Variation of the Word *Isóg* ("I") in Kaingang Indigenous Land of Paraná: a Diatopic Study

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Abstract:
This work analyzes how the first person singular *isóg* is pronounced, performed in four different ways: *isóg*, sóg, só, ijjóg; the first two variants are considered standard and the last two non-standard variants. The standard variants of the language were defined by the speakers themselves and are considered the conservative variation. This is an experience in geolinguistic research, which focuses on the variation of this term in some Indigenous Lands (IL) located in Paraná. To carry out this work, collaborators from Apucaraninha, Barão de Antonina, Mococa (whose pronunciation was *isóg*), Queimadas, Ivaí, Faxinal, Marrecas (jjóğ) and Rio das Cobras (só), and sóg was not pronounced by any of the collaborators. The analysis was made from transcripts of conversations recorded in audio by the WhatsApp application, methodological adaptation necessary due to the coronavirus pandemic. Based on Geolinguistics budgets, a man and a woman from each indigenous land were chosen for this regional study. The results obtained were that there is a phonological variation in the word *isóg* ("I"), in the ILs located in the south of Paraná, in relation to the variant considered standard.

Keywords:
Variation of the Word *Isóg* (“I”) in Kaingang Indigenous Land of Paraná: a Diatopic Study

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**INTRODUCTION**

“Language, history and culture always go hand in hand and to get to know each of these aspects, it is necessary to delve into the others, as none of them walks alone and independently” (ABBADE, 2006, p. 716). We started this introduction with a quote from Abbade to emphasize the importance of studying a language, with the aim of registering its functioning, not only of languages with millions of speakers, but also, and urgently, minority languages that come to proportionally decrease the number of speakers with each passing generation, despite the growing number of descendants of some of the ethnic groups of the peoples originating in the Brazilian territory.

As all languages present internal variations, the speakers of a language give prestige or marginalize its variants. Coseriu (1987, p. 54) states that the norm is “variable, according to the limits and nature of the community considered”; thus, he delimits four forms of variation: diatopic, related to the geographic question; diachronic, related to variations in time; diastratic and diaphasic, related to the social issue (according to the variables gender, age, education), the first focused on social groups and the second, on the communicative context.

The term *variation* does not carry in itself a valuation connotation. According to Trask (2004), variation is “the existence of perceptible differences in the way a language is used in a speech community”. Labov ([1972]), in turn, understands that variants are different ways of saying the same thing in the same contexts. That is, both popularly and technically, there is no one variant that is better than the other; there are adequate/inappropriate uses, socially defined, for each situation in which the language is used. To characterize these variations, we can say that the variant of a language occurs by speakers of a group of people, a speech community. With that, we have the variant related to age group, sex, geography, social strata.

Thus, in this work, we analyze the variation of the word *isóg* (I) spoken by the Kaingang in Paraná, because, as is usual in all natural languages, Kaingang has also been undergoing linguistic changes. Another reason that is presented to us is the fact that there is little geolinguistic research on indigenous languages and that the Kaingang language is located in the three southern states of Brazil, in addition to the state of São Paulo, presenting “a high degree of diatopic variation” (NIKULIN, 2020, p. 14). These two factors – ongoing linguistic changes and the geographic distance between the ILs – are reasons that brought us to this branch of linguistic studies focused on the Kaingang language.

Due to the coronavirus pandemic, the *corpus* collection methodology had to be adapted. In order to carry out the field research, it was necessary to locate the indigenous consultants using the WhatsApp application, so that we could analyze the phenomenon to be investigated. This was possible because one of the authors is Kaingang, an inhabitant of IL Apucaraninha (Tamarana-PR) and knows people from other Indigenous Lands in Paraná.
Having introduced the initial ideas of the research, we discuss the theoretical bases necessary to carry out the research regarding the phenomenon to be analyzed, as well as the methodology adopted, to then verify its occurrence in the Kaingang language. Next, we present the main results we reached, followed by the abbreviations used in the glosses, the bibliographic references and the appendix.

1. Theoretical Framework

According to Silva (2007, p. 11), “Linguistics is the science that investigates the phenomena related to language and that seeks to determine the principles and characteristics that regulate the structures of languages”, which are studies on how language in use works.

