

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*, *ijóg*; 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 Apucarantina, Barão de Antonina, Mococa (whose pronunciation was *isóg*), Queimadas, Ivaí, Faxinal, Marrecas (*ijóg*) 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:

Diatopic variation. Geolinguistic research. Kaingang language.

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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” (ABBADÉ, 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 IILs – 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 IIL Apucarantina (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: Apucarantina, 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* [i'ʃɔg], 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.

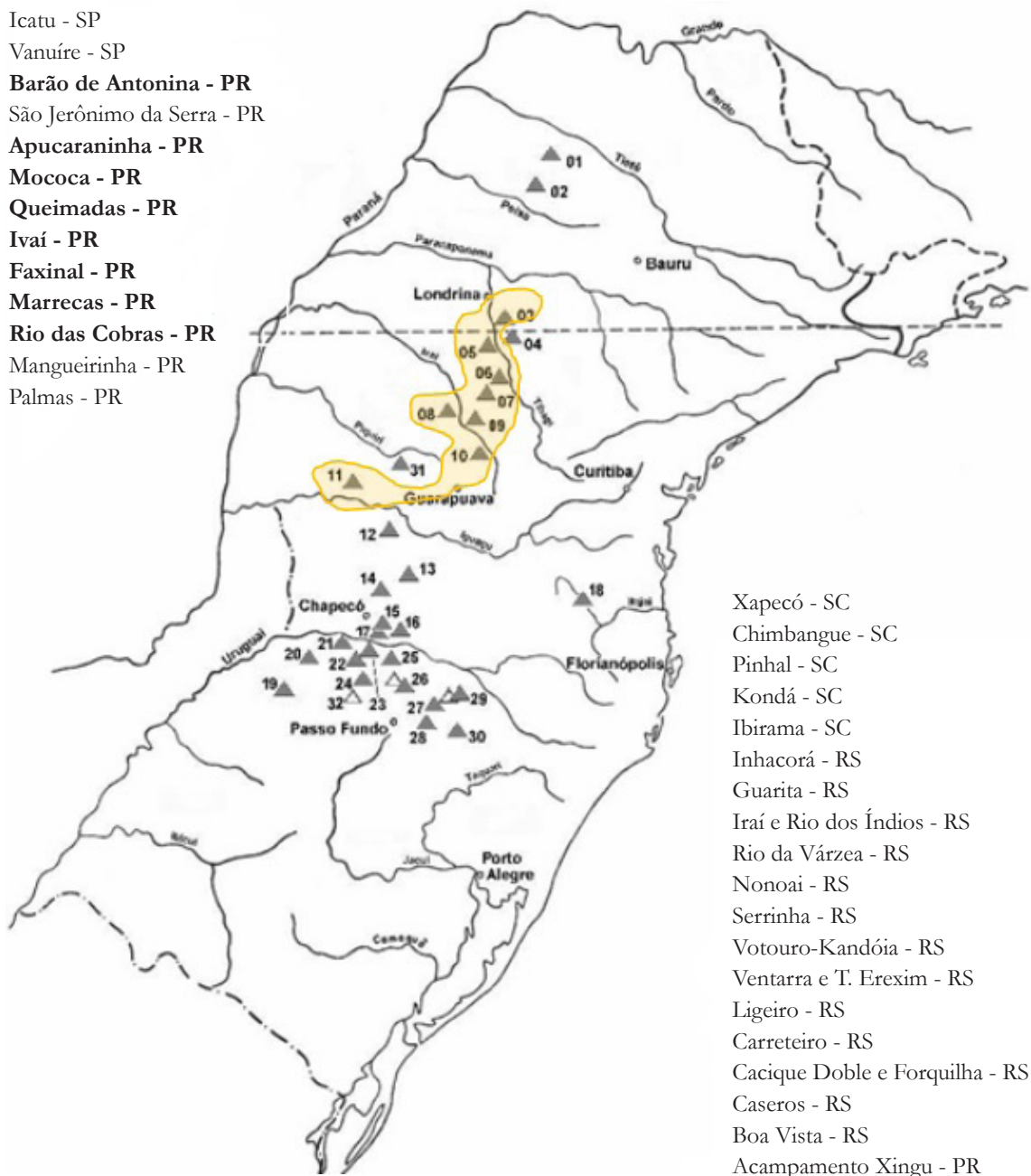
Regarding the age group of the collaborators chosen for this research, all are adults, called *kygrū ag* (male adults) / *tytāg fag* (female adults) (who are in the age group between 21 and 54 years old); it is our intention to carry out the same research also with children (1 to 10 years old), called *g̃r ag*, teens (11 to 16 years old), called *kygrū kāsir ag* (male teens) / *tytāg kāsir fag* (female teens), young people (17 to 20 years old), called *ũm sanb 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 Apucarantina, 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.

