

THE LINGUISTIC  
ATLAS OF BRAZIL  
(*ATLAS LINGUISTICO  
DO BRASIL - ALiB*)  
AND THE SMALL-DOMAIN  
ATLAS: COMPARISONS  
AND CONTRASTS

O ATLAS LINGUÍSTICO DO BRASIL (ALiB) E OS ATLAS DE PEQUENO DOMÍNIO:  
COMPARAÇÕES E CONTRASTES

ATLAS LINGÜÍSTICO DE BRASIL (ALiB) Y ATLAS DE PEQUEÑOS DOMINIOS:  
COMPARACIONES Y CONTRASTES

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ABSTRACT: The primary proposal of a national atlas such as the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil is the systematic collection of dialectal data covering a vast territory, a country, in the perspective of linguistically characterizing a broader reality. On the other hand, small-domain atlases focus on issues of a more local/regional nature present in a specific region, circumscribed in a broader territory; these works are responsible for providing the scientific community with a possible effect of dialectal zoom, sometimes not contemplated in larger atlases. In this discussion, the present study proposes the analysis of the coincident cartography between the ALiB (*Atlas Nacional Brasileiro* - Brazilian National Atlas), and ten other small-domain atlases for the designations for *dragonfly* (*libélula*). Based

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on the analysis and discussion, it is initially proposed for the Brazilian reality the reorganization of the terminology of the linguistic atlases for six types of atlases: continental, language groups, national, regional, state, and small-domain/local.

KEYWORDS: Classification of linguistic atlases. Large-domain atlases. Small-domain atlas. Designations for *dragonfly*.

RESUMO: Um atlas nacional, como o *Atlas Linguístico do Brasil*, tem como proposta primária a coleta sistemática de dados dialetais abarcando um vasto território, um país, na perspectiva de caracterizar linguisticamente uma realidade mais ampla. Em contrapartida, os atlas de pequeno domínio voltam-se para questões de natureza mais local/regional presentes em uma região específica, que é uma parcela de um território mais amplo; essas obras são responsáveis por fornecer à comunidade científica um possível afeito de *zoom* dialetal, por vezes não contemplado em atlas maiores. Nessa discussão, o presente estudo propõe a análise da cartografia coincidente entre o ALiB, que é um atlas nacional brasileiro, e outros dez atlas de pequeno domínio para os designativos para *libélula*. Com a análise e a discussão, propõe-se para a realidade brasileira, em caráter inicial, a reclassificação da terminologia dos atlas linguísticos para, por exemplo, seis tipos de atlas: continentais, grupos de línguas, nacionais, regionais, estaduais e pequeno domínio/locais.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Classificação dos atlas linguísticos. Atlas de grande domínio. Atlas de pequeno domínio. Designações para libélula.

RESUMEN: Un atlas nacional, como el *Atlas Lingüístico de Brasil*, tiene como objetivo principal la compilación sistemática de datos dialectales que comprenden el vasto territorio de un país, con el propósito de caracterizar lingüísticamente una amplia realidad. En contrapartida, los atlas de menor dominio se centran en los asuntos de carácter local/regional que se encuentran presentes en una región concreta, circunscrita en un territorio más amplio; estas obras se encargan de proporcionar a la comunidad científica un posible efecto de *zoom* dialectal, a veces no contemplado en los atlas de mayor tamaño. El presente estudio propone el análisis de la cartografía coincidente entre el ALiB, el atlas nacional brasileño, y otros diez atlas de menor dominio para las designaciones de *libélula*. Con el análisis y debate, se plantea inicialmente para la realidad brasileña reorganizar la terminología de los atlas lingüísticos como por ejemplo, seis tipos de atlas: continental, de grupos lingüísticos, nacional, regional, estatal y de menor dominio/local.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Clasificación de atlas lingüísticos. Atlas de mayor dominio. Atlas de menor dominio. designación de libélula.

## INTRODUCTION

Currently, Geo-linguistic studies in Brazil are taking great strides from researchers' initiatives willing to travel through different territories, reaching more isolated areas such as inside indigenous villages or Quilombola communities in rural areas inside Pará and Pernambuco states, for example. In addition, these professionals are concerned about describing spoken language in the small Brazilian cities to the large metropolitan areas such as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, or even regions on the international frontier.

