

EXPERIENCE REPORT

Brazil: not one, but many
and multiple languages¹Bruna FRANCHETTO 

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ)



OPEN ACCESS

EDITED BY

- Maria Filomena Spatti Sandalo
(Unicamp)

EVALUATED BY

- Eva-Maria Roessler
(ELACH/UMinho)

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

- Bruna Franchetto
Research, writing, editing and
proofreading

DATES

- Received: 16/10/2025
- Accepted: 21/12/2025
- Published: 16/06/2026

HOW TO CITE

FRANCHETTO, B (2026). Brazil:
not one, but many and multiple
languages. *Revista da Abralín*, v.
24, n. 2, p. 9-21, 2025.

ABSTRACT

The world, the Americas, and Brazil are made up of many languages. Bilingualism and multilingualism are a capital, a heritage, not only of the individual but also of collectives and of all humanity. This wealth is in crisis and decline; the symptoms of loss are clear. Monolingualism impoverishes and destroys the foundations of individual, collective, and plural knowledge. On the other hand, we also see signs of resilience, revival, and the awakening of languages. In its first section, this article offers an overview of the vitality of Indigenous languages in Brazil and the efforts to document them, a prerequisite for their preservation or revitalization. The second section contains a critical reflection on the role of the linguist in a scenario of growing mobilizations for decolonial science and other epistemologies, especially on the part of Indigenous activism and its leading role. In this context, experiences of emergency documentation and the revival of languages previously labeled as extinct are briefly reported. On the map of original languages, the gaps left by colonizing oppression are beginning to be filled by new languages and surprising resilience.

RESUMO

O mundo, as Américas e o Brasil são de muitas línguas. O bilinguismo e o multilinguismo são um capital, um patrimônio, não apenas do indivíduo, mas também de coletivos e de toda a humanidade. Essa riqueza está em crise e declínio; os sintomas da perda são claros. O monolinguismo empobrece e destrói os fundamentos do conhecimento individual, coletivo e

¹ The title of this article reproduces that of two presentations by the author at two recent scientific events, presentations reworked and synthesized here. The first presentation, as a keynote speaker, was at the 1st Workshop on Endangered and Minoritized Languages, held at the University of Minho (Portugal) on May 8 and 9, 2025. The second presentation was at the Museu da Língua Portuguesa, in São Paulo, on May 19, 2025, at the event "Linguistic Diversity in Brazil: Preservation and Revitalization"

plural. Por outro lado, sinais de resiliência, renascimento e despertar das línguas também estão diante de nós. Em sua primeira seção, este artigo oferece um panorama da vitalidade das línguas indígenas no Brasil e dos esforços para documentá-las, um pré-requisito para sua preservação ou revitalização. A segunda seção contém uma reflexão crítica sobre o papel do linguista em um cenário de crescentes mobilizações para uma ciência decolonial e outras epistemologias, especialmente por parte do ativismo indígena e seu protagonismo. Nesse contexto, são brevemente relatadas experiências de documentação emergencial e de renascimento de línguas antes rotuladas como extintas. No mapa das línguas originais, as lacunas deixadas pela opressão colonizadora começam a ser preenchidas por novas línguas e uma resiliência surpreendente.

KEYWORDS

Indigenous Languages. Linguistic Documentation. Linguistic Policies.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Línguas Indígenas. Documentação linguística. Políticas linguísticas.

RESUMO PARA NÃO ESPECIALISTAS

No mundo, nas Américas e no Brasil existem muitas línguas. O Brasil é um país de grande diversidade linguística. O bilinguismo e o multilinguismo são um patrimônio, não apenas do indivíduo, mas também de coletividades e de toda a humanidade. Essa riqueza está em crise e declínio; os sintomas da perda de línguas são claros. O monolingüismo empobrece os conhecimentos individual e coletivo. Por outro lado, sinais de resiliência, renascimento e despertar das línguas também estão diante de nós. Em sua primeira seção, este artigo oferece um panorama da vitalidade das línguas indígenas no Brasil e dos esforços para documentá-las, condição para sua preservação ou revitalização. A segunda seção contém uma reflexão crítica sobre o papel do linguista em um cenário de crescentes mobilizações para uma ciência decolonial e outras epistemologias, especialmente por parte do ativismo indígena e seu protagonismo. Nesse contexto, são brevemente relatadas experiências de documentação emergencial e de renascimento de línguas antes rotuladas como extintas. No mapa das línguas originais, os vazios deixados pela opressão colonizadora começam a ser preenchidos por novas línguas e uma resistência surpreendente.

