

## TERMS OF KINSHIP IN THE BILINGUAL GUARANI-MBYÁ/PORTUGUESE – PORTUGUESE/ GUARANI-MBYÁ DICTIONARY

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- **ABSTRACT:** This work aims to present the process of compiling the entries for kinship terms in the Bilingual *Guarani-Mbyá/Portuguese-Portuguese/Guarani-Mbyá* Dictionary, considering the specificities of the indigenous language and culture, as well as the possible contributions of the project. Guarani kinship is considered based on Schaden (1974), Litaiff (1996), and Pissolato (2007). The organization of the Dictionary is inspired by the proposals of Welker (2004) and the theoretical assumptions related to the development of bilingual dictionaries, considering the possibilities for presenting meanings (Adamka-Salaciak, 2016) and the relationship between Lexicography and the theories of Lexical Semantics (Geeraerts, 2016). The analysis of linguistic data highlighted the need for specific treatment of polysemy in kinship terms, as well as the organization of cultural information necessary to present lexical meanings, considering the conditions of language in use and the contexts of interaction. As a result, this article highlights the sociopolitical nature of lexicographical works committed to projects of revitalization and revival of indigenous languages in Brazil, in addition to the intended contributions to linguistic studies.
- **KEYWORDS:** Bilingual Dictionaries; *Guarani-Mbyá*; Kinship; Lexicography.

### Introduction

There was a significant loss of indigenous languages in what is now the Brazilian territory because of the extinction of entire nations in the colonial period and, gradually, through an intense process of linguistic replacement resulting from contact. Guarani language, among many others that survived, continued being spoken in Brazil and in other countries of Latin America, such as Paraguay, Argentina, and Bolivia, with

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different levels of linguistic vitality. In Paraguay, because of a long process of linguistic, social, and cultural contact in the colonial period, a mixed language was developed, the *Jopará*, which mixes linguistic data from Guaraní and Spanish.

Although there is a Paraguayan Spanish and a Paraguayan Guaraní, which for many speakers are distinct systems, linguistic analysis of real facts reveals that a new system has been established in which there is grammatical fusion and a new structuring of linguistic repertoires, with contributions from both languages [...]. *Jopará* is *Guaraní* that has been historically hispanicized, but not uniformly, rather gradually and sectorally developed, until it constitutes a very heterogeneous continuum according to the heterogeneity of the linguistic repertoires required by the act of speaking this or that, which also leads to mixed morphosyntactic realizations<sup>1</sup> (Melià, 2013, p. 81-83).

In Argentina, the so-called *Guaraní Correntino*, according to Cerno (2013, p. 19 and 35), is a result of one of the varieties of the Creole Guaraní which was developed from the miscegenation involving *Guaraní* people and Spanish in the period of the colonization in the old provinces of Paraguay and Corrientes from the 16th to the 19th centuries. Nowadays, according to the author, in Argentina, the language is spoken in rural areas, almost exclusively by *Guaraní* and Spanish bilingual speakers. As for Bolivia, the literature records that, even before the 16th century, a *Guaraní* group migrated to the Bolivian mountains (Cerno, 2013, p. 19-20). According to Dietrich (2021, p. 261), the *Guaraní* language is spoken by “two large dialect groups, the *Ava*, with the subdialects *Ava*, *Simba* and *Chané*, and the *Issocenho*”. According to the author, *Ava*, *Chané* and *Issocenho* speakers are also found in Argentina.

There are four groups in Brazil, *Mbyá*, *Kaiowá* (*Kaiwá* ou *Pa’i Tavyterã*), *Nhandeva* e *Nhandewa*<sup>2</sup> descendants of the called *Kaingua*<sup>3</sup> (*ka’a* ‘forest’ + *ygua* ‘demonym’), from which also descend the so-called *Chiripá*, located in different Brazilian states. Those classifications, naturally, “[...] do not reflect the own forms of auto identification

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<sup>1</sup> In the original: “Si bien hay un español paraguayo y un guaraní paraguayo, que para la conciencia muchos hablantes son sistemas diferenciados, el análisis lingüístico de hechos reales descubre una zona en la cual se constituyó un nuevo sistema en el que hay fusión gramatical y estructuración nueva de los repertorios lingüísticos con aportes procedentes tanto de una lengua como de otra. [...] el jopará es el guaraní históricamente hispanizado, pero no de una manera uniforme, sino gradual y sectorialmente desarrollado hasta constituir un continuum bastante heterogéneo conforme a la heterogeneidad de los repertorios lingüísticos exigidos por el acto de hablar de esto o de aquello, lo que conlleva realizaciones morfo-sintáticas también mixtas”.

<sup>2</sup> Costa (2010), by analyzing the migrations registered in Nimuendajú (1987), proposed to distinguish the *Nhandeva* group of Mato Grosso do Sul from the *Nhandeva* of São Paulo and north of Paraná. Ivo (2018), when developing a comparative phonetic-phonological study between the four Guaraní groups, confirmed linguistic specificities that distinguish the *Nhandeva* from *Nhandewa*, showing that the latter is even closer to the *Mbyá* group.

<sup>3</sup> In this work, the norms of the Brazilian Association of Anthropology – ABA (1957) are adopted, which dispense the gender and number inflection in ethnonyms. In addition, the names of ethnic groups are written with initial capital letter.

used by the local groups that form the vast populational contingent which are relational and fluid”<sup>4</sup> (Pierri, 2018, p. 30).

*Guarani-Mbyá* people are located in the states of *Espírito Santo*, *Rio de Janeiro*, *São Paulo*, *Paraná*, *Santa Catarina*, and *Rio Grande do Sul*. Besides, some *Mbyá* families can be found in *Pará* (*Nova Jacundá* indigenous territory in the municipality of *Rondon do Pará*) and in *Tocantins* (*Xambioá* indigenous territory, in the municipality of *Santa Fé do Araguaia*) (Ricardo; Ricardo, 2017, p. 464 and 665), the group for which the Bilingual *Guarani-Mbyá/Portuguese–Portuguese/Guarani-Mbyá* Dictionary<sup>5</sup> it has been elaborated (henceforth only Dictionary), although, when it is possible, lexical data of different *Guarani* groups are added by *Guarani* teachers or from dictionary sources.

## Dictionaries as sociopolitical action in linguistic revitalization projects

Among *Guarani-Mbyá* people there is a significant number of *Guarani/Portuguese* bilingual speakers. However, as the reality for many indigenous societies in Brazil, with the advancement and predominance of the Portuguese language in different spaces, children and teenagers often begin with a process of decreasing the use of their languages, which occurs for different reasons, whether due to the intense use of the Portuguese language on the social networks or due to the predominance of the Portuguese language in indigenous schools established in villages, with the prevalent use of teaching materials written in Portuguese.

A language begins to disappear when there is an interruption in linguistic transmission between generations which becomes one of the decisive factors in the process of linguistic replacement and loss (See Ivo, 2019).

Given this situation, within linguistic revitalization and recovery projects, linguistic documentation has been a very valid proposal. The writing of indigenous languages proves to be very effective in providing means for recovering linguistic information and providing paths for updating and creating new semantic categories for the speakers, which can serve indigenous societies as a resource for the development of teaching materials, considering indigenous school education as a means of valuing and strengthening native languages. In this sense, dictionaries can integrate projects to revitalize and revive indigenous languages as a reference and as teaching support material.

Throughout the history of linguistic studies, the relationship between language and identity has been observed from different perspectives. Although the structuralist tradition has prioritized and focused on the analysis of the linguistic form, different approaches have focused on the sociolinguistic, historical, and cultural aspects of speakers, understanding the inseparability of these factors. In this sense, describing

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<sup>4</sup> In the original: “[...] não refletem as formas próprias de autoidentificação empregadas pelos grupos locais que formam vasto contingente populacional, e que são relacionais e fluidas” (Pierri, 2018, p. 30).