Regardless of what has been observed in other countries about methodological field advances, Brazil's Geo-linguistics has followed its path since the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century, already with a strengthened methodology and a consistent theoretical basis, putting theory and practice in focus based on different group's initiatives formed in the best universities in the country. The Brazilian Linguistics dismemberment from the European model originated from Brazilian professionals' perception that the country has geographical, historical, and social specificities.

The much-desired Brazilian dialectology map is getting closer and closer to achieve through empirical research and by the cartographic treatment provided in the linguistic atlases available, which, in a certain way, improve and endorse the proposed division dialect presented by Antenor Nascentes (1953). The Linguistic Atlas of Brazil Project launched after 1996, a series of statewide and small domain atlases emerged in the Brazilian Geo-linguistics scenario, covering different realities. According to Romano (2020), currently, "[...] 63 works resulted in many linguistic letters: 29 master's dissertations, 25 doctoral theses, 6 monographs, a postdoctoral project, an undergraduate course conclusion work, and a scientific initiation project" (Romano, 2020, p. 20).

Beyond question, the Brazilian Geo-linguistics inaugural works were fundamental for what we can find today. The *Atlas Prévio dos Falares Baianos*<sup>1</sup> (Rossi et al., 1963), *Esboço de um Atlas Linguístico de Minas Gerais*<sup>2</sup> (Ribeiro et al., 1977), *Atlas Linguístico da Paraíba*<sup>3</sup> (Aragão Bezerra de Menezes, 1984), *Atlas Linguístico de Sergipe*<sup>4</sup> (Ferreira, 1987), and finally the *Atlas Linguístico do Paraná*<sup>5</sup> (Aguilera, 1994) gave support for the start of a great project named The Project Linguistic Atlas of Brazil - ALiB in full development which, through its scientific directors, is the driving force for dialectal and geo-linguistic nature studies in the national territory.

## 2 LINGUISTIC ATLASES AND THEIR DIMENSIONS

In European terms, linguistic atlases are divided into four categories, depending on the geographic scope and the creators' goals, from largest to most minor: I) Continental Linguistic Atlas, II) Language Groups Atlas, III) National Atlas, and IV) Regional Atlas (Alinei, 1994, p. 21). In addition, the guidance outlines dialect research methodologies, especially regarding the informant's numbers and profile, as well as the definition of "network points" which may be more or less dense.

Descriptively, geo-linguistic continental scope maps aim to cover an entire continent with several languages in its composition. According to Cardoso (2010), the only work of this magnitude is the *Atlas Linguarum Europae* (ALE), created in the 1970s and published in 2007. This macro atlas has a network of linguistic points in 2631 locations, covering 22 language groups among six linguistics families (Altaic, Basque, Indo-European, Caucasian, Semitic, and Uralic)<sup>6</sup>. Those language branches can also include ALE in the language group atlases terminology.

Following Alinei's terminology, even though there are fewer existing maps (1994) considered as language groups atlas (or linguistic families), there is *Atlas Linguistique Roman* (ALiR), where the goal was to collect and analyze Rumanian speeches in Europe (Ancient Romania). There are 1036 points disseminated by regions, covering the following languages, form the network: Catalan, Spanish, French, Galician, Italian, Moldovan, Portuguese, Swiss, Romanian, and Walloon (Contini; Tuaille, 1996).

A National Atlas describes dialectally and strictly, the territory limits parameters of a country, so they are more restricted than a language group atlas, but they are wider than regional atlases described by Alinei (1994). In this sense, it is possible to mention the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil Project (ALiB), whose aim is to qualify dialectal nature variations in Brazil. Therefore, despite establishing some cross-border localities in their network of points, national atlases rarely go beyond political limits, although in dialectal terms, these limits are only virtual borders (Coseriu 1987).

