

Geolinguistic studies in Brazil in five phases: From the Viscount of Pedra Branca to the atlases of traditional communities' speech

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Abstract— Considering the expansion of Dialectology in Brazil, which, in the 19th century, presented the first clues with the Viscount of Pedra Branca's publication about the Brazilian Portuguese language compared to the European Portuguese spoken in Portugal, this paper presents the stages of development of the studies carried out since then and lists not only the periods that preceded Brazilian Geolinguistics, but the research that culminated with the publication of States Linguistic Atlases, the publication of the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil in 2014, idealized fifty years before, and the presentation of other documents already completed or designed, thus contemplating the entire Brazil length and completing the fourth phase of Geolinguistic studies. Twelve atlases were published in this phase, whose pioneering role was for Bahia speech, in 1963, and advanced in the work related to Minas Gerais (1977), Paraíba (1977). 1984), Sergipe (1987 and 2002), Paraná (1994), The Southern Region (2002), Pará (2004), Ceará (2009), Goiás (2015), Pernambuco (2016) and Amapá (2017). However, in recent years, researches of linguistic varieties in traditional communities, such as Indigenous, Fishermen and Quilombolas, as are named the descendants and remaining of communities formed by enslaved fugitives, has drawn the attention of researchers and the elaboration of linguistic atlases involving these culturally differentiated people speeches already signals the fifth phase of Geolinguistic studies in the country. Thus, it is intended to present a description of the works, their methodological constitution and a brief overview of the products of these works, which cataloged, at the time of their conclusion, presented specific linguistic marks of the speech of each state and informants' profiles that allowed the verification of sociocultural interferences.

Keywords— Brazil, Dialectology, Linguistic Atlases, Geolinguistics, Phases.

I. INTRODUCTION

Starting from the principle that the language is heterogeneous, because it admits variations in pronunciation, lexicon, morphosyntax, explained by the interference of elements not always linguistic, for a long time the researchers have been discussed how restrictions of sex/gender type, age group, schooling and the locality of the speaker favor or inhibit certain language behaviors. Sociolinguistics, for example, proposed by William Labov, constitutes a dimension of research that amalgamates language and society to the empirical study of speech communities, favoring knowledge and systematization of uses and understanding the changes that occur over time.

Dialectology, in turn, studies the variable aspects of the language through the geographical delimitation that shares the localities where a given phenomenon manifests itself

with greater or lesser scope, registering the marks of these localities in maps, namely linguistic letters, under the methodological criteria of Geolinguistics.

With a discipline of Dialectology in the Parisian *École Pratique des Hautes Études*' regular curriculum and the publication of the *Linguistic Atlas of France*, proposed by Jules Gilliéron, the geolinguistic method began to serve as a model for dialectal studies at the beginning of the 20th century and to be applied in various works throughout Europe. However, in Brazil, even though comparative studies of Brazilian Portuguese with European Portuguese were already carried out decades before the first linguistic atlas came out of the paper, it took more than fifty years of the publication of this European Atlas for the method to be applied here and, currently, to be evolved notably.

To understand better the evolutionary process of the dialectal and geolinguistic studies about the Brazilian speech, this article establishes a panorama divided into five phases, starting with the Viscount of Pedra Branca's contributions to studies in traditional communities, prioritizing the quilombolas' and Indians' Portuguese Language.

II. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE DIALECTOLOGY IN BRAZIL

The first signs of dialectal research in Brazil came in 1826 with a note by Adrien Balbi on the differences between Brazilian and European Portuguese dialects advocated by Domingos Borges de Barros, Visconde da Pedra Branca, based on his work entitled *Les différences que le dialecte brésilien pourrait présenter, comparé à la langue du Portugal*¹, as explained below:

Mr. Barão de Pedra Branca, Minister of SM the Emperor of Brazil to the Court of France, the complacency of what we sent to have information about the differences that the Brazilian dialect could present, in comparison to the language of Portugal, which they want to transmit to us kindly in the following observations. We add even more in the price that they come from an advertiser who has them exactly both for Brazil and for Portugal, in addition to the reputation, not only of a very distinguished poet, but of a man also interested in different branches of the civil economy and politics (our translation). (Balbi, 1826, p. 172)²

¹ All the names of works mentioned in this article are kept in their mother tongue. The original citations, however, are shown in notes.

²M. le baron de Pedra Branca, ministre de S. M. l'empereur du Brésil à la cour de France, à la complaisance duquel nous nous sommes adressés pour avoir des informations sur les différences que le dialecte brésilien pourrait présenter, comparé à la langue du Portugal, a bien voulu nous transmettre les observations suivantes. Nous y ajoutons d'autant plus de prix, qu'elles viennent d'un littérateur qui jouit à juste titre, soit au Brésil, soit en Portugal, delà réputation, non-seulement d'un poète très

The first phase of Brazilian studies in Dialectology began, precisely, with the Viscount da Pedra Branca's contribution in 1826 until the publication of *O Dialeto Caipira*, authored by Amadeu Amaral in 1920.

Visconde's work aimed at analyzing the lexical variation between Brazilian Portuguese and Portuguese, both in relation to their morphological structure and in relation to the meaning of the lexias. In addition, the diplomat also prepared a French-Portuguese and Portuguese-French Dictionary and other poetic and memories works.

