . Kakatzikòh.
<i>cheiroso</i> .....	<i>estar cheiroso</i> tuxegtsixihüh
<i>comadre, compadre</i> .....	( <i>uma chama e resposta entre comadres/compadres?</i> ) Anülleh! Sxiletleh.
<i>comer</i> .....	<i>Eu como</i> . Buitokuingnulèh.
<i>corpo</i> .....	luyöwagoh
<i>cortar</i> .....	<i>cortar carne para assar</i> thabo(r)hehgratzo hülleh a kobotoh
<i>costela</i> .....	missih
<i>couro</i> .....	<i>couro de boi</i> irogratzo
<i>coxa</i> .....	uoeH
<i>dente</i> .....	dza
<i>descer</i> .....	<i>Eu desço</i> . Hitsxüb(o)athöh.
<i>deus</i> .....	tubbuih
<i>dia</i> .....	kayabluih
<i>diabo</i> .....	niu(ng)oh
<i>doer</i> .....	<i>doe, doer</i> unübet thathayaih
<i>dormir</i> .....	<i>Eu durmo</i> . Takuinihùh.
<i>estrela</i> .....	bathüh
<i>farinha de milho</i> .....	musikinang
<i>feio</i> .....	lelebohüh
<i>filha</i> .....	iniutkütsih
<i>filho</i> .....	giniuleh

<i>fogo</i> .....	iuú, essùh
<i>frio</i> .....	giniakunih
<i>gordura</i> .....	huinyataheh
<i>gostar</i> .....	<i>Eu gosto</i> . Tuxegkihühileh.
<i>homem</i> .....	tsohó, (g)löh
<i>ir, alí</i> .....	takuihillöh
<i>irmã</i> .....	pukköèh
<i>irmão</i> .....	g'ibuléh
<i>leite</i> .....	guma moneh
<i>língua</i> .....	nunüh
<i>longo</i> .....	sorotsethaheh
<i>lua</i> .....	gayakúh
<i>mãe</i> .....	hikgàeh
<i>magro</i> .....	gratzebaheh
<i>mama</i> .....	mamoèh
<i>mão</i> .....	mussoèh
<i>mato, floresta</i> .....	litsi
<i>menino</i> .....	miukòh
<i>missa</i> .....	wanga
<i>muitos</i> .....	puyaxük <i>muitos homens</i> zoghenihoh
<i>mulher</i> .....	kütsi
<i>nariz</i> .....	nabitzeh
<i>negro</i> .....	(pessoa) goh
<i>noite</i> .....	makayà
<i>olho</i> .....	poh
<i>orelha</i> .....	penix
<i>osso</i> .....	gimmeh
<i>ouvir</i> .....	<i>Eu ouço</i> . Natzothehzikaignah.
<i>padre</i> .....	uahre
<i>pai</i> .....	poitzuh

<i>parente</i> .....	yatsmmuh
<i>pé</i> .....	puih
<i>peito</i> .....	krabuh
<i>pele</i> .....	iroh
<i>pena</i> .....	<i>pena (de pássaro)</i> ikküh <i>pena de pato</i> ikkypatohüh
<i>pênis</i> .....	<i>pênis, testículos</i> niu(r)leh
<i>pescoço</i> .....	kanekah
<i>pequeno</i> .....	<i>pequeno, baixo</i> hanyehéh
<i>planta</i> .....	phüh
<i>poucos</i> .....	pupü lupisxü
<i>prato</i> .....	guttuh
<i>prego</i> .....	tsxibayah
<i>preto</i> .....	( <i>cor</i> ) kotzoliüh
<i>querer</i> .....	<i>Eu quero.</i> Zukailitòh.
<i>relâmpago</i> .....	kitsxebotsxüh
<i>rosto</i> .....	<i>boca, rosto</i> orizeh
<i>sangue</i> .....	hibblüh
<i>sol</i> .....	utsxèh
<i>subir</i> .....	<i>Eu subo.</i> Thoigoboehgemuih.
<i>terra</i> .....	radah
<i>testa</i> .....	kobèh
<i>tio</i> .....	kukkùh
<i>trovão</i> .....	tzoklühlih
<i>umbigo</i> .....	muklih
<i>urinar</i> .....	sinsekkoh
<i>vagina</i> .....	sinueh
<i>velho</i> .....	nlanèh
<i>ver</i> .....	<i>Eu vejo.</i> Natzothehhinyoh.
<i>vermelho</i> .....	krohelliüh
<i>vir</i> .....	<i>Venha!</i> Kakazihoh!