Introduction

Brazil is a land of linguistic resistance and diversity, where around 170 original languages still survive, according to surveys by reliable linguists.² This number is small compared to the landscape 500 years ago: during colonial times, at least 80% of the languages of native peoples were erased. 170 languages survive with varying degrees of vitality, distributed across 28 linguistic families, in addition to at least a dozen language isolates and one creole (Kheúól).

Different estimates of the number of languages come from surveys carried out by Brazilian linguists and from the last official Census carried out in 2010, which registered the existence, by self-declaration, of more than 270 languages. We are now waiting for the final results of the Census carried out in 2022, which should be released by the end of 2025 and which will certainly show a greater number of languages (and ethnic groups). Numbers are not self-evident, but they must be interpreted. Behind the numbers set by the Census, there are other factors, which go beyond the objective calculations of scientists. Among these factors are political demands, assertions of identity and representations around what constitutes a language. I will return to this in the last part of the article.

This impressive linguistic diversity continues to be silenced, with varied strategies, by the State, by missions, by the media and in the so-called 'educational system'. The sovereignty of a single language (Portuguese) has been maintained at any cost by the conquerors who formed the nation called 'Brazil'. Furthermore, all the original languages that exist today are threatened in their survival and many of them are in decline, spoken by only a few elderly people, whose children and grandchildren no longer speak the language of their ancestors. The next generation will certainly be monolingual in the dominant language.

However, while on the one hand we mourn the losses, on the other we celebrate the resilience of those who endured the pain of five centuries of colonization to get here. We celebrate the emergence of new languages, the revival of those that are waking up from their slumber, those that are emerging from their secrets, those that appropriated the colonial Portuguese to give rise to varieties now claimed as Indigenous languages, those that are increasingly occupying the media, music, protest, art, and literature.

1. What we have done?

Looking to the last 20 years, at least, what we have done, in Brazil, in order to safeguard the existing linguistic diversity? Research and documentation projects have grown a lot, in a gigantic effort despite

² An updated and in-depth picture of the situation of Indigenous languages in Brazil and the documentation work can be seen in Galúcio (in press).

the limitations of human and financial resources, but have reached less than half of the languages, being optimistic.

Regarding linguistic documentation, our projects have benefited from the support of prominent international institutions, such as DoBeS (Endangered Languages Documentation Program), National Science Foundation (exclusive for US citizens), Endangered Languages Fund, among others. Brazilian institutions must be mentioned: CNPq (National Counsel for Research and Technological Development), agencies of some states of the federation, the Ministry of Science and Technology, the Ministry of Culture, and some universities. Everything possible was done, considering that, in Brazil, there is no State policy aimed at safeguarding Indigenous languages, with, few exceptions, like the National Inventory of Linguistic Diversity (INDL) by the Ministry of Culture, the Program for the Documentation of Indigenous Languages (ProDoclin), which was developed from 2010 to 2025 by the Museu Nacional dos Povos Indígenas (FUNAI-RJ) with UNESCO, and, last but not least, at the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi-MPEG.

The work done by ProDoclin and MPEG can be characterized as a Brazilian inflection of the linguistic documentation, to the extent that it aims: (i) To promote the documentation of Indigenous languages and cultures, widening the chances of their survival; (ii) To consolidate the documentation through the empowering of Indigenous researchers and the training of non-Indigenous researchers, in collaborative projects; (iii) To implement digital archives in documentation centers inside Indigenous areas as well as in Brazilian public institutions; (iv) The establishment of rules for access to digital collections and their products, as well as prescripts of ethical conduct.

Let me tell you a little more about ProDoclin, of which I was scientific coordinator until 2025. During the first phase of ProDoclin (2009-2012), 13 languages have been documented and workshops in Indigenous villages and at the Museu do Índio have been realized for the training of Indigenous researchers. Among the results we can highlight: multimedia digital archives, being that the original recordings are deposited in Brazilian public institutions and in local Indigenous centers; sociolinguistic surveys; lexical database; scientific publications; materials for Indigenous schools and exhibitions. In the second and third phases (2013-2025), our work focused on the production of Pedagogical Grammars of 11 languages, five of which have already been published and delivered to their speakers. Between 2018 and 2025, ProDoclin developed 11 Multimedia Digital Dictionaries on a new platform called JAPIIM.