After Domingos Borges' contribution, other productions concerning the terminological perspective aimed at the regional-popular question, aiming at a greater knowledge of Brazilian speech, as the *Dicionário da Língua Brasileira*, by Luís Maria Silva Pinto in 1832; the *Glossário das palavras brasileiras*, by Viscount de Beaurepaire - Rohan, whose publication took place in the *Gazeta Literária*, from 1883 to 1884. Five years later, the work was transformed into a Dictionary of Brazilian Vocabularies.

A research on the popular Amazonian language was published by José Veríssimo in 1884 and a Brazilian Dictionary of the Portuguese Language was proposed by Macedo Soares, but it only had the first five letters published in 1888, while the rest remained in manuscripts.

In the twentieth century early years, there was also a paraense glossary by Vicente Chermont de Miranda, published in 1905 and Rodolfo Garcia's *Dicionário de Brasileirismos* was published in 1913

From 1920 on, the second phase of studies in Brazilian Dialectology is initiated. The work that heads this phase is *O dialeto caipira* written by Amadeu Amaral.

The author was concerned with the stigmatized language and the most conservative forms of speech, but he didn't want these aspects to be exclusive goals, as he himself mentions:

It would be to be hoped that many impartial, patient and methodical observers would dedicate themselves to gathering elements in each of these regions, limiting themselves strictly to the known terrain and completely banning everything that was hypothetical, uncertain, not personally

distingué, mais encore d'un homme également versé dans les différentes branches de l'économie civile et politique.

verified. We would thus have a large number of small contributions, restricted in volume and intent, but which, in their modest, slick and serious simplicity, would render much greater service than certain more or less vast works. (our translation) (Amaral, 1976, p. 3)³

In *O dialeto caipira*, it is also possible to verify the pioneering spirit in the application of the Geolinguistic method in Brazil, considering the possibility of knowing “surely what are the Brazilian dialect general characters or the Brazilian dialects ones, how many and what are the subdialects, the degree of vitality, the ramifications, the geographical domain of each one”(Amaral, 1976, p.44)⁴.

Two years after the first edition of Amadeu Amaral's work, another work was published in 1922, while remaining equally inspiring for dialect studies of Brazilian Portuguese to the present days. It was *O Linguajar Carioca* by Antenor Nascentes.

In this work, the author mentions the preoccupation with Brazilian speech and its already noticeable variation from one region to another, sometimes due to ethnological influence, sometimes environmental.

To facilitate the understanding of Brazilian speech, Nascentes (1953) decided to divide it into sub-speeches, justified by the difficulty of communication because of the great territorial extension and, according to Lens (1910), in Brazil a group of dialects is spoken, that is, languages that distinguish each one, without being mutually incomprehensible. The division proposed in Nascentes (1953) can be seen in the figure as follows:



Fig.1: Division of Brazilian sub-speeches

Source: Nascentes (1953), with free translation

When the author emphasized Rio de Janeiro speech in his work, he mentioned some aspects related to phonetics, morphology, syntax and lexical issues.

Also in this second phase of studies, the work *A Língua do Nordeste* was written by Mário Marroquim, a lawyer from Pernambuco, and it was published for the first time in 1934, prioritizing Pernambuco and Alagoas speech, not without being justified firstly by the choice when saying that, in the Northeast, “the dialect should be the same, as its history and its ethnic formation are identical⁵.” (Marroquim, 2008, p. 24)

The scarcity of dialect studies in Brazil was a Marroquim’s (2008, p. 17) matter of concern and, in the early 1930s, he stated:

The study of the Brazilian dialect is not done yet. The enormous geographic extension in which Portuguese is spoken in Brazil gives each region peculiarity and fads unknown in the other ones, and requires, before the integral work is fixed and defines our dialectal differentiation, piecemeal works, done with discretion and honesty, on each area of the country⁶.

³ Seria de se desejar que muitos observadores imparciais, pacientes e metódicos se dedicassem a recolher elementos em cada uma dessas regiões, limitando-se estritamente ao terreno conhecido e banindo por completo tudo quanto fosse hipotético, incerto, não verificado pessoalmente. Teríamos assim um grande número de pequenas contribuições, restritas em volume e em pretensão, mas que na sua simplicidade modesta, escurreita e séria prestariam muito maior serviço do que certos trabalhos mais ou menos vastos.

⁴ com segurança quais os caracteres gerais do dialeto brasileiro, ou dos dialetos brasileiros, quantos e quais os subdialetos, o grau de vitalidade, as ramificações, o domínio geográfico de cada um.

⁵ a dialeção devia ser igual, como é idêntica sua história e sua formação étnica.

⁶ Não está ainda feito o estudo do dialeto brasileiro. A enorme extensão geográfica em que o português é falado no Brasil dá a cada região peculiaridade e modismos desconhecidos nas outras, e exige, antes da obra integral que se fixe e defina nossa diferenciação dialetal, trabalhos parcelados, feitos com critério e honestidade, sobre cada zona do país.