*Kariri-Sapuyá - Português*

Anülleh! Sxitleh.....	<i>comadre/compadre (uma chama e resposta entre comadres/compadres?)</i>
baté.....	<i>casa</i>
bathüh.....	<i>estrela</i>
buikobehüh.....	<i>calor</i>
Buitokuingnulèh. ....	<i>Eu como.</i>
Dokakamaruaüleh. ....	<i>Eu canto.</i>
dza.....	<i>dente</i>
gayakùh.....	<i>lua</i>
g'ibuléh.....	<i>irmão</i>
gimmeh.....	<i>osso</i>
giniakunih.....	<i>frio</i>
giniuleh.....	<i>filho</i>
goh.....	<i>negro (pessoa)</i>
gratzebaheh.....	<i>magro</i>
guma moneh.....	<i>leite</i>
guttuh.....	<i>prato</i>
hanyehéh.....	<i>baixo, pequeno</i>
hibblüh.....	<i>sangue</i>
hikgàeh.....	<i>mãe</i>
Hitsxüb(o)athöh. ....	<i>Eu desço.</i>
hotsebuh.....	<i>cabelo</i>
huinyataheh.....	<i>gordura</i>
ikküh.....	<i>pena (de pássaro)</i>
ikkypatohüh.....	<i>pena de pato</i>

iniutkütsih.....	<i>filha</i>
irogratzo.....	<i>couro (de boi)</i>
iroh.....	<i>pele</i>
iuú, essùh.....	<i>fogo</i>
Kakatzikòh. ....	<i>Eu chamo.</i>
Kakazihoh! .....	<i>Venha!</i>
kanekah.....	<i>pescoço</i>
kanglitsxuih.....	<i>bonito</i>
karai.....	<i>branco (pessoa)</i>
kayabluih.....	<i>dia</i>
kitsxebotsxühüh.....	<i>relâmpago</i>
kobèh.....	<i>testa</i>
kotzoliühüh.....	<i>preto (cor)</i>
krabuh.....	<i>peito</i>
krakullihüh.....	<i>azul</i>
krohelliühüh.....	<i>vermelho</i>
kruhelliühüh.....	<i>amarelo</i>
kukkùh.....	<i>tio</i>
kurazikhülèh.....	<i>brincar, fazer piada</i>
kütsi.....	<i>mulher</i>
Latibögiroanah. ....	<i>Eu tomo banho.</i>
legge.....	<i>céu</i>
lelebohüh.....	<i>feio/feia</i>
litsi.....	<i>mato, floresta</i>
luyöwagoh.....	<i>corpo</i>
makayà.....	<i>noite</i>
mamoèh.....	<i>mama</i>
missih.....	<i>costela</i>
Mitsxätzuzafazikuyeng. ....	<i>Eu bebo.</i>
miukòh.....	<i>menino</i>