<sup>5</sup> The Bilingual *Guarani-Mbyá/Portuguese–Portuguese/Guarani-Mbyá* Dictionary Project was born from a request by *Guarani-Mbyá* teachers who work on the project as consultants.

a language means recording the history of a people and their way of interpreting the world, which is extremely challenging and complex.

According to Ivo (2018), *Guarani* society is structured based on the so-called *Tekó* — the set of cultural factors which coordinate relationships, beliefs, and the way of being, living, and acting in the world. Generally translated as ‘culture’, or simply as ‘customs’, by the *Guarani* themselves, *Tekó* requires linguistic articulations. To name one, *Tekó* is taught through speeches with refined oratory by the elders (*-amōi*), whose meaning is polysemic, conveying the meaning of spiritual leader, in addition to naming the ascending generations of female and male egos, such as we will demonstrate later.

Natural languages have been understood as “a place of interaction, as a dimension through which individuals act in the world and constitute themselves as subjects — language is, more than anything, an action between subjects situated socially, historically and culturally”<sup>6</sup> (Mendes, 2012, p. 671, our translation). In this sense, one can think not only about the language itself but also about the products that emerge from it as inseparable from a sociopolitical context of action. Thus, the production of dictionaries committed to working on broader aspects, in addition to semantics, morphosyntax, phonology, as well as indigenous worldview and episteme can constitute a significant contribution to indigenous communities.

Brazil is a multilingual country, although a large part of its population believes the country to be monolingual. According to Krieger (2020), the changes in geographic borders that occurred during the Renaissance ended up establishing new socio-geographically constituted spaces, engendering a search for national identities in established spaces with the proposal of the idea of common languages to an entire territory as an identity factor, thus erasing linguistic varieties. In this context, the role of linguistic dictionaries in legitimizing the so-called national lexicon has become traditional. Over the course of the history and sociocultural changes established in Brazil, the 19th century delimited an interest in lexicographic studies with a focus on Brazilian standards:

[...] motivated by a nationalist spirit [...], lexicographical productions emerged on Brazilianisms that had the intention of registering and fixing the Brazilian norm, works that sometimes had the purpose of describing the national norm (Brazilianisms) in opposition to the European one, and sometimes sought to register vocabularies regional<sup>7</sup> (Isquierdo, 2011 *apud* Costa, 2020, p. 59, our translation).

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<sup>6</sup> In the original: “*lugar de interação, como dimensão através da qual os indivíduos atuam no mundo e se constituem como sujeitos – a língua é, mais do que tudo, ação entre sujeitos situados social, histórica e culturalmente*” (Mendes, 2012, p. 671).

<sup>7</sup> In the original: “*motivadas por um espírito nacionalista [...], surgem produções lexicográficas sobre brasileirismos que tinham a pretensão de registrar e fixar a norma brasileira, obras que ora tinham como propósito descrever a norma nacional (brasileirismos) em oposição à europeia, ora buscavam registrar vocabulários regionais*” (Isquierdo, 2011 *apud* Costa, 2020, p. 59).

According to Krieger (2020, p. 15, our translation), it is evident that “social and cultural contexts are implicated in the countless pragmatic roles that dictionaries play in societies”<sup>8</sup>, since, throughout the configuration of the Lexicography, identity notions of language became important. When it comes to indigenous languages, the relationship between language, dictionary, and identity is also affected by other issues, since, in Brazil, the colonization process persecuted, dehumanized, and constituted a genocide not only of the people but also of their languages – including, in a standardized form, as seen in the *Pombal Directory*<sup>9</sup>.

[...] it will be one of the main concerns of the directors to establish the use of the Portuguese language in their respective villages, not allowing in any way that the boys and girls who belong to the schools, and all those Indians, who are capable for instruction in this matter, use the language of their nations, or the general language; but only Portuguese<sup>10</sup> (*Diretório*, 1755 *apud* Almeida, 1997, p. 2, our translation).

Considering that, during this process, several indigenous languages became extinct, and that, currently, there are a considerable number of languages with endangered status, the lexicographic approach to indigenous languages deals with the need to meet persistent symptoms of colonization, placing as priorities within its objectives the valorization, maintenance, and strengthening of these languages. As pedagogical tools, dictionaries can have an educational dimension relevant to the appreciation of indigenous languages.

There are sometimes questions about the introduction of writing in societies with an oral tradition, especially when writing is conceived only as a regulatory or standardizing mechanism, distancing itself from the practical uses that written products can offer, especially for minority languages. D’Angelis (2007, p. 2) discusses two views related to indigenous languages and cultures — a view he calls *in vitro* (or museum type) and another, linked to the idea of *in locu* preservation. Regarding *in vitro* conservation, he says:

Dealing with cultures and languages, the first vision, *in vitro* or museum conservation, seeks to collect and freeze as many manifestations of the culture or language of the society in question in the hope of “conserving”

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<sup>8</sup> In the original: “contextos sociais e culturais estão implicados nos inúmeros papéis pragmáticos que os dicionários desempenham nas sociedades” (Krieger, 2020, p. 15).

<sup>9</sup> The excerpts from the Directory cited in this work were taken from a text typed from copies of the originals published in the book *O diretório dos índios: um projeto de “civilização” no Brasil do século XVIII*, by Rita Heloísa de Almeida, Ed. UNB, 1997.

<sup>10</sup> In the original: “[...] será um dos principais cuidados dos diretores, estabelecer nas suas respectivas povoações o uso da língua portuguesa, não consentindo por modo algum, que os meninos, e meninas, que pertencem as escolas, e todos aqueles índios, que forem capazes de instrução nesta matéria, usem da língua própria das suas nações, ou da chamada geral; mas unicamente da portuguesa” (*Diretório*, 1755 *apud* Almeida, 1997, p. 2).

it *in vitro*. Therefore, the museological perspective tends to see the introduction of writing as an undue influence, capable of contaminating the material to be preserved. For this view, for example, linguistic borrowing is always undesirable and intolerable; a sign of weakness of the speakers of the indigenous language<sup>11</sup> (D'Angelis, 2007, p. 2, our translation).

From the perspective of *in locu* preservation, for him, the continuation of life is important, considering its inherent transformations:

[...] The important values are the continuation of life (life of people, life of culture, life of language), even if transformed. From this perspective, it is legitimate to make use of new resources (school education, for example, but also linguistic borrowing, writing, etc.), and all purism is placed in the background. From this perspective, the risk of investing resources in strengthening an endangered language is worth more than producing its record for when it is dead. From this perspective, writing is nothing more than one of the materials or technologies that can be used for the good of life, among many other materials, useful and useless, that white people take to the village, or that appear there, floating in the river<sup>12</sup> (D'Angelis, 2007, p. 2-3, our translation).

Dictionaries, in our view, can be understood as pedagogical support materials, assuming a socio-political role in combating the disappearance of languages through written documentation, also revealing themselves as a valid resource for cultural appreciation in practical situations, going beyond the simple linguistic register. From this perspective, the Dictionary project was born, as a proposal for the strengthening, maintenance, and appreciation of the *Guarani* language.

The development of bilingual dictionaries faces challenges related to the complexity of meanings in natural languages since words do not have a single meaning. As Adamska-Salaciak (2016, p. 146) states, “words exhibit a continuum of meaning, with different meanings mixing, often imperceptibly”. It is therefore necessary to consider

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<sup>11</sup> In the original: “*Tratando de culturas e línguas, a primeira visão, da conservação in vitro ou museológica, busca recolher e congelar o máximo das manifestações da cultura ou língua da sociedade em questão na esperança de ‘conservá-la’ in vitro. A perspectiva museológica costuma ver, por isso, a introdução da escrita como uma influência indevida, capaz de contaminar o material a ser conservado. Para essa visão, por exemplo, empréstimo linguístico é sempre indesejável e intolerável; um sinal de fraqueza dos falantes da língua indígena*” (D'Angelis, 2007, p. 2).