In addition to the works mentioned previously, other productions characterize the second phase of Dialectology in Brazil, prioritizing terminological and lexicological perspectives, including the *Vocabulário Gaúcho*, published in 1926 by Roque Callage; Rodolfo von Ihering's *Dicionário dos animais do Brasil*, published in 1931, the *Vocabulário do Nordeste do Rio Grande do Sul – linguagem dos praiheiros*, by Dante de Laytano, published two years later.

In 1937, in the same year as the full publication of Pereira da Costa's *Pernambuco vocabulary*, Renato Mendonça emphasized in his work *O português do Brasil* and, in 1939, Alfredo da Maia emphasized the *Vocabulário da Amazônia. O dialeto brasileiro*, by Ciro T. de Pádua in 1942 and the *Estudo da dialetologia portuguesa: a língua de Goiás*, by José Aparecido Teixeira, in 1944 were also published.

III. THE THIRD PHASE AND THE FIRST STATE LINGUISTIC ATLAS

The beginning of the third phase of dialect studies took place in 1952, when the *Centro de Pesquisas da Casa Ruy Barbosa* was instituted by decree, whose priority action promulgated in article 9 was the elaboration of the *Atlas Linguístico do Brasil*.

One of the members its philology committee, Antenor Nascentes, welcomed the proposal of a Brazilian atlas, since:

[...] after Gilliéron, no true scholar of philology denies the value of linguistic atlases, nor their character as indispensable. Not many countries have such research tools. Brazil needs to have its atlas that will no longer be the complement of Portugal, in the process of finishing⁷. (Nascentes, 1958, p. 7)

Despite the fact that the idea didn't attract so many followers, thanks mainly to the lack of knowing the method and other difficulties perceived at the time, the author cooled down and decided to propose the creation of regional atlases for a day, not far from their time, these

⁷ Depois de Gilliéron, nenhum verdadeiro estudioso da filologia nega o valor dos atlas linguísticos, nem o seu caráter de indispensáveis. Não são muitos os países de tais instrumentos de pesquisa. O Brasil precisa ter seu atlas que não será mais o complemento de Portugal, em vias de acabamento.

small works could be compiled in the linguistic atlas of the entire Brazilian territory.

Despite Nascentes not having lived long enough to have his dream come true, the national project, proposed fifty years ago, has already become a reality.

In the following six years, other regional productions left the paper, such as *Gauchismos* by Arci de Albuquerque, published in 1954; *Vocabulário de Termos Populares e Gírias da Paraíba* proposed by Leon F. Clerot and published in 1959, in addition to the *Dicionário de Termos Populares do Ceará* by Florival Seraine, published in 1960.

Other scholars were part of this phase, namely: Serafim da Silva Neto, who published the *Guia para Estudos Dialectológicos* in 1957; Celso Cunha, defender of Dialectology and of the creation of regional atlases, and Nelson Rossi, author of the first regional linguistic atlas in Brazil, in 1963, in Bahia.

IV. THE BEFORE AND AFTER THE ATLAS LINGUÍSTICO DO BRASIL (ALIB)

From 1963 to 2018, 17 state linguistic atlases were prepared, in addition to many other micro-regional and municipal ones. In order to have an idea of what was done in the country, a snapshot of each atlas is provided as follows, which will help to understand the evolution of the method used in Brazil.

4.1. Atlas prévio dos falares baianos (APFB)

The first state linguistic atlas built in Brazil was commissioned by Nelson Rossi and eight students that attended the UFBA Letters Course: Ana Maria Garcia, Carlota Ferreira, Cyva Leite, Dinah Isensee, Edelweiss Nunes, Josefina Barletta, Judith Freitas and Tânia Pedrosa.

For the diagnosis, 50 points of inquiry were chosen, distributed throughout the State of Bahia, within which 100 informants were interviewed between 25 and 84 years old, illiterate or semi-illiterate, non-considering gender issues.

The interviewed people answered a questionnaire with 182 questions about *land, vegetables, man* and *animals* whose priority was the semantic-lexical aspect, although some of them, for an interpretative convenience, offered a phonetic view of the data.

The APFB has the most important variants distributed in 199 letters, of which 154 are phonetic-lexical in nature and 44 are named as summary letters of the previously prepared letters. In addition to these, 11 identification letters were prepared too.

4.2 Esboço de um Atlas Linguístico de Minas Gerais (EALMG)

To understand the reality of speech in Minas Gerais, in 1977, a team led by professor Mário Zágari organized an *Esboço de um Atlas Linguístico de Minas Gerais*, proposed in 4 volumes, of which only one is published.

In the 116 survey points, 83 informants aged 30 to 50 years were surveyed, distributed diastatically among people with no school education limited to the fourth grade of elementary school.

They were asked 415 questions related to *Earth and children's play*, which resulted in 58 letters, 5 of which were introductory, 21 lexical, 24 phonetic, and 3 letters with *isophones*⁸ and 25 with *isolexicals*⁹ were added.