muklih.....	<i>umbigo</i>
musikinang.....	<i>farinha de milho</i>
mussoèh.....	<i>mão</i>
muttuh.....	<i>barriga</i>
nabitzeh.....	<i>nariz</i>
Natzothehhinyoh. ....	<i>Eu vejo.</i>
Natzothehzikaignah. ....	<i>Eu ouço.</i>
niu(ng)oh.....	<i>diabo</i>
niu(r)leh .....	<i>pênis, testículos</i>
nlanèh.....	<i>velho</i>
nunüh.....	<i>língua</i>
orizeh.....	<i>boca, rosto</i>
penix.....	<i>orelha</i>
phüh.....	<i>planta</i>
poh.....	<i>olho</i>
poitzuh.....	<i>pai</i>
poiuh-poiüh.....	<i>cachimbo</i>
puih.....	<i>pé</i>
pukköèh.....	<i>irmã</i>
pupü lupisxü.....	<i>poucos</i>
puyaxük.....	<i>muitos</i>
radah.....	<i>terra</i>
sinsekkoh.....	<i>urinar</i>
sinueh.....	<i>vagina</i>
sorotsethaheh.....	<i>longo</i>
takuihillöh.....	<i>alí, ir</i>
Takuinihüh. ....	<i>Eu durmo.</i>
thabo(r)hehgratzo hülle a kobotoh.....	<i>cortar carne para assar</i>
thabuneh gratzo.....	<i>carne assada</i>
Thoigoboehgemuih. ....	<i>Eu subo.</i>

tshohó, (g)löh.....	<i>homem</i>
tsxibayah.....	<i>prego</i>
Tubbuih.....	<i>Deus</i>
Tuxegkihühileh. ....	<i>Eu gosto.</i>
tuxegtsxihüh.....	<i>estar cheiroso, cheirar bem</i>
tzaneh.....	<i>braço</i>
tzoklühlih.....	<i>trovão</i>
uahre.....	<i>padre</i>
unübet thatayaih.....	<i>doe, doer</i>
uoeh.....	<i>coxa</i>
utsxèh.....	<i>sol</i>
wanga.....	<i>missa</i>
yatsammuh.....	<i>parente</i>
zabuh (nukibmú maíp).....	<i>cabeça</i>
zanatih.....	<i>barba</i>
zoghениhoh.....	<i>muitos homens</i>
Zukailitòh. ....	<i>Eu Quero.</i>

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## 10 Appendix B List of Potentially Baenã Words

These nine words are of uncertain origin. Included, unlabeled, in one of Kurt Nimuendajú's unpublished manuscripts among the materials on the Kamakã language, Loukotka (1963) was informed by an SPI inspector that the words are most likely Baenã. I have copied them here as they appear in Loukotka (1963:54).

1. deer	eželē
2. roe	bakurí
3. fire	kelemés
4. jaguar	patarak
5. black person	kadašužé
6. pig	bonikro
7. rat	pititiŋga
8. monkey	pitirát
9. bull	šēšē

## 11 Appendix C Transcript: Fábio Titiá November 16, 2014

1

- 1 *fazemos parte também (do povo Pataxó) Hãhãhãe eh*  
we are part of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe people um
- 2 *nós viemos na caravana aqui de Pau Brasil ...*  
we came carpooling here from Pau Brasil ...
- 3 *eu convido todas as pessoas que vieram de Pau Brasil pra se reunir aqui junto com a gente ...*  
I invite everyone who came from Pau Brasil to gather here with us ...
- 4 *peçoal de Pau Brasil ...*  
everyone from Pau Brasil ...
- 5 *Rosely ... as menina tá vindo já? ...*  
Rosely ... are the girls coming? ...
- 6 *(embora) também ... (...) Pau Brasil (...) também ... (...) ...*  
let's go [you] too ... (...) Pau Brasil (...) [you too] ... (...) ...
- 7 *(Professora Vaucí) ... (vem aqui fazer parte também).*  
Professor Vaucí ... come here and be a part of it too.
- 8 *Jéssica Nelson.*  
Jessica Nelson.
- 9 *Pessoal lá de Pau Brasil que está todo mundo aqui,*  
Everybody here from Pau Brasil everybody here,
- 10 *vem aqui participar. ...*  
come participate ...
- 11 *então pessoal,*  
So,
- 12 *nós chegamo aqui nesse momento aqui, a gente,*  
we came here in this moment here, we,
- 13 *veio (...) de Pau Brasil pessoal do movimento negro movimento indígena? ...*  
came (...) from Pau Brasil people from the black movement [the] indigenous movement? ...
- 14 *a gente (agradece nesse movimento assim principalmente) falando por uma terra? sem males.*  
we (thank this movement in particular) speaking for a land? without sin.
- 15 *nós lembramos que no ano de dois mil e,*  
we remember that in the year two thousand and,
- 16 *dois?*  
two?
- 17 *teve esse movimento por uma terra sem males lá na nossa aldeia.*  
there was a movement for a land without sin there in our village.
- 18 *Caramurú?*  
Caramurú?
- 19 *aonde reuniu caravana de vários município aonde reunimos bastante pessoas*  
where vans from various cities gathered where many people gathered