ProDoclin has been a partner of the linguists of the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, who did a long and enormous work since the end of the eighties, improving linguistic descriptions and the training of Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers in methodologies for the documentation. The ALIM-Archive of indigenous languages includes the digital archives of 85 Amazonian languages, the non-verbal modalities of 3 languages and digital community-based dictionaries.

I cannot fail to mention two other Brazilian initiatives that are expanding and diversifying the horizon of linguistic documentation in Brazil. The Tycho Brahe platform for linguistic corpora, developed by linguists at UNICAMP and which already includes two Indigenous languages (Kadiweu and Nheengatu). Far from the Brazilian southeast, the documentation of languages of the

northeastern Amazon is going forward at the Oiapoque binational campus (Federal University of Amapá), and at the Kuahi Museum.

We can certainly say that the documentation projects that follow the so-called current best practices have had positive impacts, such as the change of attitudes towards the native languages, the strengthening of the bonds between generations, the empowerment of young Indigenous researchers, and the raising of new Indigenous filmmakers.

As an answer to the question that is the title of this section, we have done and are doing much more than we imagined possible with the scarce resources available, human and financial, to document the languages of Indigenous peoples, all endangered, with the aim of storing knowledge and with the desire to protect them. However, it is still not enough. More and new challenges lie ahead for documentation efforts.

What's special about the Americas? The experiences of North and South American DoBeS projects, especially Brazilian and Argentinean, led us to some key observations listed below (Franchetto; Rice, 2014).

- (i) The variable status of languages, some with very few speakers, all older, and others with speakers of all generations;
- (ii) Indigenous communities demand observance of the OCAP principles: OCAP: ownership, control, access, and possession of the knowledge and data collected by documentation projects that reach them, imposing themselves on local choices and practices.
- (iii) The demands for language revitalization and reawakening.

To illustrate the great variation in language transmission, here are a few examples from Brazil:

- Among the Kuikuro (Upper Xingu Karib Language), all children speak the language, but bilingualism (Portuguese) is growing;
- Among the Haliti-Paresi (Arawak), most children speak the language, not all, and bilingualism dominates;
- Among the Wa'ikhana (Eastern Tukano), most children don't speak the language, with a clear shift to Yepahmasā (Tukano), ongoing efforts for vitalization;
- In the case of Sakurabiat (Tupi), a critically endangered language, with just few speakers and interrupted transmission, documentation and partial vitalization are trying to bring the language back;

- The Guató language (isolate) survives only in the memories of two reminders; emergency documentation is fighting against time;
- The language of the Pataxó (Macro-Jê) was considered as extinct, but the Pataxó communities are committed to its retomada, through the (re)construction of Patxohã, considered as the ancestral language.

I would like to report in a little more detail the experience of so-called emergency documentation of the Guató language, that began in 2016. The Guató live in an Indigenous land in the Pantanal of Southern Brazil, in cities like Corumbá (state of Mato Grosso do Sul), as well as in the state of Mato Grosso.

There was an urgent demand by a group of Guató of Mato Grosso to rescue some aspects of their ancestral language with the aim to be recognized by the Brazilian state as they fight for a piece of their traditional territory, but none of those who were occupying the Bahia dos Guató Farm remembered anything of the language. I received a request for help and, together with two young researchers, we hastily began to build a corpus from different historical sources. We recorded some words and sentences in a kind of neo-Guató, a short list that began to be spoken by young people. With these words and sentences – enacting a performance of identity laden with desired yet unrealized political consequences – the authorities were welcomed. Police officers, lawyers, and prosecutors had visited Bahia dos Guató to witness the land occupation and consider proposing a new Indigenous territory (Franchetto&Godoy, 2017), a claim that remains unanswered to this day.