Figure 1 - Map with the Kaingang IIs.



Source: Adapted the D'Angelis (2007).

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 IIs 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 II, 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.

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, Apucarantina, 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* [i'ʃɔg] being used four times by K1.

K1	Gender: Male	IL: Barão de Antonina
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K1: *Inh hã vễ gé siri, k̄y isóg siri ajag mré vĩ vãnh han gé m̄yn siri.*

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

K̄y isóg siri rãnrãj jêgtĩ gé siri.

'I have a job...'

K̄y isóg siri inh kãkutẽ k̄y ajag mré vēmén nam ki gé siri.

'So I'm talking to y'all when I left...'

K̄y isóg "Ajag m̄y há kara?" henh siri...[...]

'So I'll ask "Are you all right?". [...]

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

K2	Gender: Female	IL: Barão de Antonina
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K2: *Ajag mré isóg si vēmén m̄n na ki gé hamẽ siri.*

'I'm talking to you again.'

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

'But I'm sitting here in my house.'

sinane tá kãtĩg k̄y isóg si nĩ nĩg gamẽ.

'I'm coming from the city.'

Topẽ jé ajag ve há hán ajag n̄ytĩg já kara tá hamẽ. K̄y hã vễ.

'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 Apucarantina, as well as those of Barão de Antonina, also preferred the *isóg* form, despite the other variants.

K3	Gender: Male	IL: Apucarantina
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K3: *Ajag m̃y há kara irmão, irmãs? Ũri kurã tag to Topẽ jẽ ajag ki r̃r hamẽ.*
 ‘Brothers, sisters are you all alright? May God watch over you on this day.’

Kỹ isóg ajag m̃y tag tóm mamẽ. Kỹ isỹ ajag m̃y nẽn tónh ke mũ tóg ge nĩ hamẽ.
 ‘So I’m saying this. So that’s all I want to talk about.’

K4	Gender: Female	IL: Apucarantina
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K4: *Grupo ajag m̃y há kara? Vãhã isóg ki vĩ mãn na k̃g gam. Jag m̃y há?*
 ‘Are you all okay, group? Now that I’m talking here again. Are you all right?’

Hỹ hỹnỹ, he isóg!
 ‘I think so, I do!’

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

K5	Gender: Male	IL: Mococa
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K5: *Ataide tóg siri ti video jẽnẽ ja na kig ga. Kỹ isóg venh nha ki gam vere.*
 ‘Ataide sent a video. So now I’m going to see.’

Mỹ ke? ã tỹ video jẽnẽg mũ tag ve jẽ isóg kema ham vere.
 ‘Isn’t it? So now I’m going to watch this video you sent.’

K6	Gender: Female	IL: Mococa
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K6: *Irmão, irmã ajag m̃y há kara? Inh m̃y nóg sérẽ tĩ gé siri [...]*
 ‘Brother, sister is everyone alright? I’m happy [...]

Isũ tóg siri nhin ke k̃y nã gé, ti bateria tóg tũ’ e k̃y nã ham siri.
 ‘Mine is off, its battery ran out.’

Kỹ isóg kara k̃y kahegan nũ há 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 *ijóg*, 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
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K7: *Ajag m̃y há kara hamẽ?*
 ‘Are you all okay?’

Inh vễ hamẽ si tagki, ajag mág kara ham.
'It is me, the greatest (manager) of you.'