Among these phenomena that Linguistics studies are the changes that occur in the realization of language. There is change in time, change in social situations, change that brings about the difference between written and spoken language, between formality and informality. Thus, Sociolinguistics arises with the aim of studying the linguistic variations that occur in societies.

Sociolinguistics specifically studies spoken language and its relationship with society. It is a multidisciplinary area, because it addresses sociological, cultural and anthropological studies. The language changes according to the socio-communicative situation and geographical location, diversities that can be studied, respectively, by sociolinguistics and dialectology. To carry out this study, we worked with dialectology.

Dialectology emerged in the 19th century. Its main concern was to describe and record regional variations in Brazil.

Cardoso and Mota (2017, p. 4) deal with the first publications on this topic:

Dialectological studies in Brazil, although they have counted, since the 19th century, with some surveys, in general referring to the lexicon, and pioneering works in certain areas, such as, among others, Amaral (1920), Nascentes ([1922] 1953), Marroquim ([1934] 1996), established themselves definitively as a research field for the knowledge of the Brazilian linguistic reality with the publication of the Atlas Prévio dos Falares Baianos – APFB, in the second half of the 20th century (Cf. Rossi 1963).

These APFB works were recorded in a one-dimensional atlas, because they have two collaborators from each location without considering social variables. They address linguistic variation in different geographic regions in Brazil. With works that use this type of methodology, the concept of isogloss emerged, which is an imaginary line drawn on a map, in order to establish the geographical limits of linguistic phenomena. “Isoglosses can be classified according to the nature of the linguistic phenomenon mapped: isolexes, which delimit lexical variation in a given region; the isophones which, in turn, refer to phonetic variation, etc.” (RAZKY; GUEDES; COSTA, 2018, p. 129).

According to these researchers, the issue that “isoglosses have become obsolete for representing the reality of linguistic variation [...] since the homogeneity that these imaginary lines were intended to represent has increasingly become historical data” (RAZKY; GUEDES; COSTA, 2018, p. 129).

This happens because society has undergone transformations and has become globalized; with that, people had more access to the means of communication and thus the interaction between them became stronger. From this, a dilution of geolinguistic borders, which were previously represented by isoglosses, can be observed, mainly between regions that are more urbanized and with greater access to means of communication and transport.

In one of his considerations, Aguilera (2006, p. 235) says that “these movements towards dialectological studies and regional and/or state geolinguistics open new perspectives for studies in Brazilian universities”, just as they opened ways for indigenous people to research their own language, as they were objects of study for a
long time, but today they are protagonists of their own research, as they see the interest of indigenous people in the area of language. As the author said,

> It is believed that it is time for many of them to begin to diversify the focus of interest of new researchers, awakening them to the search for the roots of the language spoken in Brazil and its history over the last five hundred years, which can be found, with much more strength, in the oral language of older rural speakers and residents of more remote communities (AGUILERA, 2006, p. 235).

As this is a dialectological work, it is necessary to define the *diatopic* variation. The diatopic variation is related to the linguistic variations observed among speakers in different geographic environments (CARDOSO, 2010).

This is yet another work that arouses our interest, because, just as all languages vary, the Kaingang language has also presented its changes. We remind you that the Kaingang are one of the most populous indigenous peoples in Brazil. The language belongs to the Jê language family and speakers are located mainly in the southern region of the country. The region that will be the target of our research is Paraná, where there are 17 indigenous lands (ILs) demarcated by the federal government, in which most inhabitants speak Kaingang.

Among these demarcated indigenous lands, we researched eight ILs to this research, mainly due to the greater number of contacts we have in these locations. However, in the future, we intend to cover all ILs in Paraná and, in a next step, reach the other states.

The indigenous lands analyzed are: Apucarana, Barão de Antonina, Queimadas, Marrecas, Mococa, Ivaí, Faxinal and Rio das Cobras. Two speakers from each locality, whose first language is Kaingang, were consulted: a man and a woman.