Kristina Balykova and Gustavo Godoy, the two young researchers, decided to continue and expand the documentation work by seeking out two elders, who might still speak Guató (Godoy&Balykova, 2022): Vicente Caetano (Djoguapó), a solitary hermit at the mouth of the São Lourenço River, and Eufrásia Ferreira (Djárikua) isolated on the outskirts of Corumbá, where Balykova and Godoy discovered more recently a third speaker, Vicente's brother. The language was sleeping in the minds of Eufrásia and Vicente, but it began to be awakened along the documentation project. In 2018, Eufrásia met Vicente for the first time after thirty years. The two attempted a difficult conversation. Vicente was the type of person who would allow himself to get close, only to refuse to continue the conversation immediately afterward. Certainly, the memories that surfaced through the language were extremely painful. Only the persistence of the researchers, who met him again and again, managed to tame him. In contrast to Vicente, Eufrásia always welcomed the curious visitors who wanted to learn about the language with broad smiles and laughter; she died in 2021. The documentation of Guató continues, revealing treasures and maintaining the hope of a revitalization as a political project beyond any real hope that it will be spoken once again.

Other languages are being targeted by emergency documentation, such as Djeoromitxi and Sakurabiat, in the Brazilian state of Rondônia, Western Amazonia. These are just few example of the astonishing diversity of the Brazilian sociopolitical scenario that imposes new approaches to linguistic documentation, as well as to methodologies for vitalization/revitalization/reconstruction,

drawing models to fit needs of communities where there are speakers (e.g, Wa'ikhana) and models to fit needs when there are no longer speakers (e.g., Guató).

2. What about the other side? A critical and self-critical reflection, from today's Brazil

The urgency of documenting threatened languages, dramatically clamoured by Michael Krauss in 1992 (Krause, 1992), led to the emergence of a new market for projects and institutions throughout the world with undeniable consequences. Linguistic extractivism in the Global South feeds huge digital archives hosted in institutions in the Global North, which, in turn, sustain, smaller, albeit important, archives in the South. Brazilian linguists responded to the international call to a race for documentation seeking for resources that could make viable expensive fieldtrips. Once inside documentation programs, we testified heated discussions on the recognition of the rights of Indigenous communities to the access to the archives, and control over the access by others. The North wants openness, defending (its) science; the South reclaims selective access, or even no access, in the name of local interests and other (con)sciences.

Moreover, we cannot forget how much the documentation of native South American languages owes to the penetration and activity of North American proselytizing Evangelical Missions. It is enough to take note of the powerful institution known as the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), which left local offsprings in many Latin American countries, reproducing methods of documentation at the service of the conversion to Christianity, under the principle “save languages, annihilate cultures”. The spreading of (alphabetical) writing and literacy among Indigenous communities in the South is a missionary legacy. Since the beginning of documentation, writing has dominated orality, despite the existence of voices frozen in recordings. Writing and schooling exile the traditional oral transmission of knowledge. The question is: are we free from the missionary linguistics? I believe I have done everything I could to distance myself from the Christian missionary heritage, but I am not sure I have succeeded.

The work of linguists dedicated to documenting original languages can be seen by outsider observers as a kind of salvationist mission, to register, annotate, transcribe, and translate, as many still existing languages as possible. For decades or centuries, we leave as legacies written monuments *post-mortem*, museums full of dead objects, for colonial posterity. In many cases, documents of these languages were what was left, alongside the corpses or the shattered lives of native peoples in their diasporas, dispersing to survive. It is necessary to recognize, on the other hand, that papers and recordings stored in publications and archives (physical and digital) have become, everywhere, precious sources from which languages, or fragments of them, emerge, capable of being reconstructed, especially once in the hands of Indigenous activists within the scope of projects and processes of *retomada* (recovery or reclaiming).

We, white academics, are witnessing, also in Brazil, to a growing protagonism of Indigenous academics, who, reached by precarious schooling before and after overcoming countless obstacles, managed to cross the walls of higher education institutions. Once inside the system – an achievement resulting from many struggles –, founded on unidirectional and benevolent inclusion, they moved on to targeted militancy for inoculating decolonial antibodies from inside. Who has not read or heard heavy and provocative words against the universalism and oppression of ‘Western’ sciences, including anthropology and linguistics, with their colonial and assimilationist ‘epistemes’? Other ‘epistemes’, proclaimed by resilient and insurgent colonized peoples, threaten dominant values and categories. Even though dialogue is not explicitly rejected, the critique of academic knowledge and spaces proclaims the presence of bodies and territories in the coexistence of humans and nonhumans. Indigenous female voices stand out for their strength and incisiveness.