20 (*acredita? sim*) *que na:quela época a gente f- teve mais ou menos: umas cinco mil pessoas,*  
 ([do you] believe it? yes) that at that time we w- there were arou:nd some five thousand  
 people,  
 21 *lá na aldeia,*  
 there in the village,  
 22 (... -mente).  
 (... -ly).  
 23 *e foi um encontro, muito forte,*  
 and it was a, very strong, meeting,  
 24 *do qual os ajudou bastante a comunidade indígena.*  
 which really helped the indigenous community.  
 25 *eh Pataxó Hãhãhãe.*  
 uh Pataxó Hãhãhãe.  
 26 *então a luta e::h*  
 and so the struggle u::h  
 27 *a vitória da luta do povo Pataxó Hãhãhãe é muito grato aos movimentos sociais*  
 the victory of the struggle of the Pataxó Hãhãhãe people is very grateful to the social  
 movements  
 28 *às pessoas que acredita,*  
 to people who believe,  
 29 *e defende o povo,*  
 and defend the people,  
 30 *que é excluído,*  
 that is excluded,  
 31 *né da sociedade.*  
 right from society.  
 32 *então a vitória Pataxó Hãhãhãe não foi só dos indígena,*  
 and so the Pataxó Hãhãhãe victory wasn't just [the victory] of the indigenous [people],  
 33 *mas de todos aqueles que apoiaram, né,*  
 but the all of those who supported, right,  
 34 *que oraram, né,*  
 who prayed, right,  
 35 *que rezaram, né,*  
 who prayed, right,  
 36 *e que defenderam a história desse povo.*  
 and who defended the history of that people.  
 37 *então: ... já chegou alí a (os parente que faltava) a gente vai fazer aqui um toré: ...*  
 and so: ... did the relatives who were missing arrive we are going to do a Toré here ...  
 38 *né. todo mundo junto a caravana lá de Pau Brasil.*  
 right. everyone together the van from Pau Brasil.

2

1 *eh ... pessoal. a gente: só tem agradecer a [...] mas assim na região nossa,*  
 uh ... [addressing audience]. we: just have to thank [...] but in our region,  
 2 (*... também*) *tá chovendo muito.*