4.3. Atlas Linguístico da Paraíba (ALPB)

In 1983, the second linguistic atlas of Northeastern speech was completed and it emphasized the State of Paraíba and it was organized by Professor Maria do Socorro Aragão with Cleuza Bezerra de Menezes's collaboration, who were in charge of applying the surveys in 25 towns totaling 107 informants between 30 and 75 years old. They answered 877 questions, 289 of a general nature and 588 of a specific nature, related to activities common to Paraíba, such as *manioc, cane, agave, cotton, pineapple*.

Three volumes were proposed but only two of them have already been published, the first one with phonetic and lexical letters and the second one with the methodology of the project, such as the characterization of the informants and the points surveyed, in addition to the form used for the diagnosis and the analysis of phonetic, morphosyntactic and lexical aspects observed and systematized in the form of a glossary at the end of the volume. The third volume will consist of the transcription of data related to the specific questionnaire.

4.4. Atlas Linguístico de Sergipe (ALS I)

Despite having its surveys concluded in the seventies, the ALS was only published in 1987. The diagnosis took place in 15 locations, from which 30 informants aged between 25 and 65 years were surveyed, distributed between illiterate and semi-illiterate.

The survey consisted of the application of a questionnaire with almost 700 questions, of which 182 were also used for the APFB, which resulted in 180 letters, being 11

introductory and 169 lexicons, once it was not Nelson Rossi's and his collaborators' intention to talk about phonetic aspects specifically, although the transcripts had this profile. In order to delimit the extent of Bahian speech in relation to Sergipe speech, the researchers also intended to verify the lexical coincidences in data of both states. This fact resulted in some letters with Bahia data, not presented in the APFB, but rescued in the ALS.

4.5. Atlas Linguístico do Paraná (ALPR)

The first state linguistic atlas produced as a Doctoral Thesis was also the fifth atlas in the line of productions suggested by Antenor Nascentes, before a nationwide work was built.

Under prof. Rafael Hoyos Andrade's guidance and Prof. Pedro Caruso's suggestions, Vanderci Aguilera carried out surveys for the ALPR in 65 locations, totaling 130 informants who answered 325 questions relating to two semantic fields, *land* and *man*.

After the transcriptions, 92 lexical letters, 70 phonetic letters and 19 letters with isolexical letters and 10 isophones were elaborated. Six letters were also inserted in the distribution of the settlement of Paraná between the 17th and 20th centuries.

4.6. Atlas Linguístico Sonoro do Pará (ALISPA)

The ALISPA emerged as the first linguistic atlas specifically voiced, thanks to Professor Abdelhak Rasky's concern with organizing, classifying and storing data collected in the field research. Thus, the researcher began to reflect on the previous linguistic atlases. In his opinion, the original materials recorded on cassette tapes, when multicopied, become damaged and even create problems in transcription.

Thus, Rasky (2003, p. 174) justifies the choice for a sound atlas, stating that it:

[...] follows the same methodologies established in rural or urban dialectological research. The only difference is how to access the information contained in the maps. Instead of accessing transcribed lexical or phonetic data, the user of a computer program also has the possibility to listen to digitized data (our translation)¹⁰.

⁸ Imaginary line that delimits a linguistic boundary between two regional phonetic variants.

⁹ Imaginary line that delimits a linguistic boundary between two regional lexical variants.

¹⁰ [...] segue as mesmas metodologias estabelecidas nas pesquisas dialetológicas rurais ou urbanas. A única diferença consiste no modo de acesso às informações contidas nos mapas. Em vez de acessar dados lexicais ou fonéticos transcritos, o usuário de um programa computacional tem a possibilidade também de ouvir dados digitalizados.

The survey was conducted in 10 towns, with interviews and questionnaires conducted to a total of 42 informants, distributed in the age groups from 15 to 46 years old between illiterate and high school graduate people.

4.7. Atlas Linguístico do Amazonas (ALAM)

Maria Luiza de Carvalho Cruz concluded his Doctorate with the thesis *Atlas Linguístico do Amazonas*, whose defense occurred in 2004 at the UFRJ, under professor Sílvia Brandão's guidance, being, therefore, the second work produced in stricto sensu courses.

Methodologically, the ALAM had inquiries carried out at nine points, from which six informants were chosen for each one, distributed diagenetically in three age groups: from 18 to 35 years, from 36 to 55 years and from 56 above. In addition, the author took into account both the informant without education, and those who had up to the fourth grade of elementary school.

She elaborated 257 letters, being 107 phonetic and 150 semantic-lexical, based on the responses to the questionnaire of 491 items. To verify the phonetic variation, 162 questions were asked and, for the lexical variation, 329 items were requested to the informants, with the physical, biotic and anthropic means as semantic fields, added to a semi-directed part, aimed at obtaining other fields of linguistic analysis.

4.8. Atlas Linguístico de Sergipe II (ALS II)

In 2002, Professor Suzana Cardoso, feeling the lack of analyzing aspects not considered in the first linguistic Sergipian atlas, so it was the first state to have two linguistic atlases.

In this second atlas, 3 introductory letters and 105 semantic-lexical letters were built according to the answers to questions 144 to 381 belonging to the ALS - I referring to the semantic field *Man*.

For each lexical letter, a histogram was placed in spite of showing the graphic distribution of the informant's gender. On the back of each letter, there are also the phonetic achievements of each delivered result, disseminated in the diagenetic and diatopic dimensions, in addition to some notes according to the author's convenience in mentioning some particularities of the answers or no-answers.