Ajag vĩ tũ pẽ nĩ e mũ rỹ, kỹ ijóg inh grupon hỹnỹ tũ e kãn rã há he mũ.
'You guys aren't talking much, so I guess my group is winding down.'

K8	Gender: Female	IL: Queimadas
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K8: *Irmãos, Irmãs sér tóg tam kurã tag. Há ijóg ũri inh mỹnh hag ãn kã jẽ nam.*
'Brothers, sisters, these days have been good. But today I'm at my parents' house.'

Jagnẽ mré ěg tóg jẽnjẽn sórm mam ũri, ěg mỹ sér tĩ kỹ.[...]
'We are having lunch together today [...]

Note that K7 and K8 pronounced *ijóg* instead of *isóg*.

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

K9	Gender: Male	IL: Faxinal
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Researcher: *Ã mỹ há? Mỹ ã jamã tá há?*
'Are you okay? Is it okay where you live?'

K9: *Hỹ ÿ, há inh jẽ. Ki ti há tĩ gé. Ěg sinane hã mũ caso tóg kũfirmãno tĩ gé, pandemia tag ti siri.[...]*
'Yes I'm fine. Here, too, everything is fine. Only in the city have confirmed cases, with this pandemic. [...]

Researcher: *Ã mỹ ěg vĩ rán há nĩ, ã hẽ tá ki kanhrãn?*
'Do you know how to write in our language?'

K9: *XXX, ha só tó pãgsĩ nĩ gé, ka ijóg rán pãgsĩ nĩgtĩ gé.*
'XXX, but I only read a little, and I also write a little.'

Sỹ ki kanhrãn jãn tag vỹ tỹ bíblia tigrĩn ke nĩgtĩ.
'The little I learned was because of the bible.'

Bíblia tigrĩn inh ki kanhrãn gé, estuna 'he tĩ jẽn. [...]
'I learned because of the bible, I was studying. [...]

K10	Gender: Female	IL: Faxinal
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Researcher: *Ã mỹ há? Mỹ ã jamã tá há?*
'Are you okay? Is it okay where you live?'

K10: *Hỹ ÿ, ha ijóg ha pẽ jẽ. Jã ã, ã há ki gé? Hãmẽ*
'Yes, but I'm fine. And you, are you okay too?'

Tỹ inh Faxinal ki ke nĩ.[...]
'I'm from Faxinal.'

Researcher: *Há ijóg há jê gé.*

‘But I’m fine too’

K10: *Ha tó katy tĩ e ma mĩ’. Kuty tá ijóg si jornal ki vênh kaga tĩ mũ tag ti tỹ vỹn ke kãn ja hã 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.

K11	Gender: Male	IL: Marrecas
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Researcher: *Ã mĩ há, ã tỹ hẽ tá ke nam?*

‘How are you? Where you are from? Do you study?’

K11: *Ha ijóg hán, há ijóg tỹ Maréka ki ke nĩ.*

‘But I’m fine, but I’m from here in Marrecas.’

Ha ijóg vênhrán tĩ, tã nánh kurso han tĩ mĩ’ Mãné Rima tá.

‘I study, I’m taking a course in Manoel Ribas.’

Researcher: *Hỹ, kỹ tóg há tĩ. Mẽ mĩ ajag magistério han tĩ mẽ?*

‘Yeah, then it’s good! Looks like you teach there, right?’

K11: *Hỹ’ỹ. Ha nóg tỹ tag hã nĩ my’.*

‘Yes. That’s right.’

K12	Gender: Female	IL: Marrecas
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K12: *Irmão, irmã ajag mỹ há kara ham?*

‘Brother, sister, are you all alright?’

Vãhã ijóg ajag mré vĩ mãn ke ma ki gé.

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

Rãké ti nã ha ki gé. Queimadas kã ijóg jê gé, inh família ag mré ijóg huru nén sìn kãmẽ gé ham. Kỹ tóg inh mỹ séré tĩ 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: *Ã mÿ há, ã hẽ ri ke?*
‘Are you ok? how are you?’

K13: *Ha ijóg há pẽ jẽ. Jãvo ã?*
‘I am really well. Are you?’