Our object of analysis regarding the language in question is the word *isóg* [iʃɔg], a standard variant of the language, together with *sóg* [ʃɔg], as we noticed that in some ILs the Kaingang use these variations; such words mean “I” in English. Next, we bring observations of the speeches of the Kaingang of each IL.

Regarding the age group of the collaborators chosen for this research, all are adults, called *kygru ag* (male adults) / *tytãg fag* (female adults) (who are in the age group between 21 and 54 years old); it is our intention to carry out the same research also with children (1 to 10 years old), called *gĩr ag*, teens (11 to 16 years old), called *kygru kãsir ag* (male teens) / *tytãg kãsir fag* (female teens), young people (17 to 20 years old), called *ũn sanh ag*, and the elderly (55 years and older), called *kófa ag*, which is translated as *old person*, a word that has no negative connotation for the Kaingang, on the contrary, it is a source of pride, as they are the source of knowledge for the community. This work shows in which regions of Paraná there are these variations.

A difficulty, however, would arise from the initial idea of doing this research: what would we base it on to say which is the standard variant of the Kaingang language? Therefore, we sought, in interviews with residents and teachers of the three schools of the IL Apucarana, their considerations regarding this norm considered standard, which we call conservative variant. Such an attitude on our part seeks to decolonize methodologies to give more voice to the indigenous people (SMITH, 2018), in addition to favoring culture, since collective action is very important for the Kaingang.

2. Methodology

We present the map of the states of the Southern and São Paulo, with the ILs where the Kaingang people live, circling those from Paraná and bolding in the subtitle the names of those that were researched.
Conservative variants, as stated in the Methodology, were sought with the speakers themselves, educated or not, in face-to-face interviews. From there, we were able to identify the most current variants.

The corpus was collected mainly through participation in audio conversations in a WhatsApp group, whose components are residents of the ILs chosen for the research. As, in the research, it was not possible to collect the audio recording of two speakers (a man and a woman) from each IL, we needed indications for oral contact, via WhatsApp, with the missing ones, thus completing the collection.

As we collected the data, we began the transcriptions, which are presented in this work, along with their respective translations. In the transcripts, we bolded the terms that we proposed to research in order to present the results.

We used the letter K to represent the Kaingang collaborator and an Arabic number to identify them individually. The word Researcher was used in the transcripts to represent the speech of one of the authors, as she was the one who effectively dialogued with the other participants.

**Figure 1 - Map with the Kaingang ILs.**

Source: Adapted the D’Angelis (2007).
Dialogues are listed along with their translation in the body of the text. The repetition of the dialogues, with the glosses, is in the appendix of the article.

The order of presentation of the collaborators’ statements follows the same order listed in the subtitles of the map presented in the Methodology of this work, namely, Barão de Antonina, Apucaraninha, Mococa, Queimadas, Ivaí, Faxinal, Marrecas and Rio das Cobras.

3. Analysis

In this topic, we initially bring the data of the collaborators participating in this research, which are in a table composed by the identification of the collaborator, their gender and the IL to which they belong; remember that the age range of all employees is between 21 and 54 years old, therefore, adults. Next, we present the excerpts containing the focus of this research: the use of the form isóg and sóg, considered standard, and its variants ijóg and só. Such forms are the first person singular personal pronoun.

The first data show the word isóg [iʃõ] being used four times by K1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K1</th>
<th>Gender: Male</th>
<th>IL: Barão de Antonina</th>
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</table>
| K1: | *Inh hâ vê gé siri, ky isóg siri ajag mrê vênh han gé myn siri.*

‘It’s me again, so I took a while to talk to you.’

*Ky isóg siri rãnhri jëgti gé siri.*

‘I have a job...’

*Ky isóg siri inh kãkutẽ ky ajag mrê vêmén nam ki gé siri.*

‘So I’m talking to y’all when I left...’

*Ky isóg “Ajag my hâ kara?” henh siri...[...]*

‘So I’ll ask “Are you all right?”’

Collaborator K2 also used, on three occasions, the standard form isóg.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K2</th>
<th>Gender: Female</th>
<th>IL: Barão de Antonina</th>
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</table>
| K2: | *Ajag mré isóg si vêmén mân na ki gé hamê siri.*

‘I’m talking to you again.’