There is a relevant point about broader atlas approaches: continental atlas, language groups, and national atlas, typically have a sparse network of points, so a large area can be covered. In addition, the survey adopted in multiple territories is equally bigger for cultural and linguistic purposes. For example, in ALE's case, there are 550 questions, and the ALiB uses 435 questions<sup>7</sup>. Finally, regarding linguistic atlases "specialization" levels and their instruments, Castañer's words (1991, p. 328) are opportune:

<sup>1</sup> In English: Previous Atlas of the Bahian Falares.

<sup>2</sup> In English: Sketch of a Linguistic Atlas of Minas Gerais.

<sup>3</sup> In English: Linguistic Atlas of Paraíba.

<sup>4</sup> In English: Linguistic Atlas of Sergipe.

<sup>5</sup> In English: Linguistic Atlas of Paraná.

<sup>6</sup> Available in: [https://www.lingv.ro/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=81&Itemid=109](https://www.lingv.ro/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=81&Itemid=109). Accessed on: March 1, 2021.

<sup>7</sup> The ALiB Project questionnaires (2001) contain three macro groups: i) phonetic-phonological - 159 questions; ii) semantic-lexical - 202 questions and iii) morph syntactic - 49 questions. Added to the questionnaires there are 11 prosody questions, 04 pragmatic questions, 04 themes for semi-directed speeches, and 06 metalinguistic questions, besides a text for reading. Available at: <https://alib.ufba.br>. Access on: March 01, 2021.

A national atlas must explore an existing set of words in a language, aiming for it to be the most common, but cannot reach the specialized level; it should be at the general level, and multilingual atlases have to exist, so it is possible to relate a word to compare in another language. Unlikely, regional atlases show a denser network, deepen, and specific vocabulary, besides allowing an in-depth understanding<sup>8</sup>.

In Castañer's words (1991), one can understand the IV) regional linguistic atlases as smaller than the national atlases. However, their network of points is denser because between locations with the same distance, they are still smaller compared to other localities. National atlases make it possible to recognize more local particularities, which is complementary and integrative to national atlases.

The idea of making a country's specific regions atlases is not recent and they were already widespread in Europe, as seen in the New Linguistic Atlas of France by Regions<sup>9</sup> in 1940. This atlas complements *The Atlas Linguistique de la France* – ALF (Gillieron, 1909) by detailing each French region's particularities, which made it possible to compare the inaugural work of the then-called Linguistic Geography. The *Linguistic Atlas of the Portuguese Coast*<sup>10</sup> (Vitorino, 1987) is another example whose importance is reflected in the elaboration of the *Linguistic and Ethnographic Atlas of Portugal and Galicia*<sup>11</sup>.

First-time dialectologists, as observed by Romano (2020), already highlighted the coexistence of atlases of small and large domains' importance (Alvar, 1969), “[...] because these works complement larger maps, revealing phonetic aspects, lexical and morph syntactic in more detail” (Romano, 2020, p. 18).

Following the European path, initially in Brazil, they also developed specific region atlases of the country, the so-called state linguistic atlases (Romano, 2013; Romano, 2020). These atlases are regional by Brandão (1991), Ferreira and Cardoso (1994), Isquerdo (2006), and Cardoso (2010), but their network of points is limit to the borders of the federative units and not to a specific region of the country or the state.

Given the continental dimensions of Brazil, as well as the different states' territorial extension, it would be more appropriate not to consider state atlases as regional atlases since Brazil is geographically very different from Europe, given that there are countries whose total area is not equivalent nor to a Brazilian federal state. According to Romano (2020), an atlas covers an entire Administrative Region<sup>12</sup>; the *Atlas Linguístico Etnográfico da Região Sul do Brasil*<sup>13</sup>- ALERS (Altenhofen et al., 2011). However, some atlases cover from small municipalities to extensive areas of international borders and areas that comprise over one state.

It is important to consider the existence of a national atlas, the ALiB<sup>14</sup>, a regional atlas - known as ALERS, the state atlas - already published or under development, and the Small Domain Atlas. Thus, in the remodeled terminology proposed by Alinei (1994) to fit in the Brazilian reality, there should be: a) Continental Atlas; b) Language Groups; c) National Atlas; d) Regional Atlas; e) State Atlas, and f) Small Domain/Local Atlas, which in reality it is only possible to apply to Brazilian type's c, d, e, f.