Researcher: *Há inh jẽ gé. Jã ã mÿ vere vẽnhránrán tĩ em?*
‘I am well too. And are you still studying?’

K13: *Hÿ'ÿ. Ha ẽg tóg venhránrán tũn e mũ mÿn vere. Kÿnh inhie Ivaí hã kã jẽ. Kÿ ẽg tóg ke tũn e mũ my', há ẽg ne online tavĩ he e ã mÿ', [...]*
‘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: *Ã mÿ há?*
‘Are you okay?’

K14: *Hã'ã. Ha kara ẽg nÿtĩ em. Inh familia ag tó há nÿtĩ gé.*
‘Yes. But we’re all fine. My family is fine too.’

Inh nÿ fi tóg inh kanhrãn é. Jã inh panh tóg tÿ kanhgág pẽ tũ nÿ mÿ', tÿ tóg mestiço nÿ mÿ'.
‘My mother taught me. And my father is not pure kaingang, he is mestizo.’

Kÿ tó ẽg vĩ ã... ha tó ẽg vĩ ti tó tẽ tóg ã ki kagtĩg nĩgtĩ jÿ. Kÿ inh mÿnh fi inh kanhrãn kÿ nĩgtĩ.
‘So he speaks our language... but he speaks our language, but sometimes he doesn’t understand.’

Ën tá ẽmãmãmã ja ra ẽg si tagmĩ kãmũjẽg mÿ', ẽg tÿ ẽn tá ẽmãmãmã já ra ẽg si tagmĩ kãmũjẽg mÿ'.
‘We used to live there, but we come back here again.’

Kÿ inh tagki aula kaingang to rã sĩ han, ha inh ki kanhrãn tũn é jÿ. Kÿ inh ẽg vĩ ki ránrán ã nĩgtĩ, véké isóg ã hã to ke há nĩgtĩ, jã isóg ránrán ki kagtĩg nĩgtĩ.

‘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 Apucarantina, where the preferred variant is *isóg*. So we can deduce that, due to the contact and because he lived in the IL Apucarantina, he uses the standard variant *isóg*.

Given this information, we can say that the range of use of *ijóg* 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 vĩ mãn kema ki gé hamẽ siri.*
‘Brothers Kaingang, so now I’m going to talk to you again.’

Tagkã hamẽ siri, Rio das Cobras kã, inh jamãn hã vẽ mÿn siri...[...]
 ‘Here, in Rio das Cobras, this is where I live.’

K16	Gender: Female	IL: Rio das Cobras
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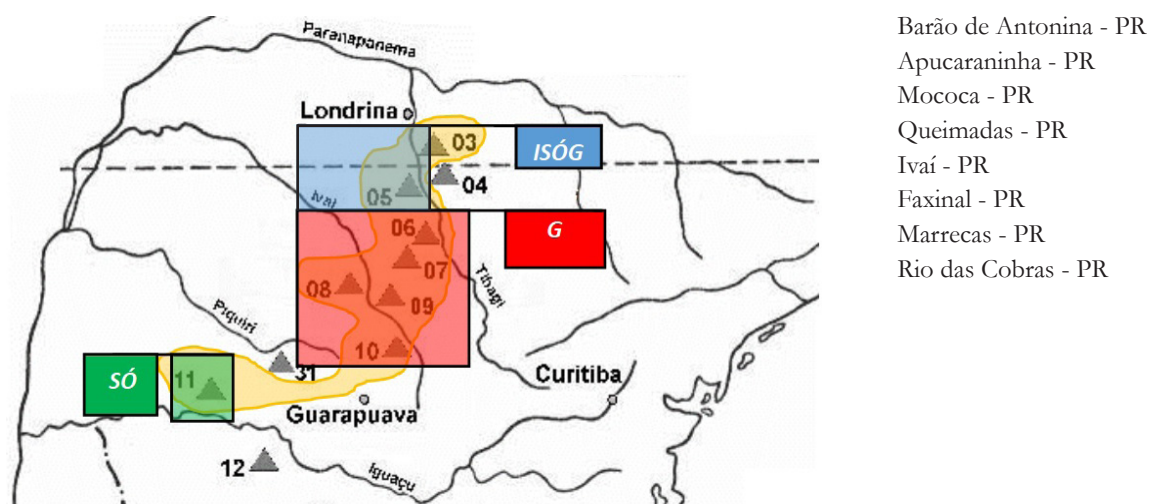
K16: *Samuel ti vÿ mẽg tũ ãg nóg nÿ em mẽ? Kÿ só ny em...*
 ‘We’re not hearing Samuel’s voice, are we? So I’m laughing.’