<sup>12</sup> In the original: “[...] os valores importantes são a continuação da vida (vida das pessoas, vida da cultura, vida da língua), ainda que transformada. Nessa perspectiva é legítimo lançar mão de novos recursos (o ensino escolar, por exemplo, mas também os empréstimos linguísticos, a escrita, etc.) e todo purismo é colocado em segundo plano. Dessa perspectiva, vale mais o risco de aplicar recursos no fortalecimento de uma língua ameaçada do que na produção do seu registro para quando ela estiver morta. Nessa perspectiva, a escrita não é mais que um dos materiais ou tecnologias aproveitáveis para o bem da vida, entre tantos outros materiais, prestáveis e imprestáveis, que os brancos levam para a aldeia, ou que lá aparecem, boiando no rio” (D'Angelis, 2007, p. 2-3).

aspects of the language in use, through the presentation of practical examples in the Dictionary:

The lexicographer's task is to analyze many typical instances of language use (as recorded in a language corpus) from which actual meaning emerge, and to formulate generalizations on the basis of the analyzed instances which can later be presented in a dictionary (Adamska-Salaciak, 2016, p. 146).

Geeraerts (2016, p. 433) aligns himself with this perspective when discussing the relationships between Lexicography and the lexical theory, stating that, "in contrast with structuralist semantics, cognitive semantics takes a usage-based rather than a system-based approach to the description of meaning".

Natural languages are not isomorphic. Although the lexicographer sometimes finds meanings corresponding to both languages, most commonly, related meanings are not found, since natural languages can be distinguished in terms of structure, typology, and culture, among many other aspects, which constitutes a great challenge in the elaboration of bilingual dictionaries. Thus, throughout the process of preparing the Dictionary, we sought solutions to present the meanings of *Guarani-Mbyá*, such as the insertion of nominal and verbal inflections, the presentation of authentication and linguistic-anthropological notes, when necessary to understand the lexemes, always considering the conditions of the language in use, experiences, and interaction processes.

### **The *Guarani-Mbyá* kinship**

According to Gomes, kinship is the social organization of a people, it is the social basis of relationships:

The system of social organization is composed of a group of people who identify with each other due to recognizing a common bond, whether through consanguinity (wife, father-in-law, son-in-law, people married to uncles, also called uncles), adoption (any of these, by extension) or some type of ritual incorporation (godfather, godson). This set is organized into identity categories (relatives, children, siblings, cousins, grandchildren, grandparents, etc.) from which it is expected a certain consistent behavior<sup>13</sup> (Gomes, 2019, p. 74, our translation).

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<sup>13</sup> In the original: "*O sistema de organização social composto pelo conjunto de pessoas que se identificam entre si em função de reconhecerem um vínculo comum, seja por consaguinidade (pai, mãe, irmão, avós, tios, primos, netos, etc.), casamento (esposa, sogro, genro, pessoas casadas com tios, também chamados tios), adoção (qualquer um desses, por extensão) ou algum tipo ritual de incorporação (padrinho, afilhado). Esse conjunto se organiza em categorias*

The study of kinship as one of the spheres of social life, according to Pereira (1999, p. 7), can contribute to the formulation even more general norms and rules of a system:

Kinship is analyzed as one of the instances of social life, which, together with other spheres, helps to understand how individual and collective behaviors acquire meaning at the level of experience. Kinship, even though it is not a totalizing sphere, allows the formulation of more general norms and rules, constituting a system<sup>14</sup> (Pereira, 1999, p. 7, our translation).

According to Pissolato (2007, p. 175, our translation), ethnological literature frequently points to *Guarani* kinship as a place for structuring social life, and the extended family as a “basic social unit, unit of economic-religious and political production”<sup>15</sup>. Schaden (1974, p. 73) described the social organization of the *Guarani* people as based on the large family, comprising the couple, their married daughters, sons-in-law, and the descending generation.

Litaiff (1996, p. 58, our translation), in his study on the *Guarani-Mbyá* of the village of *Bracuí*, in *Angra dos Reis/RJ*, presented the matrilineal configuration of *Mbyá* society: “The man builds his residence next to the house of the wife’s family”<sup>16</sup>, which is also observed in other *Guarani-Mbyá* villages. In some cases, the new couple lives with the wife’s family for a significant period, sometimes until the first child is born, and, regarding descendants, the researcher noted a greater incidence of bilinearity, with a predominance of patrilineal ancestry.

In *Mbyá* villages, families live in places called *jopygua*<sup>17</sup>, which are the nuclei of extended families. According to the teacher *Mbyá Joel Kuaray* (in personal communication), *jopygua* means ‘relatives from the same place’, thus revealing the social organization based on kinship configurations.

Therefore, the observation and study of kinship systems in different societies are topics that are of interest to different areas of knowledge. Linguistics, by recording and focusing on kinship terms, contributes to the analysis of the functioning of societies, whether through Anthropology, History, Philosophy, Sociology, or other fields. The

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de identidade (pais, filhos, irmãos, primos, netos, avós, etc.) de que se esperam comportamentos mais ou menos consistentes” (Gomes, 2019, p. 74).

<sup>14</sup> In the original: “O parentesco é analisado como uma das instâncias da vida social, que, junto com outras esferas, ajuda a compreender como os comportamentos individuais e coletivos, adquirem significado no plano do vivido. O parentesco, mesmo não sendo uma esfera totalizadora, permite formular normas e regras mais gerais, constituindo um sistema” (Pereira, 1999, p. 7).

<sup>15</sup> In the original: “unidade social básica, unidade de produção econômico-religiosa e política” (Pissolato, 2007, p. 75).

<sup>16</sup> In the original: “o homem constrói a sua residência ao lado da casa da família da esposa” (Litaiff, 1996, p. 58).

<sup>17</sup> *-jopy* has two basic meanings: 1. to catch and 2. to join. The second meaning presented in Cadogan (2011 [1992], p. 69), ‘to unite’, belongs to the ritual, sacred vocabulary. Morphologically, the term can be interpreted based on the following composition: {*jo-*} ‘reciprocal’ + {*py*} ‘locative’ (postposition) + {*-gua*} ‘nominalizer’ — suffix that, with the forms *py* and *-gui* <*pygua*, *guigua*>, conveys the meaning ‘from’. This composition explains the translation of *jopygua* as ‘relatives from the same place’, that is, ‘relatives united from a reciprocal place’.



lexical uses of terms that describe kinship relationships, linked to the meanings triggered by them, reveal how societies understand and organize identity categories related to established roles. Therefore, “in each society, the kinship bond is defined by the intensity and functionality of its categories and groups”<sup>18</sup> (Gomes, 2019, p. 74, our translation).

There are not many studies that describe the semantic category of *Guarani* kinship. When doing comparative work on conservation and innovation in terms of *Guarani* kinship, specifically in the *Mbyá* and Paraguayan variations, Dietrich (2014) highlights the genesis of the registration of the *Guarani* kinship system, documented in Montoya (2002 [1640]) e 2011b [1639]), respectively in *Vocabulario de la Lengua Guarani* and in *Tesoro de la Lengua Guarani*. The *Vocabulario* presents a broad list of Spanish words and expressions translated to *Guarani*, and the *Tesoro* presents entries in *Guarani* translated to Spanish, with practical examples and a wealth of linguistic information.

In addition, *Guarani* kinship terms can be found in *Catecismo de la Lengua Guarani* (Montoya, 2011a [1640]), compendium of Christian doctrine that presents prayers, classic excerpts from the biblical text, such as the ten commandments, as well as doctrinal texts of Catholic church, in *Guarani* and Spanish languages. The terms are shown in four sections: *Nombres de parentesco*, *Primer grado entre hermanos*, *Segundo grado entre primos*, *Sobrinos y Tercero grado, primos segundos*.