These Indigenous voices deny the category of extinct languages; they oppose this label with that of enchanted languages which exist, and have always existed, even if silenced or hidden in shamanic dreams (Bomfim; Durazzo, 2023). How do we describe sociolinguistic realities where languages survive as enchanted? How do we answer the question on the number of speakers does a language have, when did it cease to be spoken, what is its degree of vitality? It seems that these questions are no longer relevant. ‘Ancestral’ and ‘enchanted’ languages exist, in songs and shamanic dreams, even if they no longer have speakers, in the sense that linguists give to the condition of ‘being a speaker’. Varieties of Brazilian Portuguese spoken by Indigenous people as their first language are claimed as Indigenous languages, a challenging statement, that might be disorient a linguist.

In this new context, academic linguists (me among them) continue documenting minoritized languages. They continue to believe in their “mission”, building archives and celebrating discoveries of structures, lexicons, verbal arts, even when they feel some kind of malaise. They are striving to adapt to a new landscape wanting to maintain their own reproduction. Thus, those we used to call informants are now our consultants or collaborators in ‘collaborative’ projects and we co-author articles with Indigenous colleagues and partners. The return of our work (archives, recordings, orthographies, dictionaries, grammars, teaching tools) to Indigenous communities is imperative. Doing so, we hope that communities appreciate our efforts, that, here, in Brazil, are still unable to quell the strong criticism from indigenous intellectuals and academics for having been mere objects and never subjects of scientific investigation. Linguistic archives, as those deposited in First World institutions, are distant, indecipherable or uninteresting things. Some Indigenous activists reject documentation as the output of a neocolonial endeavor, and the inclusion of Indigenous researchers in documentation projects, or as co-authors of publications, do not eliminate distrust.

On the other hand, the Indigenous protagonism dominates many experiences of linguistic (re)vitalization or reclaiming that are spreading all over Brazil, as in other Latin American countries. In most cases, we face ongoing local political processes gaining visibility.

Until few years ago, the Indigenous advocacy for original languages has been relatively unknown, but the Year of Indigenous Languages (2019) and the Decade of Indigenous Languages (2022–2032), proclaimed by UN and UNESCO, have worked to put it in the foreground, on a national and

international scenario. The creation and consolidation of the Brazilian Working Group, within the scope of the Decade, came to further encourage indigenous participation in debates and events. The weakening of the native languages has compelled the new Indigenous leadership – with the prominent role of women – to voice the concerns which come mainly from older people. They denounced the public omission, “reclaiming” languages which were not extinct, as had been declared by non-Indigenous linguists and anthropologists, but which still existed as enchanted (Bonfim; Durazzo, 2023). This linguistic activism is particularly ebullient in the northeast region of Brazil, where the first wave of colonization devastated populations with their languages and traditions. The enchanted languages are not spoken in the community's daily life, but they are alive in the memory of some speakers, in the descriptions of travelers and scholars, in the manifestations of spiritual beings in the dreams and songs of shamans. Bomfim and Durazzo emphasize that languages are enchanted not simply because, despite centuries of repression, they survive, in fragments, in ritual contexts, but because of an ontology of language based on the coexistence between human and more-than-human entities, in a communicative context not comprehensible to non-Indigenous consciousness.

Enchanted languages, valued as diacritics of collective and individual identity, are considered ancestral mother tongues, removing this status from Portuguese, finally, at most, just a first language. This difference between being a mother tongue and not being a first language forces us to think of a language with other parameters.

Finally, understanding the inseparability of the fields of territory and language is crucial. After a lot of struggles, Indigenous peoples have been recognized, have been gaining small parts of their territories and now are strengthening processes of reclaiming/revitalizing their languages, with new strategies and along new paths. The results of the documentation work can therefore be used in a movement of linguistic counter-extractivism.

A pioneering example of the scenario I have just described is the trajectory and work of the Indigenous anthropologist Anari Braz Bomfim (2012, 2017, 2025). She has been one of the protagonists of an autonomous documentation for the *retomada* of Patxohã, the sleeping ancestral language of the Pataxó, in the south of the state of Bahia. It all started more than twenty years ago, when a group of young Pataxó students began an extensive and secret research, searching for information in historical archives and in the villages.