- (... also) it's raining a lot.
- 3 *e aí pra nós: sair do Pau Brasil pra ir pra aldeia a noite é meio complicada:do certo?*  
and so for us to go from Pau Brasil to go to the village at night is a little complicated right?
- 4 *e aí a gente só tem mais agradecer aqui né a (comida),*  
and so we just have to give our thanks here right for the (food),
- 5 *e dizer pra os demais as pessoas que estão aqui pessoas ligada,*  
and to say to the rest of the people who are here people involved,
- 6 *ao movimento social,*  
in the social movement,
- 7 *e:h a pessoas que: com certeza, a gente não escolhe nada por, pela gente mesmo?*  
uh to people that surely, we don't choose anything for, by ourselves?
- 8 *a gente escolhe porque Deus, né, Tupã,*  
we choose because God, right, Tupã,
- 9 *e nos ilumina e nos orienta,*  
and lights us [lights our way] and guides us,
- 10 *e diz o que devemos seguir.*  
and tells what we should follow.
- 11 *as vez tem muito que escuta o chamado e as vez,*  
sometimes there are many who listen to the call and sometimes,
- 12 *não quer aceitar.*  
don't want to accept it.
- 13 *né,*  
right,
- 14 *e pra questão assim de só fortalecer*  
and for in terms of just strengthening
- 15 *porque a [h]ente teve um momento da gente contar um pouquinho de história,*  
because we had a moment for us to tell a little of our story,
- 16 *lá: na nossa (plenaria né... no instante),*  
there at our (breakout session right ... just now),
- 17 *eh:: eu-,*  
uh:: I-,
- 18 *nós indígena aqui,*  
we indigenous here,
- 19 *fazemos parte de um povo,*  
we are part of a people,
- 20 *do qual nós,*  
from which we,
- 21 *iniciamos nosso processo numa terra bem pequena, né,*  
began our process on a very small [amount of] land, right,
- 22 *de luta, ni '82,*  
in the fight, in '82,
- 23 *a pesar que a nossa luta já foi bem antes.*  
despite [the fact that] our fight was already [started] long before.
- 24 *e ni '82,*  
and in '82,
- 25 *eu vou falar só, bem resumido.*

I will tell just, a quick summary.

26 *nós (vimos) numa área de:*,  
we (lived) in an area that wa:s,

27 *1007, 1070 hectária,*  
1007, 1070 hectares,

28 *de terra, com mais de 2000 índios.*  
of land, with more than 2000 Indians.

29 *nessa localidade vivendo da agricultura.*  
in this place farming for a living.

30 *a gente tínhamos um preconceito muito grande no município de Pau Brasil.*  
we had a lot of prejudice in the city of Pau Brasil.

31 *vivíamos morando lá em casa cuberta,*  
we lived there in houses covered,

32 *de::, capim.*  
wi::th grass.

33 *né, de tábuas,*  
right, made of wooden boards,

34 *né, de taipa.*  
right, [houses made] of mud.

35 *numa situação de: extrema caridade.*  
in a situation o:f extreme poverty.

36 *mas os nossos antepassados nossos anciões,*  
but our ancestors our elders, [lit. ancient ones]

37 *que muito jovem as vezes hoje não dá valor não respeitam,*  
who many young people at times nowadays don't value don't respect,

38 *mas nossos anciões, eles já,*  
but our elders, they already,

39 *previam.*  
foresaw.

40 *eles falava assim "oia meu- oia meus meus filhos netos,*  
they would say "look my- look my my children grandchildren,

41 *um dia essa terra vai estar na mão de vocês.*  
one day this land with be in your hands.

42 *a gente,*  
we,

43 *não pode alcançar,*  
cannot get there,

44 *porque nós já estamos,*  
because we are already,

45 *cansado.*  
tired.

46 *mas nós vamos lutar por vocês,*  
but we are going to fight for you,

47 *mas um dia essa terra vai estar na mão de vocês."*  
but one day this land will be in your hands."