In the organization of the Dictionary, the entries are made from notes resulting from the field research, part of which was recorded in Ivo (2018)<sup>19</sup> and through semi-structured interviews with *Guarani-Mbyá* consultants, participators of the project, speakers and teachers in indigenous schools.

This research is founded on the theoretical-methodological assumptions of Sociolinguistics (Labov, 1972) with reflections about the relation between Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language (Moreno-Fernández, 1998). Sociolinguistics is the area of Linguistics that proposes the study of language in real situations of use, conceiving the relation between linguistic structure, sociocultural aspects, and effective linguistic production. As Cezário and Votré (2012, p. 141, our translation) explain: “For this current, language is a social institution and, therefore, cannot be studied as an autonomous structure, independent of the situational context, culture and history of the people who use it as a means of communication”<sup>20</sup>. Thus, we understand that in the study of kinship there is more than just linguistic forms; there is a whole sociocultural content that explains its uses, which must appear, in some way, in the Dictionary.

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<sup>18</sup> In the original: “[...] em cada sociedade, o vínculo de parentesco é definido pela intensidade e funcionalidade de suas categorias e grupos” (Gomes, 2019, p. 74).

<sup>19</sup> This research was submitted and approved by a Research Ethics Committee, under the CAAE number of 48907614.2.0000.5404, also obtaining approval of the report, under the opinion nº 5.222.693.

<sup>20</sup> In the original: “Para essa corrente, a língua é uma instituição social e, portanto, não pode ser estudada como uma estrutura autônoma, independente do contexto situacional, da cultura e da história das pessoas que a utilizam como meio de comunicação” (Cezário; Votré, 2012, p. 141).

Labov (1972, p. 183) discusses the Sociology of Language as a research area that has been included on Sociolinguistics, which embraces diverse social aspects that dialogue with the issues faced by the Brazilian indigenous languages:

It deals with large-scale social factors, and their mutual interaction with languages and dialects. There are many open questions, and many practical problems associated with the decay and assimilation of minority languages, the development of stable bilingualism, the standardization of languages and the planning of language development in newly emerged nations.

Furthermore, the author discusses another area dedicated to the details of language in use, also included in Sociolinguistics:

[...] the field which Hymes has named “the ethnography of speaking” (1962). There is a great deal to be done in describing and analyzing the patterns of use of languages and dialects within a specific culture the forms of “speech events”; the rules for appropriate selection of speakers; the interrelations of speaker, addressee, audience, topic, channel, and setting; and the ways in which the speakers draw upon the resources of their language to perform certain functions. This functional study is conceived as complementary with the study of linguistic structure (Labov, 1972, p. 184).

Regarding aspects of language in use, we notice that when a society changes, its dynamics also change, which naturally includes kinship relations. Thus, in *Guarani* communities with a high advance of the Portuguese language, one of the observations made is the non-maintenance of two distinct terms for brothers (older and younger), which can cause simplification to just one of the forms.

Moreno-Fernández (1998), in his work “*Principios de sociolingüística y sociología del lenguaje*”, explains that, among the interests of Sociolinguistics, there is the relationship between language, social organization and worldview. Considering Labov’s (1972) proposal for a study of the structure and the evolution of language within the social context of a given speech community, we defined some methodological steps.

To obtain kinship data, in the first stage, the family relationships experienced by the participants were requested through questions such as: what is your father’s name (mother’s, son’s, daughter’s name etc.)? After the establishment of the relationships (in the two ascending generations, the generation of the ego<sup>21</sup> and the two descending generations, including consanguineous and in-law’s relatives), in the second stage, the

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<sup>21</sup> Ego is the term that specifies the person in focus. According to Mello-Wolter (2009, p. 38, our translation), “in Anthropology, it is applied as the point of reference in the system established for kinship relations”, that is, the term that “designates the position from which the relationships are treated” (Castro, 1995, p. 22, our translation).

questions focused on the kinship terms themselves, always maintaining the particularized reference. Therefore, if the participant's father's name was *João*, the question would be: How do you call Mr. *João*? The kinship terms were validated by other speakers, also participants of the project, following the same methodology. When a speaker did not have a particular relationship (grandchildren, for example), this information was sought from other participants who experienced it.

In the process of elaborating the Dictionary, the lexemes were grouped into semantic categories, before the elaboration of the entries, which therefore guaranteed the recording of different areas of life, such as food, health, fauna, flora, kinship, music, etc. Furthermore, grouping into categories allowed the identification of linguistic patterns and systematizations. Among the pre-established semantic categories, kinship terms revealed mechanisms of meaning and resignification, phonetic-phonological variations, morphological constructions, also, information of a linguistic-anthropological nature.

The interpretation and treatment of the kinship terms, presented below, are just a sample of the work carried out in the project, which makes it possible to discuss social and cultural factors that permeate this language, whether they are exclusive to the category of kinship or not. From a collaborative research perspective, the elaboration of the entries, as well as the understanding of the meanings in Portuguese, involves the evaluation by *Guarani* speakers from different regions of the country. *Guarani* speakers are the maximum and final authority over writing decisions and the meanings attributed to each lexeme.

## The elaboration of the entries for kinship terms in the Dictionary

Regarding the General Wordlist, the entries of the Dictionary are organized according to the alphabetical order proposed and adopted by the *Mbyá* teachers participants of the project. Both bound and free lexical forms follow the adopted alphabetical order. Derived forms are presented with identification, as well as the compound forms. Furthermore, nominal and verbal inflections are presented in the entries to accommodate users who do not speak the *Guarani* language.

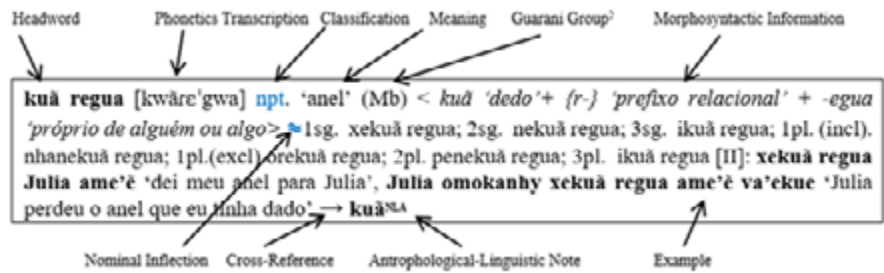
Regarding the microstructure, the entries present the following sequence: introduction (in bold); phonetic transcription; grammatical classification according to the functioning of the *Guarani* language (in blue); meaning in Portuguese in single quotation marks; ethnic group (when the intention is to explain linguistic particularities of a certain group or data on linguistic variation); morphosyntactic information (in single and angular parentheses), when necessary for the understanding of the entry<sup>22</sup>; nominal inflections (introduced by the symbol ≈, in blue) and verbal inflections (introduced by the symbol //, also in blue); examples, in bold, introduced by the authors' initials and

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<sup>22</sup> The reader is always recommended to return to the observations on phonology, morphosyntax, and the processes of harmonizing nasality recorded in the reading key of the Dictionary.

duly translated; cross-references (introduced by the symbol →) and an anthropological-linguistic note (when necessary for the understanding of the entry):

Figure 1 – *kuã regua*



Source: Ivo *et al.* (in elaboration)

The entries related to *Guarani* kinship were prepared according to the lexical distinctions for each ego (masculine and feminine).

In the organization of the *corpus*<sup>23</sup> used to elaborate the kinship entries for the *Guarani-Mbyá* (presented below), in addition to separating the terms by ego (feminine and masculine), we highlighted in bold the two ascending generations of the ego, the generation of the ego, and the two descending generations of it. To identify possible linguistic variations, terms related to the ‘mother’s side’ and to the ‘father’s side’ of the ascending generation were separated. Although no distinctions were identified, we maintained the separation of the data in the table to clarify the methodological approach.