4.9. Atlas Linguístico do Mato Grosso do Sul (ALMS)

Under prof. Dercir Oliveira's general coordination and the research professors Albana Xavier's, Aparecida Isquerdo's, Ana Maria Pinto's, Maria José Toledo's, Maria Leda Pinto's and Vitória Regina Ferreira's collaboration, the idea of creating the *Atlas Linguístico do Mato Grosso do Sul* became reality, in order to describe the reality of State

in an ethnolinguistic perspective, based on the cultural influences of migrants and natives, since "the indigenous population of Mato Grosso do Sul reaches the second place in the country, with more than fifty thousand members¹¹" (Oliveira, 2007, p. 14).

Surveys were made at 32 points, from where the stratified informants were chosen based on gender, education that did not exceed the fourth grade of elementary school and naturalness, so that the respondent should be born in the proper town or have lived in it since the age of eight.

The 557 questions in the applied questionnaire were related to *geographic accidents, atmospheric phenomena, weather, flora, fauna, human body, most common diseases, human body functions, physical characteristics, life cycles, religions and beliefs, clothing and objects for personal use, toys and entertainment, systems and weights and measures, as well as superstitions, sympathies and legends.*

From the selected answers, 47 phonetic and 153 semantic-lexical letters were constructed. The elaboration of the 7 morphosyntactic letters was motivated by the constructions obtained during the free speeches.

4.10. Atlas Linguístico do Paraná II (ALPR - II)

The second Linguistic Atlas of Paraná was built as a Doctoral Thesis by Fabiane Altino, orientated by Professor Vanderci Aguilera, who was the author of the first atlas in this state.

The ALPR II used the results for 54% of the non-mapped questions applied for the first Linguistic Atlas of Paraná and the same methodological procedures. Besides the 3 introductory letters, this atlas has 50 phonetic letters, 125 lexical letters, as well as two dialectometric letters, pioneered in Brazilian atlases.

This aspect consisted of presenting the relative distance indices (IRD) and the relative identity indices (IRI), based on the lexicon spoken in Paraná.

4.11. Micro Atlas Fonético do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (Micro AFERJ)

One of the first eminently phonetic geolinguistic projects was the *Atlas Micro-Fonético do Estado do Rio de Janeiro*, prepared by Fabiana da Silva Campos Almeida, whose execution resulted in her Doctoral Thesis, defended in 2008 at UFRJ orientated by Sílvia Figueiredo Brandão.

The diagnosis was carried out at 12 survey points, chosen according to their historical and socioeconomic reality, in each of which six informants were selected, being one

¹¹ a população indígena de Mato Grosso do Sul alcança o segundo lugar no país, com mais de 50 mil membros.

couple between 18 and 35 years old, another one between 36 and 55 years old and another aged from 56 years old on, schooling up to the elementary school 4th grade.

Then, 306 letters were elaborated, whose data transcripts followed the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Among the phonetic phenomena, some of which deserve to be highlighted, namely: L-R exchange; V-B alternation in consonant groups, elevation of the middle-pretonic vowels, apheresis or nasalation of the initial unstressed vowel, syncope of posttonic vowel, loss of vowel x diphthong contrast, among other phenomena.

4.12. Atlas Linguístico do Estado do Ceará (ALECE)

The third Northeastern linguistic atlas refers to the Ceará dialect. Concerning the research carried out since the end of the 70s, the pre-questionnaire of 292 questions and the formation of technical and scientific teams, in May 1982, the final version of the questionnaire specific for the ALECE was completed and able to investigate the phonological, grammatical and lexical expressions at this state.

With just over 140 towns, the surveys were conducted in half of them, totaling 249 informants, four per locality, selected between 30 and 60 years old, considering the levels of education up to complete elementary school, as well as those who are not literate.

The definitive questionnaire had 306 questions related to 16 semantic fields of different meanings, such as nature, weather, man, kinship, parts and functions of the body, diseases, man physical characteristics, social types, games, personal effects, activities and household items, food, religion, animals and miscellaneous items.

It is worth highlighting the concern of the ALECE writers with the pedagogical question, since the preparation of the project *Dialetos Sociais do Ceará*, with the certainty that “teaching professional people will be able to plan, execute and evaluate vernacular teaching activities in a more realistic and more appropriate way to regional peculiarities¹²” (BESSA, 2010, p. 68 - 69).

4.13. Atlas Semântico-Lexical do Estado de Goiás (ALIGO)

This atlas presents an overview of the lexicon in the State of Goiás and it was the result of Vera Lúcia Dias dos Santos Augusto's Doctorate Thesis, defended in 2012.

The survey was conducted at nine survey points, namely: *Aruanã, Caldas Novas, City of Goiás, Goiandira, Ipameri, Mineiros, Morrinhos, Pirenópolis* and *Trindade*. The informants answered semantic-lexical questions and the results culminated in 202 linguistic letters, with 14 items having 100% relative frequency and 100 items with equal or less frequency upper than 50% and regular distribution.