The first language of the Pataxó is, today, a local variety of Brazilian Portuguese, which is considered an Indigenous language, but the Pataxó, like other Indigenous communities in northeastern Brazil, say that if they exist, their ancestral language continues to exist. After years of the reclamation process, new speakers of a new ancestral language have emerged, language now present in schools, and written in the composition of songs, as well as in educational materials. Patxohã is not just a recovery of a past language but is the result of a creative and organized linguistic engineering of data coming from historical documents, the memories of elders, and the interchange with the Tikmũ'ũn (Maxakali), speakers of a sister-language to ancient Pataxó.

The reconstruction of the Patxohã developed along paths far from the canons of the linguistic science: from written documents to the experimental pronunciation of words; from lists of no

more than two hundred words to a vocabulary with thousand words, creatively increased by the young Pataxó researchers. Finally, a new ancestral language was born, with its own grammar and writing system.

Bomfim remembers a woman: Zabelê, who died in October of 2024, a survivor of the 1951 massacre, perpetrated by military forces at the behest of landowners. Zabelê spent his life fighting in defense of the Pataxó territory. As Bomfim says: “it is not possible to speak of the reclaiming of the language without speaking of the struggle for land” (Bomfim, 2017, p. 303). As we saw, the documentation of Guató began with a claim to land and to the existence of a people.

These new experiences are common to other Indigenous people throughout the Northeast of Brazil. According to Idiane Crudzá (personal communication to Anari Bomfim), the Kariri-Xocó of Alagoas have an internal language, kept secret and performed just in rituals, and an external language, the one that they are recovering. The access to a catechism of the eighteenth century allowed the Tuxá to recover parts of the Dzubukuá language. The Kiriri recovered the Kipeá language from the materials left by the missionary Vincencio Mamiani. Ancient Tupi is being learned, since 2000, by the Potiguara and the Tabajara (Paraíba). Not few Indigenous groups see the Nheengatu as the possibility of recovering an “ancestral” language; Nheengatu is an Indigenous colonial language, whose regional varieties are still spoken, especially in the Amazon region.

3. Concluding remarks

We mourn the undeniable and definitive loss of languages, annihilated over centuries of colonial oppression. Linguists, through decades of documentation efforts, have sought to safeguard the languages still spoken. It is also undeniable that documentation is an essential condition for successful revitalization, recovery, and reconstruction initiatives. We remain nonetheless convinced that our work of linguistic, ethnographical, historical and archaeological documentation has served, and still serves, to give existence and resilience to the peoples with whom we study and with whom we now “collaborate”.

Today, however, the classic work of non-Indigenous linguists is challenged by decolonial, even anticolonial, critiques from Indigenous activists. Linguists are challenged by a strong activism that aims to replace their colonial science with other epistemes, enchanted or spirit languages whose canonical grammatical description is far from being a priority.

The last Brazilian demographic census, held in 2022-23 by IBGE, will show the growing of the number of ethnicities and languages, a scenario that may shock linguists. Are dialogue and mutual understanding possible? I believe so, but it is not an easy conversation, considering the heavy colonial legacy that linguistics has carried out from centuries of history.

On the other hand, new languages and new forms of resilience are filling the Brazilian linguistic map. In a turn against the dominance of writing, orality retakes space and time in unexpected ways. The growing Indigenous audiovisual production brings back the voices of spoken languages. Despite canonical documentation, native languages revive in hundreds of videos realized by a generation of

Indigenous filmmakers, shown in cinemas and on the internet, many of which have won national and international awards.

Finally, it is important to mention a movement of Indigenous activism that also challenges linguists. It is about what I like to call cannibalization of the colonial Portuguese by local varieties, now claimed as Indigenous languages, that enrich the orality and writing of the dominant language, against the norm, the stigmatization of what is not correct, the protocols of academic performance. With the end of the assimilation myth, endorsed by Brazilian military dictatorship in the 1970s and undone by the current Constitution, enacted in 1988, new ethnicities and new languages emerge, existentially and politically. Are we willing to deal with all of this?