Table 1 – *Guarani-Mbyá* Kinship Terms (feminine ego)

Feminine ego	
2 <sup>nd</sup> ascending generation (mother’s side)	2 <sup>nd</sup> ascending generation (father’s side)
My grandfather – <i>xeramõi</i>	My grandfather – <i>xeramõi</i>
My grandfather’s brother – <i>xeramõi</i> ã	My grandfather’s brother – <i>xeramõi</i> ã
My grandfather’s sister – <i>xejaryi</i> ’i	My grandfather’s sister – <i>xejaryi</i> ’i

<sup>23</sup> In the *corpus* presented in this work, the kinship terms are inflected with the 1st person singular possession marker: {*xe*-}, which is justified by the fact that the kinship terms constitute, together with terms for body parts, obligatorily possessible and inalienable lexemes. The person markers are: 1st sg: *xe*-, 2nd sg: *nde*- ~ *ne*-, 3rd sg/pl. {*i*-} ~ [*i*-] ~ {*idj*-} ~ [*inh*-], 1st pl. (inclusive) *nhande* ~ *nhane*-, 1st pl. (exclusive) *ore*-, 2nd pl. *pende*- ~ *pene*-. The series of person-marking morphemes is subdivided into two, according to the use or non-use of the relational prefix {*r*-}, a morpheme that intervenes between the person prefix and the lexical base. As Cerno (2013, p. 194) explains, “the basic nominal syntax of *Guarani* consists of the determination of one noun by another: *xe*- *po* ‘my hand’”. In lexemes that require the use of the relational prefix {*r*-}, “the morpheme *r*- signals this syntactic relationship: *jacaré r*- *o* ‘alligator meat’”. The form {*r*-} occurs when the possessor is not expressed with a 3rd-person pronoun (*xe*- *r*-*ova* ‘my face’). For the 3rd person, in this subclass, there are two forms: with the prefix {*h*-} for the 3rd person specified: *h*- *ova* ‘his/her face’, and the form {*t*-}, for the 3rd person not specified, indicating an absolute reference: *t*-*ova* ‘someone’s face’.

My grandmother – <i>xejaryi</i>	My grandmother – <i>xejaryi</i>
My grandmother's brother – <i>xeramōi ī</i>	My grandmother's brother – <i>xeramōi ī</i>
My grandmother's sister – <i>xejaryi'i</i>	My grandmother's sister – <i>xejaryi'i</i>
<b>1<sup>st</sup> ascending generation</b>	
My father – <i>xeru</i>	My mother's brother – <i>xetuty</i>
My father's brother – <i>xeruvy'i</i>	My mother's brother's wife – <i>xeke'i</i>
My father's sister – <i>xejaixe</i>	My mother's sister – <i>xexy'y</i>
My father's brother's wife – <i>xerovaja</i>	My mother's sister's husband – <i>xerovaja</i>
My father's sister's husband – <i>xerovaja</i>	My husband's mother – <i>xeme xy</i>
My mother – <i>xexy, ha'ī<sup>24</sup></i>	My husband's father – <i>xeme ru</i>
<b>Ego Generation</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> descending generation</b>
My husband – <i>xeme</i>	My brother's son – <i>xepē, xepē'ī</i>
My husband's brother – <i>xerovaja</i>	My brother's daughter – <i>xepē, xepē'ī</i>
My husband's sister – <i>xerovaja</i>	My sister's son – <i>xememby kyrī</i>
My older brother – <i>xekyvy tuja</i>	My sister's daughter – <i>xememby kyrī</i>
My younger brother – <i>xekyvy kyrī</i>	My son – <i>xepi'a</i>
My older sister – <i>xeryke</i>	My daughter – <i>xememby</i>
My younger sister – <i>xekypy'y</i>	My son's wife – <i>xepi'a ra'yxy</i>
My sister's husband – <i>xerovaja</i>	My daughter's husband – <i>xememby me</i>
My father's brother's son (older) – <i>xekyvy tuja</i>	
My father's brother's son (younger) – <i>xekyvy kyrī</i>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> descending generation</b>
My father's sister's son (older) – <i>xekyvy tuja</i>	My daughter's son – <i>xeremiarirō</i>
My father's sister's son (younger) – <i>xekyvy kyrī</i>	My daughter's daughter – <i>xeremiarirō</i>
My father's brother's daughter (older) – <i>xeryke</i>	My son's son – <i>xeremiarirō</i>
My father's brother's daughter (younger) – <i>xekypy'y</i>	My son's daughter – <i>xeremiarirō</i>

<sup>24</sup> *Ha'i* faz parte do léxico sagrado, uso alternativo a -xy.

My father's sister's daughter (older) – <i>xeryke</i>
My father's sister's daughter (younger) – <i>xekypy'y</i>
My mother's brother's son (older) – <i>xekyvy</i> <i>tuja</i>
My mother's brother's son (younger) – <i>xekyvy kyrĩ</i>
My mother's sister's son (older) – <i>xekyvy</i> <i>tuja</i>
My mother's sister's son (younger) – <i>xekyvy</i> <i>kyrĩ</i>
My mother's brother's daughter (older) – <i>xeryke</i>
My mother's brother's daughter (younger) – <i>xekypy'y</i>
My mother's sister's daughter (older) – <i>xeryke</i>
My mother's sister's daughter (younger) – <i>xekypy'y</i>

Source: Own Elaboration

**Table 2 – Guarani-Mbyá kinship Terms (masculine ego)**

<b>Masculine ego</b>	
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> ascending generation (mother's side)</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> ascending generation (father's side)</b>
My grandfather – <i>xeramõi</i>	My grandfather – <i>xeramõi</i>
My grandfather's brother – <i>xeramõi ã</i>	My grandfather's brother – <i>xeramõi ã</i>
My grandfather's sister – <i>xejaryi'i</i>	My grandfather's sister – <i>xejaryi'i</i>
My grandmother – <i>xejaryi</i>	My grandmother – <i>xejaryi</i>
My grandmother's brother – <i>xeramõi ã</i>	My grandmother's brother – <i>xeramõi ã</i>
My grandmother's sister – <i>xejaryi'i</i>	My grandmother's sister – <i>xejaryi'i</i>
<b>1<sup>st</sup> ascending generation</b>	
My father – <i>xeru</i>	My mother's brother – <i>xetuty</i>
My father's brother – <i>xeruvy'i</i>	My mother's brother's wife – <i>xexy'y</i>
My father's sister – <i>xējaixe</i>	My mother's sister – <i>xexy'y</i>
My father's brother's wife – <i>xerovaja</i>	My mother's sister's husband – <i>xerovaja</i>
My father's sister's husband – <i>xerovaja</i>	My wife's mother – <i>xeraixo</i>
My mother – <i>xexy, ha'i</i>	My wife's father – <i>xeratyvva</i>
<b>Ego Generation</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> descending generation</b>