49 *e depois de muita luta de muita confiança de muito acreditar,*

and after much struggle after much faith after much belief,  
 50 *vendo pessoas lideranças da nossa comunidade sendo tirado a vida,*  
 seeing people leaders from our community having their lives taken,  
 51 *né por causa da terra derramando sangue na terra,*  
 right because of the land spilling blood on the land,  
 52 *o nosso povo não desistiu,*  
 our people did not give up,  
 53 *né,*  
 right,  
 54 *se organizou,*  
 they organized themselves,  
 55 *pensou,*  
 they thought,  
 56 *se planejou,*  
 they planned,  
 57 *e continua caminando.*  
 and they continue walking.  
 58 *então povo que morava em mil,*  
 and so [a] people who lived on a thousand,  
 59 *e setenta hectare de terra,*  
 and seventy hectares of land,  
 60 *hoje conseguiu conquistar,*  
 today successfully conquered,  
 61 *o seu território [d]e 54 mil virgula,*  
 their territory of 54 thousand comma,  
 62 *150 hectare,*  
 150 hectares,  
 63 *de terra.*  
 of land.  
 64 *então os Pataxó Hãhãhãe,*  
 and so the Pataxó Hãhãhãe,  
 65 *conseguiu,*  
 succeeded,  
 66 *e:::h honrar uma luta,*  
 u:::h in honoring a fight,  
 67 *do qual (...) a vida de muitas lideranças.*  
 for which (...) the lives of many leaders.  
 68 *tá certo,*  
 right,  
 69 *então,*  
 so,  
 70 *por mais que a gente conquistou o nosso território hoje,*  
 although we conquered our territory today,  
 71 *a gente não é de desistir da luta porque a luta sempre continua,*  
 we aren't going to give up the fight because the fight always goes on,  
 72 *né,*

right,  
 73 *sempre continua,*  
 it always goes on,  
 74 *uma luta pra uma educação diferenciada,*  
 a fight for a differentiated education,  
 75 *uma luta,*  
 a fight,  
 76 *pela liberdade,*  
 for freedom,  
 77 *não é?*  
 isn't that right?  
 78 *então,*  
 so,  
 79 *a luta sempre continue então aos jovens que estão aqui hoje,*  
 the fight always goes on so to the young people who are here today,  
 80 *aqui presente,*  
 present here,  
 81 *tem outros (...) também que tá aqui presente,*  
 there are others (...) also who are present here,  
 82 *eu digo o seguinte.*  
 I say the following.  
 83 *escuta os mais velhos, está certo?*  
 listen to the elders, ok?  
 84 *se vocês querem seguir carreira no movimento social,*  
 if you want to go after a career in the social movement,  
 85 *tem de escutar os mais velho porque se não escutar os mais velho,*  
 you need to listen to the elders because if you don't listen to the elders,  
 86 *com certeza muito de você não vai conseguir,*  
 surely many of you will not succeed,  
 87 *fazer brilhar,*  
 in making [it] shine,  
 88 *a estrela que Deus colocou na vida de cada um de vocês.*  
 the star that God put in the lives of each one of you.  
 89 *está certo?*  
 ok?  
 90 *escute os mais velhos, s:uiga orientação,*  
 listen to the elders, f:ollow [their] advice,  
 91 *né,*  
 right,  
 92 *e faça,*  
 and make it,  
 93 *valer,*  
 count,  
 94 *porque o povo precisa se unir por mais que a mídia,*  
 because the people need to come together whatever the media,  
 95 *por mais que a mí:dia,*

whatever the me:dia,  
96 *por mais que-*,  
whatever-,  
97 (...) *das grandes corporações está dizendo aí*,  
(...) the big corporations are saying out there,  
98 *que não vale a pena*,  
that it doesn't matter,  
99 *a gente tem de acreditar que vale acredite no sonho*,  
we have to believe that it matters believe in the dream,  
100 *e lute por ele que nós vamos*,  
and fight for it because we're going to,  
101 *alcançar*.  
achieve it.  
102 *a todos nosso muito obrigado né*,  
to everyone our thanks right,  
103 *fique com Deus a [h]ente vai seguir a viagem agora a tarde a gente lamenta*  
go with God we're going to be on our way now we regret  
104 (...) *não poder continuar*,  
(...) not being able to stay,  
105 *mas a gente acredita que a energia da união*,  
but we believe that the energy of the union,  
106 *já (renovou) né aqui com demonstração dentro da (qual) a gente conseguiu participar*,  
already (renewed) right here with the demonstration in (which) we were able to participate,  
107 *(esta oração)*.  
(this prayer).  
108 *o nosso muito obrigado*.  
our sincere thanks.

[clapping]

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