<sup>8</sup>Original: “Un Atlas nacional debe buscar el léxico más común, pero no puede llegar al especializado; en un plano todavía más general deben quedar los Atlas plurilingües, que permiten relacionar un término con los que corresponden en otras lenguas. El Atlas regional ofrece por el contrario, una cuadrícula más densa y debe adentrarse en el léxico específico, además de permitir un conocimiento profundo de la zona objeto de estudio” (CASTAÑER, 1991, p. 328 *apud* CONTINI; TUAILLON, 1996, p. 230-231).

<sup>9</sup>Original: Le nouvel atlas linguistique de la France par régions.

<sup>10</sup>Original: Atlas Linguístico do Litoral Português – ALLP.

<sup>11</sup>Original: O atlas linguístico-etnográfico de Portugal e da Galiza – ALEPG.

<sup>12</sup>An administrative region is a regional division organized by the country to facilitate administration. These regions have an artificial origin, as the law creates them. In fact, these divisions do not consider geographic or cultural criteria.

<sup>13</sup>In English: Ethnographic Linguistic Atlas of the Southern Region of Brazil.

<sup>14</sup>The ALiB's first volumes were published in 2014 (Cardoso *et al.*, 2014a; 2014b), and the others are under development.

Small domain/local atlases seek to describe nuances restricted to a specific region within another broader territory. For this purpose, their composition has theoretical-methodological particularities: the network of points is denser, and they focus their collection instruments on regional and local issues. Regarding the main differences between national and regional atlases, the guidelines highlighted by the *Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula*<sup>15</sup> (ALPI) are opportune:

[...] an Atlas Domain Group aims to collect material that allows linguistically description of an extensive territory, which supposes to establish a wide, wide inquiry network, whose points may not be very close to each other, as well as the use a generic questionnaire so that it is possible to adapt to different geographies and cultures; as it occupies a more restricted space, a small domain atlas can and should establish a dense, narrow survey network, with enough points, in order to form a mesh that covers the entire space, using a specific questionnaire closely linked to the cultural reality of the territory you intend to study (ALPI, [1975?].)

Small domain atlases work as a zoom to larger realities. They are essential instruments in the analysis and interpretation of dialectal nuances of a territory, as they launch a deeper look, sometimes not covered in macro atlases, such as the minority languages, handicraft activities that demarcate the local economy and that result from the human contact with the physical environment, issues that characterize the different points of a large region.

In Brazilian terms, it proposes that regional atlases should not be interpreted as state or small domain atlases, given Brazil's geographic specificities. Thus, a regional atlas encompasses an entire administrative region like ALERS' case (Altenhofen et al., 2011), while a state atlas accounts for the dialectal specificities of a complete federative unit in its political-territorial limits, while a small domain atlases aim at mapping much smaller realities - like cities, a micro-region, groups of cities, specific lands, craftwork activities, specific ethnic groups, among many others that mark Brazilian rationalities' and they are not necessarily restricted to political-territorial limits of the area.

### 3 THE NATIONAL ATLAS AND SMALL DOMAIN ATLASES: COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS

Large Domain Atlas aims to broadly and systematically collect dialectal data by embracing nuances that are more general in linguistic terms in their composition. This topic analyzes the comparisons and contrasts established between a national atlas - the ALIB, and some small domain atlases published and developed in different Brazilian regions. To do so, we worked with the cartography of a question that has commonly been the object of systematic collection and also dialectologist's analysis - the insect that belongs to the odonata's group - the *libélula*<sup>16</sup>, as it highlights the regional characterization and, sometimes, presents ruralization<sup>17</sup> factors in the designations linked to the diagenational<sup>18</sup> nature (Isquerdo, 2010; Silva, Borges, 2019).

Besides the letters from ALiB (Cardoso *et al.* 2014), regarding the cartographic documentation in question, linguistic letters from ten Small Domain Atlases were selected in order to verify, from a comparative perspective, the lexical variants documented in two atlases for each Administrative Region:

- Northern Region: the *Atlas Lingüístico dos Karipunas do Amapá*<sup>19</sup> (Sanches, 2020) and the *Atlas Geossociolingüístico Quilombola do Nordeste do Pará*<sup>20</sup> (Dias, 2017);

<sup>15</sup> Original: The Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica.