4.14. Atlas Linguístico de Pernambuco (ALiPE)

The *Atlas Linguístico de Pernambuco* (ALiPE) emerged as a Doctoral thesis defended by Sá (2013), who verified how phonetic, lexical and morphosyntactic variants were accentuated or inhibited.

The investigations took place in twenty points of inquiry chosen according to the theoretical precepts found in Ferreira and Cardoso (1994), who suggested to have mind the socioeconomic reality, historical aspects and the importance of the towns for the state.

At each point, four informants between 18 and 30 and 50 to 65 years old were interviewed, including both sexes and schooling that does not exceed the fifth year (former 4th grade of elementary school), except for the capital, Recife, which, according to the pre-existing methodology, also required diagnosis with people with complete higher education.

The informants asked 460 questions, 420 of which were taken from the national atlas questionnaires, referring to general themes and 40 specific topics related to *frevo, maracatu, renascença* and *barro*. The results allowed the construction of 111 letters, six of which are introductory and the 105 linguistic letters were divided into 50 phonetic letters, 47 semantic-lexical letters and 8 morphosyntactic letters.

4.15. Atlas Linguístico do Amapá (ALAP)

The ALAP contemplated 10 points of inquiry, based on the following criteria: history (origin age), economic and sociocultural aspects. The points chosen were: (01) Macapá, (02) Santana, (03) Mazagão, (04) Laranjal do Jari, (05) Pedra Branca do Amapari, (06) Porto Grande, (07) Tartarugalzinho, (08) Amapá, (09) Calçoene and (10) Oiapoque.

For the selection of informants, 40 employees were considered residents in the respective selected locations. For each location, four informants were interviewed, with the following profile: a man and a woman aged 18 to 30 years, with incomplete elementary school; and a man and a woman aged 50 to 75 with incomplete elementary school. The informants were divided into two groups: gender (men

¹² Os profissionais de ensino poderão planejar, executar e avaliar, de forma mais realística e adequada às peculiaridades regionais, atividades de ensino vernáculo.

and women) and age (those of the first age group (18-30) and those of second age group (50-75)).

Two questionnaires were applied named *Questionário Fonológico-Fonológico* (QFF) and *Questionário Semântico-Léxico* (QSL), which resulted in 16 phonetic letters, 73 lexical letters and 30 stratified letters.

4.16. Atlas Linguístico do Estado de Alagoas (ALEAL)

This atlas aimed to document the linguistic reality of urban speakers, considering as a priority the diatopic differences in their phonic, lexical-semantic and morphosyntactic aspects, whose most pronounced phenomena resulted in 88 linguistic letters distributed between phonetics, lexical and morphosyntax dimensions.

The 21 points were chosen based on Nascentes (1958)'s guidelines, from which two people were interviewed by point, one man and one woman, between 30 and 50 years old, with complete or incomplete elementary education, among which distributed between 55 and 75 years with the same level of education were also interviewed four informants

4.17. Atlas Linguístico do Acre (ALAC)

According some notes, the preparation for the 220 lexical letters of that atlas was published in 2018 and results from the cataloguing of the words used by 18 informers living in the three major regions: *Vale do Juruá* (VJ), *Vale do Purus* (VP), *Vale do Acre* (VA).

Six men and six women per age group were chosen in each locality: A – 16-25 years; B - 26 to 36 years; C - 36 to 80 years and the sociolinguistic variables *age*, *gender*, *education level* and *birth place* were also considered.

Two models of questionnaires were used in the survey: one general (QSL) and one specific (QFF). The first one aimed at the human being and the social physical environment, life history, with 1,265 questions; the second one consists of 1,235 questions belonging to three major semantic fields: a) *nature* - with two hundred and eighty questions; b) *man* - with two hundred and fifty-eight questions; c) *work* - with two hundred and ninety-seven questions.

4.18. Atlas Linguístico do Brasil (ALiB)

As mentioned earlier, the project for the elaboration of a linguistic atlas throughout Brazil is not so new. In spite of the Nascentes' proposal in the early fifties, however, it seems that the linguists' maturing and the experience gained during the creation of regional atlases appeared to be necessary for the project to resurface and finally begin to be carried out. So Nascentes left a provisional list of 606 survey points, believing that he would see the work completed on time.

As it didn't happen, it took more than forty years of preparation, local and regional studies, so that, during the *Seminário sobre Caminhos e Perspectivas para a Geolinguística no Brasil*, held at the Faculdade de Letras da UFBA (*Universidade Federal da Bahia*) in November, 1996, the idea of a dialectal documentation from all over the Brazilian territory reminded Nascentes' desire. The ALiB project (*Atlas Linguístico do Brasil*) was presented there.