Vãhã inh mẽ sÿ han ha, nén ã...
 ‘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.



- Barão de Antonina - PR
- Apucarantina - PR
- Mococa - PR
- Queimadas - PR
- Ivaí - PR
- Faxinal - PR
- Marrecas - PR
- Rio das Cobras - PR

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, Apucarantina 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 Florianiana (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 *sóv*, 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.

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APPENDIX

Abbreviations

1	first person	EXIST	existence	PL	plural
2	second person	FIN	finished	POSS	possessive pronoun
3	third person	FUT	future	PROGR	progressive
ANAF	anaphora	HAB	habituality	SG	singular
ASP	aspect	NEG	negation	SM	subject marker
CONAT	conative	OPT	optative		
DEM	demonstrative	QU	question		

K1

Inh hã vễ gé siri, kỹ isóg siri ajag mré vĩ vãnh han gé mỷn 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 rãnhrāj jễgtĩ gé siri.
 then 1SG.SM certainly work standing.HAB already certamente
 ‘I have a job...’

Kỹ isóg siri inh kãkutễ kỹ ajag mré vễmẻn 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 mỷ há kara?” hẻnh siri...
 then 1SG.SM 2PL QU well all say.FUT certainly
 ‘So I’ll ask “Are you all right?”’

K2

Ajag mrẻ isóg si vễmẻn mẫn na ki gé hamẻ siri.
 2PL with 1SG.SM certainly speak again CONAT certamente
 ‘I’m talking to you again. Listen!’

Hara isóg siri tag kã nỉ nễg gamẻ, inh ỉn 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 kãtễg kỹ isóg si nỉ nễg gamẻ.
 city there come then 1SG.SM certainly ASP.sitting ASP.sitting CONAT
 ‘I’m coming from the city. Listen!’

Topẻ jẻ ajag ve há hẻn ajag nễtễg jả kara tá hamẻ. Kỹ hã vẻ.
 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 mỷ há kara ỉrmảo, ỉrmảs? Ủri kurả tag to Topẻ jẻ ajag ki rửr hamẻ.
 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!’

Kỹ isóg ajag mỹ tag tóm mamẽ.
then 1SG.SM 2PL to DEM say CONAT
'So I'm saying this. Listen!'

Kỹ isỹ ajag mỹ nén tónh ke mũ tóg ge nĩ hamẽ.
then 1SG.SM 2PL to thing say.FUT FUT ASP ANÁF that's it CONAT
So that's all I want to talk about. Listen!'

K4

Grupo ajag mỹ há kara? Vãhã isóg ki vĩ mãn na kig gam. Jag mỹ há?
Group 2PL QU well all now 1SG.SM here speak again CONAT 2PL QU well
'Are you all okay, group? Now that I'm talking here again. Listen! Are you all right?'

Hỹ hỹnỹ, he isóg!
yes probably say 1SG.SM
'I think so, I do!'

K5

Ataíde tóg siri ti video jẽnẽ ja na kig ga.
Ataíde SM certainly 3SG.POSS video send FIN CONAT
'Ataíde sent a video. Listen!'

Kỹ isóg venh nha ki gam vere.
then 1SG.SM see.FUT CONAT now
'So I'm going to see it now. Listen!'

Mỹ ke? ã tỹ video jẽnẽg mũ tag ve jé isóg ke ma ham vere
CONAT 2SG video send ASP DEM see FUT 1SG.SM FUT ASP CONAT now
'Isn't it? So now I'm going to watch this video you sent. Listen!'