Additional information

Evaluation and author's answer

Evaluation: <https://doi.org/10.25189/rabralin.v24i2.2397.R>

Editor

Maria Filomena Spatti Sandalo

Afiliação: Universidade Estadual de Campinas

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4595-7765>

EVALUATION ROUNDS

Evaluator 1: Eva-Maria Roessler

Affiliation: Escola de Letras, Artes e Ciências Humanas da Universidade do Minho (ELACH/UMinho)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3524-2280>

EVALUATOR 1

O artigo "*Brazil: not one, but many and multiple languages*", de Bruna Franchetto, oferece uma análise crítica e exaustiva da situação das línguas indígenas no Brasil. A autora examina a diversidade linguística do país, as perdas históricas de idiomas decorrentes da colonização, as iniciativas de documentação linguística e os processos de revitalização em curso. Além disso, Franchetto suscita uma reflexão profunda e imperativa sobre o papel contemporâneo dos linguistas, em meio ao avanço de movimentos decoloniais e ao ativismo indígena, interrogando as metodologias e a ética da pesquisa tradicional.

Assim, o texto de Franchetto promove diálogo essencial entre ciência ocidental e epistemologias indígenas, incorporando saberes ancestrais comunitários, para um futuro equitativo e plural das línguas e culturas originárias brasileiras.

O texto beneficiaria-se de duas intervenções editoriais:

- (i) Incluir uma sucinta reflexão da autora acerca do censo mais recente sobre populações e línguas indígenas, divulgado no final de outubro de 2025 pelo INDL. É claro, que tal levantamento foi publicado alguns dias após o primeiro prazo de submissão deste artigo, e assim não poderiam ser incluídas na primeira versão;
- (ii) (Uma análise e revisão de alguns aspectos pontuais do texto em inglês (o *pdf em anexo contém algumas sugestões para, idealmente, facilitar o trabalho de revisão).

Conflict of Interest

The author declares that she has no conflicts of interest.

Research Protocol and Pre-Registration

After assessing the reporting guidelines proposed by the [Equator Network](#), the author concluded that none of them are applicable to the present study. She also notes that the research was not pre-registered in an independent institutional repository.

Data Availability Statement

Data sharing is not applicable to this article, as no new data was created or analyzed in this study.

Financial Resources

This research was supported by a CNPq scholarship.

REFERENCES

- BALYKOVA, Kristina; GODOY, Gustavo. "A perda e a retomada do Guató". **Cadernos de Linguística**, v. 1, n. 3, p. 01-15, 2020
- BOMFIM, Anari B. **Patxohã, língua de guerreiro: um estudo sobre o processo de retomada da língua pataxó**. Diss. Mestrado em Estudos Étnicos e Africanos, Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2012.

BOMFIM, Anari B. "Patxohã: a retomada da língua do povo Pataxó". **Linguística**. Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Linguística da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Volume 13, n.1:303-327, 2017.

BOMFIM, Anari B. **Materializações da língua Pataxó no tempo presente: um estudo sobre o Patxohã do Extremo Sul da Bahia**. Tese de Doutorado, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Antropologia Social, Museu Nacional, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2025.

BOMFIM, Evandro de Souza; DURAZZO, Leandro. Retomadas linguísticas indígenas no Nordeste, Minas Gerais e Espírito Santo: um mapeamento etnográfico. (2023). Em **SciELO Preprints**, 2023.
<https://doi.org/10.1590/SciELOPreprints.6508>

FRANCHETTO, Bruna; RICE, Keren. Language Documentation in the Americas. **Language Documentation and Conservation**, v.8, p.251-261, 2014.

FRANCHETTO, Bruna; GODOY, Gustavo. Primeiros passos da revitalização da língua Guató: uma etnografia. **Revista Linguística** / Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Linguística da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Volume 13, n.1, jan de 2017, p. 281-302. ISSN 2238-975X 1. [<https://revistas.ufrj.br/index.php/rl>]

GALÚCIO, Ana Vilacy. As línguas indígenas e o fazer pesquisa na Amazônia: caminhos e reflexões. In: Cardoso, Jorcemara Matos and Maísa Ramos (eds.). **Vozes insurgentes: diversidade brasileira em foco na linguística**. Campinas, SP: Editora da Abralín (in press).

GODOY, Gustavo; BALKOVA, Kristina. 2022. Botando a lenha na fogueira do guató. **Living Languages/Línguas Vivas** (1), p. 168-197, 2022. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7275/sg8p-v929>

KRAUSS, Michael. The World's Languages in Crisis. **Language** 68, p. 4-10, 1992.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.1992.0075>.