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### Language Profile of Patxohã

Patxohã (it is also called Pataxó, Patachó, Patashó, and Pataso, however, Pataxó will be used to refer to the group of people that speak Patxohã for clarification) is a language from the Maxakalí family and Macro-Jê stock (Carvalho and Miranda, “Language and Sociolinguistic Status”). It is spoken by the Pataxó people, who live in southern Bahia and northern Minas Gerais in Brazil (Carvalho and Miranda, “Introduction”). In Bahia, the Monte Pascoal National Park is the location of ten Pataxó villages (Carvalho and Miranda, “Contact History”). As of 2014, there are 12,326 Pataxó people and there were 11,436 in 2010. In 2010, a census was conducted that concluded that of those eleven thousand people, 772 people age five and older spoke the Patxohã language, plus another 836 people who speak it but live outside of the communities (Carvalho and Miranda, “Population”). Patxohã is a language that went extinct but is now going through reconstruction and has been taught in Pataxó schools since the 1990s (Carvalho and Miranda, “Language and Sociolinguistic Status”).

Contact between the Pataxó people and Portuguese colonizers first began in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which was also the Pataxós’ earliest appearance in recorded history. Almost immediately, the two parties met each other with conflict and hostility, which was exacerbated by peace treaties between the Portuguese and other indigenous groups that the Pataxó interacted with (Carvalho and Miranda, “Contact History”). Colonizers would expel the Pataxó from their territories and many were killed from weapons diseases brought from Europe (Bonfim 19). At the time, the Pataxó people were living around the Porto Seguro and São Mateus rivers. Like many other indigenous groups across the Americas, the Pataxó were considered inferior to the Portuguese settlers, and experienced oppression in the form of forbidding the speaking of Patxohã and the establishment of “public schools” for children ages five and over, much like the Canadian residential schools (“Contact History”).

In Brazil’s post-colonial history, one of the pivotal conflicts between the Pataxó and non-indigenous people was a riot known as the “Fire of 1951” (Carvalho and Miranda, “The Fire of 1951”). Triggered by a merchant being robbed in the Pataxó village Corumbau, the “fire”

resulted in three deaths—one indigenous person and two non-indigenous people—and the arrests of 38 indigenous people as well as the burning down of the village Barra Velha, claimed to be done for “sanitary reason” (Carvalho and Miranda, “The Fire of 1951”).

Bonfim (2012) hypothesizes that Patxohã and Maxakalí may be related languages as they both belong to the Macro-Jê language stock (Bonfim 37). Though that is the closest genetic link between the two languages so far, it has been confirmed that the two languages have had contact with each other (46).

Anari Bonfim’s dissertation on Patxohã discusses the ethnographic history of the language, specifically the revival process and how it is now being studied by researchers (Bonfim 9). This is the key major text on Patxohã. Other researchers have focussed their work on Maxakalí, which, as previously mentioned, is genetically related to Patxohã. Popovich (1967) is a paper on Maxakalí’s morphology, focussing on the paragraph as a grammatical unit, rather than a word or sentence, in order to address issues found in clauses in the language (Popovich 195). He later wrote a dissertation on Maxakalí phonology (1985), following the process proposed by Marvin Mayers that allows for a simplified phonological analysis via multiple levels (Popovich vi).

Campos wrote a thesis on Maxakalí describing its phonology, morphology, and morphosyntax with a deeper look into case markings in the language (Campos ix). In 2005, a Portuguese-Maxakalí dictionary was published. It includes a glossary and was compiled using words documented from 1959 to 1988 (“Preface” *Dicionário Maxakalí-Português*). Finally, Hãmyümmük Punethok wrote a book on the Maxakalí as a general knowledge text on the language as well as providing sociohistorical information about the Maxakalí people and Brazil in general (Punethok “Preface”).

Because it is a language in the process of reconstruction, Patxohã has not been featured in any language documentation projects. However, Maxakalí is included in Museu do Índio’s Project of Documentation of Languages in Brazil (ProDocLin). The current project coordinator is Carlos Sandro de Oliveira Campos (“Project”, n.d.) and is being funded by UNESCO-Brazil and the Bank of Brazil Foundation (“Partnership”, n.d.). The research of this project has consisted of workshops teaching people how to use audio-visual equipment, a video transcription workshop, and documentation work on grammar, sociolinguistic status, and multiple field reports

that have since been used as sources for linguistic research on Maxakalí (“Products and Research”, n.d.).