<sup>16</sup> In this research, it is necessary to punctuate the Brazilian Portuguese word's pronunciation, so while mentioning *libélula*, the reader must know it means dragonfly.

<sup>17</sup> It is the process of making rural. The change in a country or region when its population migrates from urban to rural areas. The process of the formation of villages and the decline of big cities.

<sup>18</sup> Diagenational variation represents the variation between generations.

<sup>19</sup> In English: Linguistic Atlas of the Karipuna of Amapá.

<sup>20</sup> In English: Quilombola Geo-sociolingüistic Atlas of Northeastern Pará.

- Northeast Region: the *Atlas Linguístico de Icatu*<sup>21</sup> – AlinI (Mendonça, 2017) and the *Atlas Fonético e Léxico-Semântico do Cariri cearense*<sup>22</sup> – Alicace (Saraiva, 2019);
- Southeast Region: the *Atlas Semântico-Lexical do Grande ABC*<sup>23</sup> (Cristianini, 2007) and the *Atlas Linguístico Pluridimensional do Português Paulista*<sup>24</sup> (Figueiredo Junior, 2018);
- Southern Region: the *Atlas Linguístico de Curiúva*<sup>25</sup> – PR (Siqueira, 2015) and *Atlas Linguístico do Norte Pioneiro do Paraná*<sup>26</sup> – ALINPIPR (Ribeiro, 2021);
- Central-West Region: *Atlas Linguístico de Corumbá e Ladário*<sup>27</sup> – ALiCola (Alencar, 2013) and the *Atlas Semântico-lexical do Norte do Mato Grosso*<sup>28</sup> – ASLNMAT (Azevedo, 2015).

They are multidimensional atlases that document speech from different perspectives: a community in a bilingualism situation, such as the *Karipunas'* Atlas in Amapá; small cities, such as Icatu in the interior of Maranhão and Curiúva in the interior of Paraná; mesoregions<sup>29</sup> of a state, such as Norte Pioneiro do Paraná and Norte do Mato Grosso; metropolitan regions, such as Grande ABC in São Paulo, or even a comparison between municipalities, such as the interior of São Paulo, or cities such as Corumbá and Ladário in Mato Grosso do Sul.

Each atlas followed its method regarding the informant's profiles, which means the model of a cartographic representation, but the selected atlas for this research has something in common. For example, in the data collection instrument, there is a *libélula* in question, "the insect of long and thin body, with four very transparent wings, that flies and hits its back in the water?"<sup>30</sup>, as predicted by question 87 of the ALiB Semantic-Lexical Questionnaire (Comitê Nacional, 2001).

In this paperwork, the data is presented summarily without going into the lexical-semantic and geo-sociolinguistic analysis, verifying if it co-occurs in atlas forms compared to ALiB data, which confirms the importance of small domain studies to reveal nuances that larger atlases may not cover.

### 3.1 THE "LIBÉLULA" IN ALIB AND SMALL DOMAIN ATLAS

The ALiB National Atlas, with data from the 25 Brazilian capitals, shows in its cartography the polymorphic character of answers provided by its 200 informants for the concept involved in QSL 087. The variants collected in order of occurrence are *libélula*, *helicóptero*<sup>31</sup>, *bate-bunda/lava-bunda/lava-cu*, *jacinta*, *zigue-zague*, *cigarra*<sup>32</sup>, and other variants grouped under the label *others* (Letter L12), Figure 1.

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<sup>21</sup> In English: The Linguistic Atlas of Icatu.

<sup>22</sup> In English: Phonetic and Lexical-Semantic Atlas of Cariri - Ceará.

<sup>23</sup> In English: Semantic-Lexical Atlas of the Great ABC.

<sup>24</sup> In English: Pluridimensional linguistic atlas of the Portuguese spoken in the Brazilian state of São Paulo.

<sup>25</sup> In English: Linguistic Atlas of Curiúva.

<sup>26</sup> In English: Linguistic Atlas of the Pioneer North of Paraná.

<sup>27</sup> In English: Linguistic Atlas of Corumbá and Ladário.