My wife (with kids) – <i>xera 'y xy</i>	My brother's son – <i>xera 'y kyrĩ</i>
My wife (without kids, girlfriend) – <i>xerembireko</i>	My brother's daughter – <i>xerajy kyrĩ</i>
My wife's sister – <i>xerovaja</i>	My sister's son – <i>xeri 'y</i>
My wife's brother – <i>xerovaja</i>	My sister's daughter – <i>xejaxipe</i>
My older brother – <i>xeryke 'y</i>	My son – <i>xera 'y<sup>25</sup></i>
My younger brother – <i>xeryvy</i>	My daughter – <i>xerajy</i>
My older sister – <i>xereindy guainguĩ</i>	My son's wife – <i>xera 'y ra 'yxy</i>
My younger sister – <i>xereindy kyrĩ</i>	My daughter's husband – <i>xerajy me</i>
My brother's wife – <i>xerovaja</i>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> descending generation</b>
My father's brother's son (older) – <i>xeryke 'y</i>	My daughter's son – <i>xeramymind</i>
My father's brother's son (younger) – <i>xeryvy</i>	My daughter's daughter – <i>xeramymind</i>
My father's sister son (older) – <i>xeryke 'y</i>	My son's son – <i>xeramymind</i>
My father's sister son (younger) – <i>xeryvy</i>	My son's daughter – <i>xeramymind</i>
My father's brother's daughter (older) – <i>xereindy guainguĩ</i>	
My father's brother's daughter (younger) – <i>xereindy kyrĩ</i>	
My father's sister's daughter (older) – <i>xereindy guainguĩ</i>	
My father's sister's daughter (younger) – <i>xereindy kyrĩ</i>	
My mother's brother's son (older) – <i>xeryke 'y</i>	
My mother's brother's son (younger) – <i>xeryvy</i>	
My mother's sister's son (older) – <i>xeryke 'y</i>	
My mother's sister's son (younger) – <i>xeryvy</i>	
My mother's brother's daughter (older) – <i>xereindy guainguĩ</i>	
My mother's brother's daughter (younger) – <i>xereindy kyrĩ</i>	
My mother's sister's daughter (older) – <i>xereindy guainguĩ</i>	
My mother's sister's daughter (younger) – <i>xereindy kyrĩ</i>	

**Source:** Own Elaboration

<sup>25</sup> 'y' 'linhagem' (parte de). Exemplo de uso: *-ha 'ykue*: <{*h*-} 3ª pessoa singular + {*'y*} 'linhagem' + {*-kue*} 'corpo' = 'parte do corpo'.

## Analysis and discussion of the results

The semantic structure presented above reveals some particular characteristics related to kinship terms:

1. There is no distinction between terms in the two ascending generations for both egos;
2. While the feminine ego uses the term *xeme* (my husband), the masculine ego distinguishes two terms for wife: *xera'yxy* (mother of my son) and *xerembireko* (childless wife);
3. Both egos (feminine and masculine) distinguish the terms for brothers and sisters, in addition to having specific terms that differentiate the older from the younger ones;
4. Both egos (feminine and masculine) use the same terms for brother and sister and cousins (cross and parallel);
5. The masculine ego uses a single term for the wife's brother and sister, *xerovaja*, while the feminine ego uses the term *xerovaja* for the husband's brother and *xeke'i* for the husband's sister;
6. For nephew and niece, when they are sons and daughters of the brother, the masculine ego uses the same term used for son and daughter, respectively: *xera'y* and *xerajy*, adding the qualifier *kyrĩ* 'younger', 'little';
7. For nephew and niece, when they are sons and daughters of the sister, the feminine ego uses the same term used for daughter: *xememby*, adding the qualifier *kyrĩ* 'younger', 'little';
8. For nephew and niece, the brother's sons and daughters, the feminine ego uses specific terms: *xepẽ* or *xepẽ'i* (adding the suffix {-i} 'diminutive'). For nephews, the sister's sons, it uses *xememby*, the same term used for 'my daughter', adding the term *kyrĩ* 'younger', 'little';
9. For nephew and niece, the sister's sons, the masculine ego uses *xeri'y* for nephew and *xejaxipe* for niece. For the brother's son, *xera'y kyrĩ*, and for the brother's daughter, *xerajy kyrĩ*, respectively, it uses the same terms for son and daughter, adding the term *kyrĩ* 'younger', 'little';
10. Both egos (feminine and masculine) use specific terms for son and daughter: masculine ego uses *xera'y* 'my son' and *xerajy* 'my daughter' and the feminine ego uses *xepi'a* 'my son' and *xememby* 'my daughter';
11. For the masculine ego, the terms for daughter-in-law and son-in-law are derived from the following constructions:



### *xera'y ra'yxy*

<i>xe-</i>	<i>r-</i>	<i>-a'y</i>	<i>r-</i>	<i>-a'y</i>	<i>-xy</i> <sup>26</sup>
1SG.INATIV.	REL <sup>27</sup>	son <sup>28</sup>	REL	son	mother
'mother of my child(ren)'s child(ren)'					

### *xerajy me*

<i>xe-</i>	<i>r-</i>	<i>-ajy</i>	<i>-me</i>
1SG.INATIV.	REL	daughter	husband
'my daughter's husband'			

12. For the feminine ego, the terms for daughter-in-law and son-in-law are produced from the following constructions:

### *xepi'a ra'yxy*

<i>xe-</i>	<i>-pi'a</i>	<i>r-</i>	<i>-a'y</i>	<i>-xy</i>
1sg.	son	REL	descendant	mother
'mother of my child(ren)'s child(ren)'				

### *xememby me*

<i>xe-</i>	<i>-memby</i>	<i>-me</i>
1sg.	daughter	husband
'my daughter's husband'		

13. There is no variation for both egos (feminine and masculine) in the 2nd descendant generation.

Another aspect that requires a decision-making has to do with the translation of nominal inflections in the entries. In the microstructuring of the entries, it was decided not to translate the meanings of kinship relations based on those known in Brazilian society, since cultural conceptions are specific. Thus, although terms such as 'father,' 'mother,' and others were retained, some meanings are multiple in *Guarani* for other kinship relations. In these cases, specifically, the relations were alternatively described and not translated into Portuguese. An example of this type of entry is the term *-ovaja*, which, although some dictionaries translate as 'brother-in-law' (cf. Guash, 2003, p. 137; Dooley, 2006, p. 134), in fact expresses relationships other than those expressed in the generation of the ego, as can be seen in Table 3:

<sup>26</sup> In this work, we use the following abbreviations in the preparation of the glosses: 1SG. INATIV. = 1st person singular inactive paradigm; REL = relational prefix.

<sup>27</sup> According to Ivo (2023), the Mbyá also uses the reflexive form of the 3rd person {*Ng-*}, as can be seen in the form *nguu* 'his/her own father'.

<sup>28</sup> The Mbyá teacher, *Joel Kuaray*, in personal communication, explains that the meaning of this lexis is 'my lineage'.

**Table 3** – Meanings for -ovaja

1 <sup>st</sup> ascending generation feminine ego		1 <sup>st</sup> ascending generation masculine ego	
Relationship	Term	Relationship	Term
Father's brother's wife	-ovaja	Father's brother's wife	-ovaja
Father's sister's husband	-ovaja	Father's sister's husband	-ovaja
Mother's sister's husband	-ovaja	Mother's sister's husband	-ovaja
<b>Ego generation</b>			
Husband's brother	-ovaja	Wife's brother	-ovaja
Sister's husband	-ovaja	Sister's husband	-ovaja

**Source:** Own elaboration

The entry for the lexeme -ovaja was therefore designed to present the distinction between the egos and also the polysemy of the term, each meaning introduced by a cardinal number horizontally<sup>29</sup>:

**Table 4** – -ovaja

**-ovaja** [Ovaʔdʒa] **npi**. **1. (feminine and masculine ego)** ‘husband of father’s/mother’s sister’; ‘husband of sister’; **2. (masculine ego)** ‘wife’s sibling’; ‘brother’s wife’; ‘father’s brother’s wife’; **3. (feminine ego)** ‘husband’s brother’ (<person prefix + relational prefix + -ovaja) ≈ 1sg. xerovaja; 2sg. nderovaja; 3sg. hovaja; 1pl. (incl) nhanderovaja; 1pl. (excl) orerovaja; 2pl. penderovaja; 3pl. hovaja

**Source:** Ivo *et al.* (in elaboration)

Another example is the use of the terms -amōi and -jaryi, terms of the second ascending generation of the masculine and feminine egos. The terms include meanings related to ‘grandfather’ and ‘grandmother’ respectively, as well as what would be understood in Brazil as ‘uncle-grandfather’ and ‘aunt-grandmother’. In the table below, as well, we can observe the insertion of the morpheme {-i} which, according to the