*Hara isóg siri tag kâ nê nêg gamê, inh i:n kâ ham.*

‘But I’m sitting here in my house.’

*sinane tá kâng ky isóg si nê nêg gamê.*

‘I’m coming from the city.’

*Topê jé ajag ve hâm ajag nêng já kara tá hamê. Ky hâ vê.*

‘May God watch over you where you live. That’s it.’

Thus, both contributors to IL Barão de Antonina used the longer standard form, isóg.

The collaborators of the IL Apucaraninha, as well as those of Barão de Antonina, also preferred the isóg form, despite the other variants.
K3  Gender: Male  IL: Apucaraninha

K3:  *Ajag mê hä kara irmão, irmãs? Úri kurã tag to Topẽ jé ajag ki rĩr hamẽ.*
   ‘Brothers, sisters are you all alright? May God watch over you on this day.’

   *Kỳ isóg ajag mê tag tóm mamẽ. Kỵ isyw ajag mê nën tôngh ke mú tôg ge nĩ hamẽ.*
   ‘So I’m saying this. So that’s all I want to talk about.’

K4  Gender: Female  IL: Apucaraninha

   ‘Are you all okay, group? Now that I’m talking here again. Are you all right?’

   *Hỳ hỳny, he iság!*
   ‘I think so, I do!’

   In the same way as in Barão de Antonina and Apucaraninha, the choice of collaborators in Mococa was based on the *isóg* form.

K5  Gender: Male  IL: Mococa

K5:  *Ataide tôg siri ti vídeo jẽnẽ ja na kíg ga. Kỹ isóg venh nha ki gam vere.*
   ‘Ataide sent a video. So now I’m going to see.’

   *Mỹ ke? Â tô vídeo jẽnẽg mú tag ve jé iság kema ham vere.*
   ‘Isn’t it? So now I’m going to watch this video you sent.’

K6  Gender: Female  IL: Mococa

K6:  *Irmão, irmã ajag mê hä kara? Inh mê nóg séré tô gé siri [...]*
   ‘Brother, sister is everyone alright? I’m happy [...]’

   *Isũ tôg siri nhin ke kỹ nā gé, ti bateria tôg tũ’e kỹ nã ham siri.*
   ‘Mine is off, its battery ran out.’

   *Kỹ isóg kara kỹ kahegan nũ hä ke gé.*
   ‘Then I will recharge it.’

   Concluding the presentations of the first three ILs further north of the state, we have the realization of 100% of the *isóg* form, considered standard by the ILs surveyed in Paraná.

   In Queimadas, we already come across the variant *iğóg*, pronounced by the two collaborators, as we can see in the texts of K7 and K8, with one occurrence each.

K7  Gender: Male  IL: Queimadas

K7:  *Ajag mê hä kara hamẽ?*
   ‘Are you all okay?’
Inh vê hamẽ si tagki, ajag mág kara ham.
‘It is me, the greatest (manager) of you.’

Ajag vĩ tù pẽ nũ e mũ rỹ, kũ \(ijó̂g\) inh grupon hũnũ tù e kăn rã há he mũ.
‘You guys aren’t talking much, so I guess my group is winding down.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K8</th>
<th>Gender: Female</th>
<th>IL: Queimadas</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irmãos, Irmãs sér tóg tam kurã tag. Há (ijó̂g) ūri inh mũnũ hag in kã jẽ nam.</td>
<td>‘Brothers, sisters, these days have been good. But today I’m at my parents’ house.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagnẽ mré ěg tóg jën jën sőrm mam ūri, ěg mũ sér tũ kỹ.</td>
<td>‘We are having lunch together today […]’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that K7 and K8 pronounced \(ijó̂g\) instead of \(isó̂g\).

What looks like a change is being confirmed in IL Faxinal, where we again find \(ijó̂g\), spoken by the two collaborators, K9 and K10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K9</th>
<th>Gender: Male</th>
<th>IL: Faxinal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hũyũ, há inh jẽ. Ki ti hä tũ gé. Ėg sinane hä mũ casa tóg kãfírm uno tũ gé, pandemia tá tĩ siri.</td>
<td>‘Yes I’m fine. Here, too, everything is fine. Only in the city have confirmed cases, with this pandemic. […]’</td>
<td></td>
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Researcher: ‘Do you know how to write in our language?’