Due to its extension, a Committee formed by some professors from various parts of the country, experienced in the creation of regional atlases, has been responsible for the organization of the works, being recently distributed in a president director, an executive director and eleven scientific directors¹³ as shown in table 2 below:

Table 2: *Atlas Linguístico do Brasil (ALiB)'s Directorate*

PROFESSOR	MANAGEMENT
Jacyra Mota	President Director - UFBA
Silvana Ribeiro	Executive Director - UFBA
Abdelhak Razky	Scientific Director - UFPA
Aparecida Isquerdo	Scientific Director - UFMS
Conceição Araújo	Scientific Director - UFOP
Fabiane Altino	Scientific Director - UEL
Felício Margotti	Scientific Director - UFSC
Marcela Paim	Scientific Director - UFRPE
Marilucia Oliveira	Scientific Director - UFPA
Regiane Reis	Scientific Director - UFMS
Socorro Aragão	Scientific Director – UFPA / UFC
Valter Romano	Scientific Director – UFSC
Vanderci Aguilera	Scientific Director – UEL

Source: ALiB website

As common in other more contemporary regional atlases, the ALiB has a group of points chosen based on its territorial extension and on aspects ranging from demography to historical and cultural issues.

A revision was made at the Nascentes' points and the surveys were carried out in 250 locations from *Oiapoque* to *Chuí*, totaling 1100 informants, since, at each point, four informants with education level not exceeding the fifth

¹³ Former Director President professor Suzana Cardoso (UFBA) and former Scientific Directors professors Mário Zágari (UFJF) and Walter Koch (UFRS), *in memoriam*.

year of elementary school were surveyed, except for the capitals that also had surveys with training informants higher. Thus, of the four informants, there is a man and a woman aged between 18 and 30 years old and the same diagenetic classification between 18 and 30 years old.

The ALiB questionnaire includes 202 semantic-lexical questions divided into 15 semantic areas: *geographical accidents; atmospheric phenomena, stars and weather, plants, agricultural activities, animals, human body, culture and conviviality, life cycles, religion and beliefs, parties and entertainment, housing, food and cooking, clothing and urban life.*

There are also 159 phonetic-phonological and 49 morphosyntactic questions, in addition to some questions of prosody, pragmatics and suggestions of topics for the registration of semi-directed speeches.

The first volume (210 pages) has the complete introduction about the uses and structure of the Atlas. The second volume (368 pages) features the language letters. In all, there are 159 letters that contemplate the phonetic-phonological, semantic-lexical and morphosyntactic levels of the Portuguese language. The volumes, published in 2014, show results of the survey conducted in 25 capitals of the country, except Brasília and Tocantins.

In addition to several small concluded atlases as dissertations and theses, there are also some projects planned or in phase of inquiries on the speeches of the states of São Paulo, Maranhão, Piauí, Rondônia, Rio Grande do Norte and Mato Grosso.

V. GEOLINGUISTICS IN TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES: INDICATIONS OF THE FIFTH PHASE

Geolinguistic studies, as described above, have achieved their outstanding *status* by the number of completed and planned atlases. However, there is little record of these studies about rural speech, probably because they are limited to local research.

Because they don't integrate the urban perimeter, rural speeches can contemplate traditional communities, in addition to small sites and farms. According to the Decree No. 6,040, published on February 7, 2007, such communities constitute:

[...] culturally differentiated groups that recognize themselves as such, that have their own forms of social organization, which occupy and use territories and resources as natural conditions for their cultural, social, religious,

ancestral and economic reproduction, using knowledge, innovations and practices generated and transmitted by tradition¹⁴. (Brazil, 2007).

This group, as found in Morim (2014), is composed by *indians, quilombolas, rubber tappers, chestnut tree breakers, babassu coconut breakers, bottom of pasture communities, mangaba pickers, faxinalenses, artisanal fishermen, seafood women, riverside men, non-Amazon cross-bred races, backwoods inhabitants, terreiro people, beach lovers men, sertanejos, rafts, gypsies, pomerans, Azoreans, peasants and pantanians.*

From the linguistic point of view, studies aimed at analyses on the interference of traditional communities' social restrictions are already recognized, but particularly Dialectology and Geolinguistics studies are still reduced.

It is known that surveys at strategic points selected for some of the traditional state atlases already signaled the idea of entering this perspective. The first Brazilian atlas named *Atlas Prévio dos falares baianos* (APFB), for example, has some data on the morphosyntactic dimension collected at Helvécia Quilombola community, for having, at that time, signs of Creole influence. Nevertheless, with the *Esboço de um Atlas Linguístico de Minas Gerais* (EALMG), published in 1977, the geolinguistic studies took another step in studies in traditional communities, inserting the localities: *Serro, Capela Nova* and *Soledade*, which would have afro-Brazilian influence of ancient quilombos and *Machacalis*, which would share indigenous influence at their inhabitants' speech. But that was not enough to inspire other researchers to delimit some points for the composition of an atlas entirely composed of traditional community speeches. So, it took a few decades to dialect studies really gain their place of prominence.