K6

Isũ tóg siri nhin ke kỹ nã gé,
1SG.NEG SM certainly turn off ASP.lying too
'Mine is off,'

ti bateria tóg tũ' e kỹ nã ham siri.
3SG.POSS battery SM NEG yes then ASP.lying already certainly
'Its battery ran out.'

Kỹ isóg kara kỹ kahegan nũ há ke gé.
then 1SG.SM all then recharge ASP too
'Then I will recharge it.'

K7

Ajag vĩ tũ pẽ nĩ e mũ rỹ,
2PL speak NEG much ASP.sitting much ASP
'You guys aren't talking much,'

Kỹ ijóg inh grupon hỹnỹ tũ e kãn rã há he mũ.
then 1SG.SM 1SG.POSS group probably end start ASP
'so I guess my group is ending.'

K8

Há ijóg ũri inh mÿnh hag ãn 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 mré ěg tóg jẽnjẽn sórm mam ũri ěg mÿ sér tĩ kÿ.
 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

Ã mÿ ěg vĩ rán há nĩ, ã hẽ tá ki kanhrãn?
 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 gé, ka ijóg rán pãgsĩ nĩgtĩ gé.
 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

Ã mÿ há? Mÿ ã jamã tá há?
 2SG QU well QU 2SG live there well
 ‘Are you okay? Is it okay where you live?’

Hÿ’ÿ, ha ijóg ha pẽ jẽ. Jã ã, ã há ki gé? 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?’

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

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

Kuty tá ijóg si jornal ki vẽnh kaga tĩ mũ
 night there 1SG.SM certainly newspaper in disease go HAB
tag ti tÿ vÿn ke kãn ja hã ve gé 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

Ã mÿ há, ã tÿ hẽ tá ke nam?
 2SG QU well 2SG SM from where
 ‘How are you? Where you are from?’

Ha ijóg hãn, há ijóg tÿ 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.’

Ha **ijóg** vênhrán tĩ, tã nánh kurso han tĩ mÿ' Mãné Rima tá.
 now 1SG.SM study HAB over there there course do HAB to Manoel Ribas there in
 'I study, I'm taking a course in Manoel Ribas.'

K12

Vãhã **ijóg** ajag mré vĩ mãn ke ma ki gé.
 now 1SG.SM 2PL with speak again PROGR ASP
 'It's now that I'm talking to you again.'

Rãké ti nã ha ki gé. Queimadas kã **ijóg** jẽ gé,
 late 3SG ASP.lying again Queimadas in 1SG.SM ASP.standing too
 'It's late again. I'm here in Queimadas,'

inh família ag mré **ijóg** huru nén sîn kãmẽ gé ham.
 1SG.POSS family 3M.PL with 1SG.SM already thing small eat already
 'I ate something with my family.'

K13

Ã mÿ há, ã hẽ ri ke?
 2SG QU well 2SG how
 'Are you ok? how are you?'

Ha **ijóg** há pẽ jẽ.
 now 1SG.SM well very ASP.standing
 'I am really well.'

K14

Kÿ inh ãg vĩ ki ránrán ã nĩgtĩ, véké
 then 1SG 1PL.POSS language in write.PL NEG always anyway
 'So I don't know how to write in our language,'

isóg ã hã to ke há nĩgtĩ, jã **isóg** ránrán ki kagtĩg nĩgtĩ.
 1SG.SM some yes read well ASP.sitting,HAB but 1SG.SM write.PL not knowing ASP.sitting,HAB
 'I know how to read some, but I don't know how to write.'

K15

Irmãos kaingang, **só** ajag mré vĩ mãn ke ma ki gé hamẽ siri.
 brothers Kaingang 1SG.SM 2PL with speak again PROGR in already
 'Brothers Kaingang, so I will now talk to you again'

K16

Samuel ti vĩ mẽg tũ ãg nóg nĩ em mẽ? Kÿ **só** ny em...
 Samuel 3SG.M.POSS voice hear NEG 1PL SM ASP.sitting CONAT isn't it then 1SG.SM laugh CONAT
 'We're not hearing Samuel's voice, are we? So I'm laughing.'