<sup>29</sup> In the *Guarani* language, there are three types of nouns: those not referenced for possession, those possessible transferable, and those possessible non-transferable. Those not referenced for possession form a semantically homogeneous set, related to natural and other phenomena, which cannot be “possessed” by any person or entity (Cerno, 2013, p. 125). In the Dictionary, these lexemes are labeled **nnp**. (non-possessable nouns – in blue). Ex: *jaxy* ‘moon’, *yvyra* ‘tree’, etc. Some nouns may or may not be possessed and, if possessed, may be transferable, depending on the communicative context. These lexemes are labeled **npt**. (transferable possessable nouns, in blue). Ex: *kuaxia* ‘book’, *kuā regua* ‘ring’. Non-transferable possessable nouns, in the *Guarani* language, are those that necessarily use markers to express possession. This subgroup includes the semantic fields of human body parts, kinship names, quality names, and other lexemes conceived because they belong to a natural or cultural set (Cerno, 2013). These names are labeled **npi**., in blue.

speakers, in addition to the meaning of ‘diminutive’, broadens the range of meaning of these terms, adding an affective character (greater affection) to the relationships:

Table 5 – Meanings for -amõi’i and -jaryi’i<sup>30</sup>

2 <sup>nd</sup> ascending generation (mother’s side)		2 <sup>nd</sup> ascending generation (father’s side)	
Relationship	Term	Relationship	Term
Grandfather	<i>xeramõi</i>	Grandfather	<i>xeramõi</i>
Grandfather’s brother	<i>xeramõi’i</i>	Grandfather’s brother	<i>xeramõi’i</i>
Grandfather’s sister	<i>xejaryi’i</i>	Grandfather’s sister	<i>xejaryi’i</i>
Grandmother	<i>xejaryi</i>	Grandmother	<i>xejaryi</i>
Grandmother’s brother	<i>xeramõi’i</i>	Grandmother’s brother	<i>xeramõi’i</i>
Grandmother’s sister	<i>xejaryi’i</i>	Grandmother’s sister	<i>xejaryi’i</i>

Source: Own elaboration

Furthermore, the terms *-amõi* and *-jaryi* express the meanings of ‘ancestor’ and ‘spiritual leader.’ Thus, based on the breadth of relationships and meanings, we chose to create a main entry for the second ascending generation, with the meanings that are common to both egos, and then subentries with the meanings for the other kinship relationships. Besides, a Linguistic-Anthropological Note was also included to present the cultural aspects related to the term, in this case, the role and functions of spiritual leaders in the *Guarani* society. The note is accessed through the superscript reference located at the end of the entry (see<sup>NLA</sup>)<sup>31</sup>.

Table 6 – *-amõi* and *-amõi’i*

<p><b>-amõi</b> [a'mõĩ] <b>npi. (feminine and masculine ego)</b> 1. ‘ancestor’, 2. ‘spiritual leader’, 3. grandparent (&lt;<i>person prefix + relational prefix + -amõi</i>&gt;) ≈ 1sg. <i>xeramõi</i>; 2sg. <i>neramõi</i>; 3sg. <i>tamõi</i>; 1pl. (incl) <i>nhaneramõi</i>; 1pl. (excl) <i>oreramõi</i>; 2pl. <i>peneramõi</i>; 3pl. <i>tamõi</i><sup>NLAiii</sup></p> <p><b>-amõi’i</b> [amõĩ'ʔi] <b>npi. (feminine and masculine ego)</b> ‘grandparent’s sibling’ (&lt;<i>person prefix + relational prefix + -amõi + ‘i’</i> ‘diminutive’) ≈ 1sg. <i>xeramõi’i</i>; 2sg. <i>neramõi’i</i>; 3sg. <i>tamõi’i</i>; 1pl. (incl) <i>nhaneramõi’i</i>; 1pl. (excl) <i>oreramõi’i</i>; 2pl. <i>peneramõi’i</i>; 3pl. <i>tamõi’i</i></p>
--

Source: Ivo *et al.* (in elaboration)

<sup>30</sup> The use of the suffix {-’i}, in addition to the meaning of ‘diminutive’ (*yvyra’i* ‘small tree’), expresses affection, as we believe this to be the case.

<sup>31</sup> We clarify that the Linguistic-Anthropological Notes in the Dictionary concern considerations of an interdisciplinary nature, introduced in entries that require a specific contextualization of the *Guarani-Mbyá* culture, beyond the translation of the term itself, and do not occur only in terms of kinship.

**Table 7 – -jaryi and -jaryi'i**

<p><b>-jaryi</b> [dʒa'ɾij] <b>npi. (feminine and masculine ego)</b> 1. 'ancestor', 'spiritual leader', 3. 'grandmother' (&lt;person prefix + relational prefix + -jaryi&gt;) ≈ 1sg. xejaryi; 2sg. ndejaryi; 3sg. ijaryi; 1pl. (incl) nhandejaryi; 1pl. (excl) orejaryi; 2pl. pendejaryi; 3pl. ijaryi<sup>NLA<sup>v</sup></sup></p> <p><b>-jaryi'i</b> [dʒarij'ʔi] <b>npi. (feminine and masculine ego)</b> 'grandmother's sister' (&lt;person prefix + relational prefix + -jaryi + {-i} 'diminutive'&gt;) ≈ 1sg. xejaryi'i; 2sg. ndejaryi'i; 3sg. ijaryi'i; 1pl. (incl) nhandejaryi'i; 1pl. (excl) orejaryi'i; 2pl. pendejaryi'i; 3pl. ijaryi'i</p>
--

**Source:** Ivo *et al.* (In elaboration)

The Linguistic-Anthropological Notes (NLA) are inserted as an 'endnote' and are presented in the final section of the Dictionary. The notes for the two entries *-amōi* and *-jaryi* were prepared as follows:

NLA<sup>iii</sup>: According to Silva (2020, p. 19), an *Mbyá* researcher, the form *xamōi* (*xeramōi*) refers to the elder, the wise man, and knowledgeable person of the culture, and also 'my grandfather'.

NLA<sup>v</sup>: According to Silva (2020, p. 19), *xaryi* (*xejaryi*) is the general way to speak of an elderly woman, wise and knowledgeable about the culture, in addition to the meaning 'my grandmother'.

After making the specific entries for each ego, it was noted that some lexemes actually intersected their uses with the egos in distinct ways, potentially even alternating them and triggering polysemic meanings. Therefore, four scenarios were configured for the microstructuring of the kinship entries, presented in subsections of the reading key in the Dictionary's introduction, considering the different uses between the egos: 1. Common terms for both egos; 2. Specific terms for each ego; 3. Different meanings with ego alternation; and, finally, 4. Different meanings for the same ego:

### Common Terms to Both Egos

These are lexemes of kinship that have a common use for both egos in ascending generations: *-amōi* 'grandfather'; *-amōi'i* 'grandfather's/grandmother's brother'; *-xy* 'mother'; *-jaixe* 'father's sister'; *-jaryi* 'grandmother'; *-jaryi'i* 'grandfather's/grandmother's sister'; *-tuty* 'mother's brother'; *-u* 'father':

**Table 8 – -u**

**-u** [u] **npi. (feminine and masculine ego)** ‘father’  $\approx$  (<person prefix + ‘relational prefix’ + -u ‘father’>) 1sg. xeru; 2sg. nderu; 3sg. tuu; 1pl. (incl) nhanderu; 1pl. (excl) oreru; 2pl. penderu; 3pl. tuu

**Source:** Ivo *et al.* (in elaboration)

## Specific Terms for each Ego

These are lexemes of kinship specific to only one of the egos. In these cases, we chose to present this characteristic in the entries so that the querents know which term is appropriate for their ego, as seen in the entries below, always indicating, through cross-referencing, the kinship term for the other ego:

**Table 9 – -ajy**

**-ajy** [a’dʒi] **npi. (masculine ego)** ‘daughter’ (<person prefix + relational prefix + -ajy>)  $\approx$  F1s. xerajy; F2s. nderajy; F3s. tajy; F1p. (incl) nhanderajy; F1p. (excl) orerajy; F2p. penderajy; F3p. tajy  $\rightarrow$  **-memby (feminine ego)**

**Source:** Ivo *et al.* (in elaboration)

**Table 10 – -memby**

**-memby** [mê’mbi] **npi. (feminine ego)** ‘daughter’  $\approx$  F1s. xememby; F2s. nememby; F3s. imemby; F1p. (incl) nhanememby; F1p. (excl) orememby; F2p. pememby; F3p. imemby  $\rightarrow$  **-ajy (masculine ego)**

**Source:** Ivo *et al.* (in elaboration)

## Different Meanings with Ego Alternation

Polysemy in kinship terms was an important factor in decision-making regarding the microstructure of entries in this semantic category:

Polysemy is used when a lexeme or phraseological unit has several meanings, several meanings [...], which are differentiated from each other

by one or more semes, but which have at least one seme in common. Generally, there is a primary, (more) concrete meaning, and the others arise through the extension of this meaning through the processes of metaphor or metonymy (Welker, 2004, p. 28)<sup>32</sup>.