Then, it is appropriate to present the overview of the works that are already known, for now, involving specifically Indians and quilombolas. At first, the works on Indian speech are presented in the table 3:

¹⁴ [...] grupos culturalmente diferenciados e que se reconhecem como tais, que possuem formas próprias de organização social, que ocupam e usam territórios e recursos naturais como condição para sua reprodução cultural, social, religiosa, ancestral e econômica, utilizando conhecimentos, inovações e práticas gerados e transmitidos pela tradição

Table 3: Geolinguistic works developed and in execution on Indian speech

Work	Description	Authoring
Perfil geossociolinguístico do português em contato com línguas tupi-guarani nos estados do Pará e Maranhão	Phonetic-phonological study of Portuguese in Indian Communities: Upper Guamá River (Tembé), Nova Jacundá (Guarani Mbyá), Sororó (Suruí do Tocantins), Trocará (Asuriní do Tocantins) and Arariboia (Guajajára)	Guedes (2017)
Estudo geossociolinguístico do léxico do português falado em áreas indígenas de língua Tupi-guarani nos estados do Pará e Maranhão	Semantic-lexical study of Portuguese at Indian Communities: Nova Jacundá (Guarani Mbyá), Sororó (Suruí do Tocantins), Trocará (Asuriní do Tocantins) and Arariboia (Guajajára)	Costa (2015)
Mapeamento Lexical do Português falado pelos Wajãpi no Estado do Amapá: Uma abordagem Geossociolinguística	Semantic-lexical study of Portuguese in the villages: Aramiran, Pairakae, CTA, Mariry and Kurani'yty.	Rodrigues (2017)
A variedade do português falado pelos Asuriní do	Semantic-lexical study of the Xingu and	Alves (2018)

Xingu e pelos Asuriní: um estudo geossociolinguístico	Araweté Asuriní.	
Mapeamento fonético do português falado em comunidades indígenas do Oiapoque-AP	Phonetic study	Carvalho (2019)
Microatlas linguístico bilíngue (português-kheól) da área indígena dos Kariyuna do Amapá	Semantic-lexical study	Sanches (2020)
A variação lexical do português em contato com as línguas Nheengatu, Baniwa e Tucano: um estudo geossociolinguístico	Semantic-lexical study	Thesis in Progress
Atlas Linguístico do Português em Áreas Indígenas (ALiPAI)	Phonetic and semantic-lexical study	Project in progress

Source: Alves (2018) with updates.

Concerning to studies focused on quilombola communities, Lucchesi's (2009), Castro's (2005), Petter's (2009) and Oliveira's (2010) researches have brought remarkable fruits on Afro-Brazilian Portuguese. The table 4 presents the description of the works on this theme, contemplating the geolinguistic perspective.

Table 4: Geolinguistic works developed and in execution on Afro-Brazilian Portuguese speech

Work	Description	Authoring
Atlas Geossociolinguístico Quilombola do Nordeste do Pará	Semantic-lexical study conducted in 6 (six) communities (Rio Acaraqui/Campo mpema; Cacau, América; Taperinha; África and Laranjituba)	Dias (2017)

Atlas Linguístico quilombola do Moxotó-Ipanema Pernambucano	Phonetic and semantic-lexical study conducted in five communities (Buenos Aires; Mundo Novo; Urubu; Poço Dantas and Angico)	Sá (2018)	<p>Amadeu Amaral have noticed some distinctions from Brazilian speeches, projecting future descriptions of these speeches, which did not consolidate nationally but only in state and town records until the late 1990s, when the initial planning gained prominence and the points of inquiry selected by Nascentes were updated and investigations were initiated as well as the investigations whose <i>corpus</i> was transcribed and the main phenomena were typed.</p> <p>For a better understanding of these studies, Ferreira and Cardoso (1984) categorized them into three phases, while the resumption of the <i>Atlas Linguístico do Brasil</i> project and other state atlases led Motta and Cardoso (2006) to propose a fourth phase, while Sá (2018) proposed that geolinguistic studies in traditional communities, led by Rodrigues (2017) on the indigenous Portuguese and by Dias (2017) on the quilombola Portuguese, should be included in a fifth phase that is more intensively developed in the Brazilian North States and have inspired researchers from other Brazilian regions.</p> <p>There is also few information on geolinguistic study projects involving Brazilian toponyms, such as the <i>Atlas Toponímico do Brasil</i>, which aims at the categorization of lexical toponyms, explained from a taxonomic model of which the anthropocultural and physical dimensions are part, which seems to sign a sixth phase to be discussed on future manuscripts.</p>
Variação e Territorialização linguísticas: um estudo geolinguístico da diversidade lexical em comunidades quilombolas do Baixo Amazonas	Semantic-lexical study quilombola communities do Baixo Amazonas (Abuí, Água Fria, Arapucu, Silêncio, Pacoval de Alenquer, Saracura and Tiningu)	Costa (2019)	

Source: the author's creation

Even knowing that studies in traditional communities are more complicated to be carried out, because of the difficult access to these communities, especially where Quilombola and indigenous people live, there has long been a lack to document their speech, as Radtke and Thun (1996) referred to when dealing with Geolinguistics in South America, because, without such studies, national speech would not be fully contemplated.

Thus, in recent days the difficulties pointed out by Nascentes (1958) in finding specialized teams to conduct dialectal studies seem not to have been limited to the urban area, but gradually this thought is transforming and access to rural communities is becoming possible day by day.

VI. CONCLUSION

This article aimed to update the reader about dialectal and geolinguistic studies in Brazil, starting with the description of the Brazilian Portuguese compared to the European Portuguese, passing through the creation of the first Brazilian linguistic atlases, the national linguistic atlas and recent studies investigated in traditional communities.

Since the production written by the Viscount of Pedra Branca, philologists such as Antenor Nascentes and

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