As it is still being reconstructed, very little is known about the grammatical features of Patxohã. For that reason, examples from the Maxakalí language will be discussed for all but one of the following segments on phonology and morphology.

Maxakalí’s phonology contains five vowels and ten consonants (Pereira 21). Each vowel has both an oral and nasal form:

	Front	Center	Back
High	i ĩ ɪ ĩ̃		
Low	e ě	a ã	o õ

Maxakalí consonants consists of stops, fricatives, and nasals. All stops and fricatives are voiceless:

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p	t		k	ʔ
Fricative			x		h
Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	

Maxakalí does not have a definitive plural marker like you would see in Portuguese or English. Instead, the pluralized word is followed by the quantifiers ‘xohi’ meaning ‘much’ or ‘xeka’ meaning ‘great’ to indicate plurality. In a few cases, the morpheme ‘-xop’ is added to the end of the noun to create a collective noun: ex. ‘mũnũyxop’ means ‘herd of deer’ (46-47).

Pereira defines nouns in Maxakalí as “the class of forms whose members occur before postpositions, in the subject and/or object positions, or as a nuclear element of the phrases that occur in these positions” (45-46).

Numerals in Maxakalí do not follow the same patterns seen in other indigenous languages where there are individual names for the numbers 1-5. Instead, they have the word ‘tik’ meaning ‘two’ and ‘koyik’ meaning ‘odd’ (47). These words are then combined together to add up to any number from 1-10 (48). For example, the number eight will appear as ‘tik xi tik xi tik xi tik’ (‘two’ four times) while the number nine appears as ‘tik xi tik xi tik xi tik koyik e’ (‘two’ four times plus an odd number) (48). Numbers above ten are spoken in Portuguese (48).

In the revitalization process of Patxohã, word lists were compiled to compare to other languages belonging to the Macro-Jê stock (Bomfim 74-75). The word that were compiled included the following, which are asked for in the count-mass and animacy questionnaires (47-48):

English	Portuguese	Patxohã
Woman	Mulher	Jokana
Water	Água	Miãga
Food	Comida	Mãgute
Jaguar	Onça	Kuparaka
Dog	Cachorro	Kuké
Meat	Carne	Sunã

Maxakalí sentences mainly take on an SOV word order. However, this order alternates with SVO, SV, and VS orders (Pereira 79).

Maxakalí has masculine and feminine gender markers in the form of suffixes. The masculine marker is ‘-pit’ and the feminine marker is ‘-hex’. However, these are only used to distinguish the gender of a noun; they are not a method of categorizing nouns. For example, the word for ‘dog’ is ‘kokex’. To distinguish whether it is a female or male dog being discussed, the respective suffix is attached. Therefore, ‘kokexpit’ is ‘dog-MALE’ and ‘kokexhex’ is ‘dog-FEMALE’ (46).

Maxakalí adjectives are described as “descriptive verbs”. In a sentence, they appear after the noun they modify (96-97).

Possession in Maxakalí is marked by prefixes. The prefixes distinguish person, number, and inclusivity versus exclusivity in first person plural forms (34-35). Pereira lists the pronouns as such:

Person	Possessive prefix
1	Singular: uk- ~ ug-, -k ~ -g Plural: Incl. yũ+mũg, Excl. ug+mũg ~ -gm+ũg
2	ã-
3	ũ-

These prefixes may also attach to a second possessive morpheme, ‘yõg~õ~õg’. It is not yet known what process occurs to determine which variant of the morpheme is used in a particular context but it is meant to mark the item being possessed (36).

Transitive verbs in Maxakalí do not undergo agreement with regard to the person or number of the subject (“Gramatical Maxakalí” 27). However, the verb does show agreement depending on whether the subject is active or passive. When there is an active subject, the verb has the suffix ‘-te’ attached to it (28). Intransitive verbs also under go this form of agreement (27).

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