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<tr>
<th>K9</th>
<th>Gender: Female</th>
<th>IL: Faxinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XXX, ha só tó pãgsĩ nũ gé, ka (ijó̂g) rũn pãgsĩ nũgĩ tũ gé.</td>
<td>‘XXX, but I only read a little, and I also write a little.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sũ ki kanhrăn jũn tag vũ tũ biblia tugrin ke nũgĩ.</td>
<td>‘The little I learned was because of the bible.’</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

‘I learned because of the bible, I was studying. […]’

Researcher: ‘Are you okay? Is it okay where you live?’

<table>
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<tr>
<th>K10</th>
<th>Gender: Female</th>
<th>IL: Faxinal</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hũyũ, ha (ijó̂g) ha pũ jũ. Já ě, ě hä ki gé? Hãmẽ</td>
<td>‘Yes, but I’m fine. And you, are you okay too?’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tũ inh Faxinal ki ke nũ.</td>
<td>‘I’m from Faxinal.’</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The following analysis (K11) is a conversation with a Kaingang who was not part of the others’ WhatsApp group. We had to look for this contact to look for the researched phenomenon and contemplate the methodology of having a man and a woman from each IL. The conversation took place via WhatsApp.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K11</th>
<th>Gender: Male</th>
<th>IL: Marrecas</th>
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**Researcher:** Há ijóg há jẽ gé.
‘But I’m fine too’

**K10:** Ha tó katy tì e ma mỳ’. Kuty tá ijóg sì jornal ki vênh kaga tì mù tag ti tỳ vŷn ke kân ja hà ve gé siri...[...]
‘But it’s getting quiet, last night I saw in the paper that this disease is almost going away, that’s all I saw. [...]’

The following analysis (K11) is a conversation with a Kaingang who was not part of the others’ WhatsApp group. We had to look for this contact to look for the researched phenomenon and contemplate the methodology of having a man and a woman from each IL. The conversation took place via WhatsApp.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K11</th>
<th>Gender: Male</th>
<th>IL: Marrecas</th>
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</table>

**Researcher:** À mỳ há, à tỳ hê tà ke nam?
‘How are you? Where you are from? Do you study?’

**K11:** Ha ijóg hán, há ijóg tữ Maréka ki ke nǐ.
‘But I’m fine, but I’m from here in Marrecas.’

**K11:** Ha ijóg vênhrán tì, tâ nánh kurso han tì mỳ’ Màně Rima tâ.
‘I study, I’m taking a course in Manoel Ribas.’

**Researcher:** Hỳ, kỳ tóg há tì. Mỳ mỳ ajag magistério han tì mỳ?
‘Yeah, then it’s good! Looks like you teach there, right?’

**K11:** Hỳ’ỳ. Ha nóg tữ tag hâ nĩ my’.
‘Yes. That’s right.’

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<tr>
<th>K12</th>
<th>Gender: Female</th>
<th>IL: Marrecas</th>
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**K12:** Irmão, irmã ajag mỳ hâ kara ham?
‘Brother, sister, are you all alright?’

**K12:** Vãhã ijóg ajag mré ví mān ke ma ki gé.
‘It’s now that I’m talking to you again.’

**K12:** Rãké ti nã ha ki gé. Queimadas kà ijóg jẽ gé, inh família ag mré ijóg huru nén sín kãmē gé ham. Kỳ tóg inh mỳ séré tì gé.
‘It’s late again. I’m here in Queimadas, I ate something with my family. So I’m happy too. It’s now that I’m talking to you again.’

Note that K11 and K12, which are from IL Marrecas, also pronounced ijóg, continuing the probable range in which this variant is preferred.

The following are individual conversations transcribed via WhatsApp, that is, they were not conversations in a group, but they are contacts of one of the authors, that is, they did not need to be sought, as was the case with K11.

K13  | Gender: Male  | IL: Ivaí

Researcher: À mỳ hà, à hë ri ke?
‘Are you ok? how are you?’