Based on this, the polysemy presented by kinship lexemes revealed different scenarios in *Guarani-Mbyá*: kinship terms that alternate in meaning for each ego and kinship terms with more than one meaning for the same ego. Considering the first scenario, due to the large amount of information required to understand these entries, such as ego alternations, different meanings, and references and examples, it was decided not to translate the inflections in the entries, as already mentioned, thus avoiding possible correlations with kinship norms in the Portuguese language. This decision, based on the principle of objectivity and comprehensibility, served to avoid visually cluttering the entries, since, because they have more than one meaning, each inflection would have to be translated more than once, or, in another case, one of the meanings would be selected for translation, which would hinder the understanding of the other meanings. Subsequently, this principle was adopted for all lexemes that presented polysemy in the Dictionary.

### Different Meanings for the Same Ego

Finally, the polysemy of kinship terms revealed that some lexemes have more than one meaning for the same ego. In these cases, the decision was to indicate the ego only once and separate the different meanings using horizontal numbering, in addition to referring to the term for the opposite ego.

Table 11 – -ke’i

<p><b>-ke’i</b> [kɛ’ʔi] <b>npi.</b> (feminine ego) <b>1.</b> ‘spouse of father’s/mother’s brother’ → <b>-xy’y</b> (masculine ego), <b>2.</b> ‘spouse of brother’, <b>3.</b> ‘spouse’s sister’ ≈ F1s. xeke’i; F2s. ndeke’i; F3s. ike’i; F1p. (incl) nhandeke’i; F1p. (excl) oreke’i; F2p. pendeke’i; F3s. ike’i → <b>-ovaja</b> (masculine ego)</p>
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Source: Ivo *et al.* (in elaboration)

<sup>32</sup> In the original: “Fala-se em polissemia quando um lexema ou fraseologismo tem vários significados, várias acepções [...], as quais se diferenciam umas das outras por um ou mais semas, mas que têm pelo menos um seme em comum. Geralmente, existe um significado primeiro, (mais) concreto, e os outros surgiram pela extensão desse significado pelos processos de metáfora ou metonímia” (Welker, 2004, p. 28).

## Final Considerations

Creating a dictionary in an indigenous language requires attention and sensitivity to sociocultural aspects, in addition to the linguistic ones. In the work presented here, we demonstrated the relationship between the semantic structure of kinship terms and social life, as well as the resulting developments in the worldview of the *Guarani-Mbyá* people. This required careful elaboration and presentation of the meanings, ensuring that the sociocultural aspects associated with them were maintained.

Contemporary *Guarani* cosmologies strongly distinguish two domains external to society. One of them completely excludes affinity and elects the paradigmatic relationship of consanguineous kinship—that which unites fathers and mothers to their sons and daughters—as the form of the relationship between humans and deities. The *Guarani* gods are the *nhanderu* and *nhandexy* (our [inclusive] fathers” and “our mothers,” respectively), the exclusive source of existential capacities for human life (Pissolato, 2007, p. 220, our translation, emphasis added)<sup>33</sup>.

The way societies organize themselves reflects not only the number of kinship terms a language contains, but also how they are used in everyday life, whether due to their social meanings, which can be polysemic, or other linguistic and/or cultural particularities. A language’s lexicon, its use, and meanings are therefore socioculturally situated. Therefore, the development of a bilingual dictionary for indigenous languages must adopt a critical and sensitive approach that treats entries in a way that presents the culture of the speakers and, especially when dealing with endangered languages, contributes to their visibility, revitalization, and, consequently, linguistic appreciation. This is the approach pursued by the Bilingual *Guarani-Mbyá*/Portuguese–Portuguese/*Guarani-Mbyá* Dictionary.

This study highlighted the functioning of *Guarani-Mbyá* kinship terms and inspired reflections on the semantic aspects involved in developing a dictionary in this indigenous language. Furthermore, we consider this work a possible basis for addressing the kinship terminology of other *Guarani* groups, as well as for studies discussing the organization of kinship among these people.

The Dictionary, presented here in part, aims to contribute to studies focused on indigenous languages, in terms of description and documentation, not only as a source of lexical research, but as a dictionary that aims to present language data linked to

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<sup>33</sup> In the original: “*As cosmologias guaranis contemporâneas distinguem de modo forte dois domínios exteriores à sociedade. Um deles exclui por completo a afinidade e elege a relação paradigmática do parentesco consanguíneo – aquela que une pais e mães a seus filhos e filhas – como a forma da relação entre humanos e divindades. Os deuses guaranis são os nhanderu e nhandexy (nossos [incl] pais” e “nossas mães”, respectivamente), fonte exclusiva das capacidades existenciais para a vida dos humanos*” (Pissolato, 2007, p. 220).

cultural aspects, respecting the categories of functioning of the indigenous language, not necessarily elaborated in light of the functional categories of the Portuguese language.

IVO, Ivana Pereira; RIOS, Jonedson Costa. Os termos de parentesco no Dicionário Bilingue Guarani-Mbyá/Português – Português/Guarani-Mbyá. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v. 69, 2025.

- *RESUMO: Este trabalho tem como objetivo apresentar o processo de elaboração das entradas dos termos de parentesco no Dicionário Bilingue Guarani-Mbyá/Português – Português/Guarani-Mbyá, considerando-se as especificidades da língua e da cultura indígena e possíveis contribuições do projeto. O parentesco Guarani é pensado a partir de Schaden (1974), Litaiff (1996) e Pissolato (2007). A organização do Dicionário inspira-se nas propostas de Welker (2004) e nos pressupostos teóricos relacionados à elaboração de dicionários bilingues, considerando-se as possibilidades para a apresentação dos sentidos (Adamka-Salaciak, 2016) e a relação entre a Lexicografia e as teorias da Semântica Lexical (Geeraerts, 2016). A análise dos dados linguísticos trouxe à tona a necessidade de um tratamento específico aos casos de polissemia nos termos de parentesco, bem como a organização das informações culturais necessárias à apresentação dos sentidos lexicais, considerando-se as condições da língua em uso e contextos de interação. Como resultado, este artigo ressalta o caráter sociopolítico de trabalhos lexicográficos comprometidos com projetos de revitalização e retomada de línguas indígenas no Brasil, além das pretendidas contribuições aos estudos linguísticos.*
- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Dicionários bilingues; Guarani-Mbyá; Parentesco; Lexicografia.*

## Author Contributions (according to CRediT taxonomy)

**Ivana Pereira Ivo:** Conceptualization; Formal analysis; Methodology; Writing (original draft, review, and editing).

**Jonedson Costa Rios:** Conceptualization; Formal analysis; Methodology; Writing (original draft, review, and editing).

## Data Availability Statement

All datasets supporting the findings of this study have been published within the article itself.



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