K13:  
Ha íjóg hà pë jë. Jävo à?
‘I am really well. Are you?’

Researcher: Há inh jë gé. Jà à mỳ vere vênhránràn tì em?
‘I am well too. And are you still studying?’

K13:  
Hý’í. Ha ëg tòg vênhránràn tìñ e mỳ nỳ í. Jëg inh iev jë e mỳ ne online tâvi he e ù ì’re’. [...]  
‘Yes. But we are no longer studying (in person), because of the pandemic. So now I’m still in Ivaí. Then there are no classes, now everything is online, [...]’

K14  | Gender: Female  | IL: Ivaí

Researcher: À mỳ hà?
‘Are you okay?’

K14:  
‘Yes. But we’re all fine. My family is fine too.’

Inh nỳ fi tòg inh kanhrân i. Jà inh panh tòg tì kanhgág pë tì nì mỳ’, tì tòg mëstìçò nì mỳ’.
‘My mother taught me. And my father is not pure kaingang, he is mestizo.’

Kỳ tò ëg vëi ë... ha tò ëg vëi tì tò tòg ë ki kârgìg nìtì jë. Kỳ inh mỳnh fi inh kanhrân kỳ nìtì.
‘So he speaks our language... but he speaks our language, but sometimes he doesn’t understand.’

En tâ èmànmàn jà ra ëg sì tagmì kàmùjëg mỳ’, ëg tì èn tâ èmànmàn jà ra ëg sì tagmì kàmùjëg mỳ’.
‘We used to live there, but we come back here again.’

Kỳ inh tagkì aula kaingang to râ sì han, ha inh ki kanhràn tìñ è jë. Kỳ inh èmèvì ki rànràn ë nìtì, vëkè isóg ù hà to ke há nìtì, jà isóg rànràn ki kàrgìg nìtì.
‘So here I studied a little Kaingang, but I didn’t understand. So I don’t know how to write in our language, but I know how to read some, but I don’t know how to write.’

We can see that K13 and K14 live in the same place, IL Ivaí, but we have information that K14 lived where the researcher-interviewer lives, IL Apucaraninha, where the preferred variant is isóg. So we can deduce that, due to the contact and because he lived in the IL Apucaraninha, he uses the standard variant isóg.

Given this information, we can say that the range of use of íjóg is being expanded and seems to end here, since, in the speeches of K15 and K16, we see the use of só.

K15  | Gender: Male  | IL: Rio das Cobras

K15:  
Irmãos kaingang, só ajag mré vù mànn këma ki gé hamë sìri.
‘Brothers Kaingang, so now I’m going to talk to you again.’
Tagkã hamẽ siri, Rio das Cobras kã, inh jamãn hâ veỹn siri...[...]
‘Here, in Rio das Cobras, this is where I live.’

<table>
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<tr>
<th>K16</th>
<th>Gender: Female</th>
<th>IL: Rio das Cobras</th>
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</table>

K16:  *Samuel ti vĩ mêg tũ ēg nẽ ēm mẽ? Kỹ só ny em...*
‘We’re not hearing Samuel’s voice, are we? So I’m laughing.’

*Vãhã inh mê sĩ han ha, nẽn ũ...*
‘Now I’m listening to something a little bit...’

It is observed that K15 has opted for variant *só*. In the second analysis, K16 pronounced the same as K15. Thus, the two collaborators of IL Rio das Cobras used the same variant, opening the possibility of starting a new isogloss.

Thus we can see the isoglosses on the map below:

*Figure 2 - Isoglosses of *isóg* variations.*

Source: Prepared by the authors.

**Final Considerations**

This work aimed to demonstrate, through research carried out through the WhatsApp application, the regional variation of the word *isóg* (I) in the Kaingang language. Like all languages, Kaingang, in the course of time and because of geographic distance, has changed and continues to undergo linguistic changes.

As it is a research focused on variation, the theoretical bases were chosen according to the theories that address this topic, more specifically diatopic variation.

The main results are that there are lexical variations in the researched indigenous lands, that is, the ILs located in the north, south-central and west regions of Paraná, and that *só* and *ijóg* are variations of *isóg* and *sóg*, the latter ones considered standard by speakers.

With the analyzes carried out in this work, we can state that in the ILs Barão de Antonina, Apucaraninha and Mococa the investigated phenomenon *isóg* is formally pronounced without variation, based on the testimonies of collaborators who spoke about what is linguistically standard and what is not in Kaingang. However, we understand this variant as the standard, because, according to research carried out with teachers and in teaching materials, the *isóg* variant is the written form and is also taught in schools of all ILs involved.
In the ILs Queimadas, Ivaí, Faxinal and Marrecas, there was variation. The Kaingang of that region pronounced it *ijóg*.

Finally, in the Indigenous Land of Rio das Cobras, it ranged to *só*.

There was no pronunciation of *sóg* by the chosen collaborators, which perhaps happens in the TIs in Paraná that were not chosen or even in other states where there are Kaingang ILs.

The variants *sóg* and *isóg* are spoken by the elderly and, therefore, were recorded in Wiesemann’s dictionary of the Kaingang language (2011, s.v. *sóg*); in Val Floriana (1920, p. 112), the registered terms, according to the author’s spelling, are the following: *IX, IJ, éix, ej, ex, áix - xan, je*, the forms *ixo*’ and *xo* appear on pages 335 and 354, respectively (in Tibagi’s notes on the flexibility of the Kaingang language), where diachronic differences can be noted (a century after publication) or even dialectal (given that the ILs surveyed go beyond Tibagi).

In Wiesemann (2011), we only found the entry *sóg*, with 194 examples in sentences in the Kaingang-Portuguese part of the dictionary and 12 in the Portuguese-Kaingang part; therefore, there are no entries *isóg*, *só* and *ijóg*, related to the 1st person singular. Although the dictionary does not have these entries, there are 26 occurrences of *isóg* in examples in sentences in the Kaingang-Portuguese part and none in the other part of the dictionary; there is the entrance *só*, which refers to *sún*, which in turn means *mud, clay*. The construction *ijóg*, despite not appearing in Wiesemann’s dictionary (2011), is also used in Kaingang to refer to my father (*inh + jóg – my father*).

We believe that, with this work being disseminated to collaborators and published, it is time for many Kaingang to begin to diversify the focus of interest in their research, awakening them to the search for the roots of the language spoken in Brazil and its history throughout of the last five hundred years, which can be found, with much more strength, in the oral language of older rural speakers and residents of more remote communities.

**References**


APPENDIX

Abbreviations

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<tr>
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<th>EXIST</th>
<th></th>
<th>PL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
<td>EXIST</td>
<td>existence</td>
<td>PL</td>
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<td>second person</td>
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<td>NEG</td>
<td>negation</td>
<td>SM</td>
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<td>conative</td>
<td>OPT</td>
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<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>QU</td>
<td>question</td>
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</table>

K1

inh hà vê gé siri, kỹ isóg siri ajag mré vĩ vánh han gé mĩn siri.

1sg be again certainly then 1sg.sm so 2pl. with speak can do again for certainly

‘It’s me again so I took a while to talk to you.’

Kỹ isóg siri rãnhraj jëgtĩ gé siri.
then 1sg.sm certainly work standing.hab already certamente

‘I have a job...’

Kỹ isóg siri inh kãkutẽ kỹ ajag mré vêmén nam ki gé siri.
then 1sg.sm certainly 1sg leave then 2pl. with speak conat already certainly

‘So I was talking to you when I left... Listen!’

Kỹ isóg “Ajag mỹ hà kara?” henh siri...
then 1sg.sm 2pl. qu well all say.fut certainly

‘So I’ll ask “Are you all right?”’

K2

Ajag mré isóg si vêmén mãn na ki gé hamẽ siri.

2pl. with 1sg.sm certainly speak again conat certamente

‘I’m talking to you again. Listen!’

Hara isóg siri tag kã nĩ nĩg gamẽ, inh ên kã ham.

But 1sg.sm certainly dem in asp.sitting conat 1sg.poss house.in conat

‘But I’m sitting here in my house. Listen!’

sinane tá kãng kỹ isóg sî nĩ nĩg gamẽ.
city there come then 1sg.sm certainly asp.sitting asp.sitting conat

‘I’m coming from the city. Listen!’

Topẽ jé ajag ve hà hän ajag nũtũg já kara tá hamẽ. Kỹ hà vê.

God sm.opt 2pl. care 2pl. live fin all there conat then this asp

‘May God watch over you where you live. Listen! That’s it.’

K3

Ajag mỹ hà kara irmão, irmãs? Ûri kurã tag to Topẽ jé ajag ki rĩr hamẽ.

2pl. qu well all brother sisters today dem in god sm.opt 2pl. care conat

‘Brothers, sisters are you all alright? May God watch over you on that day. Listen!’

So I’m saying this. Listen!

So that’s all I want to talk about. Listen!”

‘Are you all okay, group? Now that I’m talking here again. Listen! Are you all right?’

‘I think so, I do!’

‘Ataíde sent a video. Listen!’

‘So I’m going to see it now. Listen!’

‘Isn’t it? So now I’m going to watch this video you sent. Listen!’

‘Mine is off,’

‘Its battery ran out.’

‘Then I will recharge it.’

‘You guys aren’t talking much,’

‘so I guess my group is ending.’
K8
Há ijõg ĕri inh mỹnh hag īn kã jẽ nam.
well 1SG.SM today 1SG.Poss mother 3PL.F house.in ASP.standing CONAT
‘But today I'm at my parents’ house. Listen!’

Jagnẽ mre ēg tõg jënjên sórm mam ĕri ēg mỹ sér tî kỹ.
one another with 1PL SM eat.PL try CONAT today 1PL to happy HAB then
‘We’re trying to have lunch together today, listen, to be happy.’

K9
Â mỹ ēg vĩ rán há nĩ, ā hẽ tá ki kanhrãñ?
2SG QU 1PL language write well ASP.sitting 2SG such as learn
‘Did you learn to write well in our language?’

XXX, ha só tó pãgsĩ nĩ gẽ, ka ijõg rán pãgsĩ nĩgĩ gẽ.
1SG.SM but 1SG read a little ASP.sitting also and 1SG write a little always too
‘XXX, but I only read a little, and I also write a little.’

K10
Â mỹ há? Mỹ ā jamã tá há?
2SG QU well QU 2SG live there well
‘Are you okay? Is it okay where you live?’

Hỹỹ, ha ijõg ha pẽ jẽ. Jã ā, ā há ki gẽ? hãra
yes now 1SG.SM well ASP.standing and 2SG 2SG well too then
‘Yes, but I’m fine. And you, are you okay too?’

Ty iinh Faxinal ki ke nĩ.
EXIST 1SG Faxinal in from here ASP.sitting
‘I’m from Faxinal.’

Há ijõg há jẽ gẽ.
well 1SG.SM well ASP.standing too
‘But I’m fine too.’

Kuty tã ijõg sî jornal ki vênh kaga tî mũ
night there 1SG.SM certainly newspaper in disease go HAB
tag ti tỹ vỹn ke kän ja há ve gẽ siri...[...]
DEM 3SG.M SM come back again FIN see too certainly
‘Last night I saw in the newspaper that this disease is almost going away, that’s all I saw. [..]’

K11
Â mỹ há, ā tỹ hẽ tá ke nam?
2SG QU well 2SG SM from where
‘How are you? Where you are from?’

Ha ijõg hán, há ijõg tỹ Maréka ki ke nĩ.
now 1SG.SM do well 1SG.SM SM Marrecas in from here ASP.sitting
‘But I’m fine, but I’m from here in Marrecas.’
"I study, I’m taking a course in Manoel Ribas.”

K12

"It’s now that I’m talking to you again.”

‘It’s late again. I’m here in Queimadas,‘

‘I ate something with my family.’

K13

‘Are you ok? how are you?’

‘I am really well.’

K14

‘So I don’t know how to write in our language,’

‘I know how to read some, but I don’t know how to write.’

K15

‘Brothers Kaingang, so I will now talk to you again’

K16

‘We’re not hearing Samuel’s voice, are we? So I’m laughing.’