<sup>28</sup> In English: Semantic-lexical Atlas of Northern Mato Grosso.

<sup>29</sup> A mesoregion is a medium-sized region between the size of a city or district and that of a nation.

<sup>30</sup> Original: "o inseto de corpo comprido e fino, com quatro asas bem transparentes, que voa e bate a parte traseira na água? "

<sup>31</sup> In English: helicopter

<sup>32</sup> In English: cicada.



Figure 1: Linguistic Cartogram of the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil

Source: Cardoso et al. (2014)

Thus, the *jacinta* item, which has an indigenous origin, can be seen in the North Region capitals in Brazil, *zigue-zigue*, a variant of onomatopoeic motivation in Northeastern capitals. *Lava/bate bunda* in Aracajú, Vitória, Goiânia, and Campo Grande. *Helicóptero* in capitals of four major regions, and *cigarras* mostly in Porto Alegre and São Paulo, with different occurrence rates. The standard form considered (*libélula*) is present in all Regions, and many regional forms are grouped under the *others* label. When analyzing only the diatopic<sup>33</sup> factor in question, the formation of occurrence areas in the pronunciation forms mentioned above, there is a situation that ALiB expands in subsequent letters according to the Administrative Region.

Besides the six most cited forms in the capitals, by macro-regional approach, under the label *others*, there is the following diatopic situation: in the North Region, for example, among the six pronunciation forms collected, two are regional: *cavalo-do-cão* and *lavadeira*, as seen in Table 01 below:

NORTH REGION	NORTHEAST REGION	SOUTHEAST REGION	SOUTH REGION	CENTER-WEST REGION
Jacinta	Libélula			Helicóptero
Libélula	Zigue-zague			Lava-bunda
Cigarra	Cachimbal	Libélula)	Libélula	Assa-peixe
Cavalo-do-cão	Cavalo	Cigarra	Helicóptero	Bate-bunda
Helicóptero	Catirina	Lavadeira	Besouro	Libélula
Lavadeira	Cavalo-do-cão	Helicóptero	Cigarra	Olho de peixe
	Helicóptero	Lava-bunda	Lava-bunda	
	Lava-cu			
	Macaco			
	Mané-mago			

Table 1: Pronunciations mapped by ALiB for QSL 085 – in productivity order

Source: Cardoso et al. (2014) – by the cards L12a, L12b, L12c, L12d, L12e

<sup>33</sup> Which is geographically distributed or differentiated (e.g., diatopic variation).

In the Northeast Region, there are six forms of pronunciation that are less productive and not included among the most cited in the general diatopic L12 letter, they are *cachimbal*, *cavalo*, *catirina*, *cavalo-do-cão*, *macaco*, and *mané-mago*, while in the Southeast Region there is only the *lavadeira*. In the South region, there is the *besouro*, and, finally, in the Center-West Region, they have the *assa-peixe* and *olho de peixe*. Adding up all the forms of pronunciation of words about the same animal, being them more or less productive, and making the groupings (*bate-bunda/lava-bunda/lava-cu* and *cavalo/cavalo-do-cão*, for example), there are 14 pronunciation forms to designate the insect agenda in the 25 capitals extensively covered by the national atlas.

Observing the cartography present in the Small Domains Atlases, whose aim is to act as an essential dialect “magnifying glass” complementary to the Atlas with more excellent territorial coverage (Domain), one can consider some circumstances regarding the presence or absence of the variants in different studies and their goals.

In northern reality, for example, the *Atlas Linguístico dos Karipunas do Amapá* (Sanches, 2020), in Letter P43, reports lexical variants in Portuguese<sup>34</sup> (Figure 2) for the same insect documented by ALiB. There are variants such as *cigarra*, *cigana*, *jacinta*, *libélula*, *catirina*, but the word *cigarra* is the most effective pronunciation form in the community; so it is present in local vocabulary. In ALiB (Figure 1), this item is presented in capitals that are geographically distant from Amapá, such as Porto Alegre, in a very productive way, and São Paulo. The National Atlas includes the word *cigarra* as a regional linguistic form present in the South region, which has been not proven when compared with Amapá state’s Small Domain Atlas.

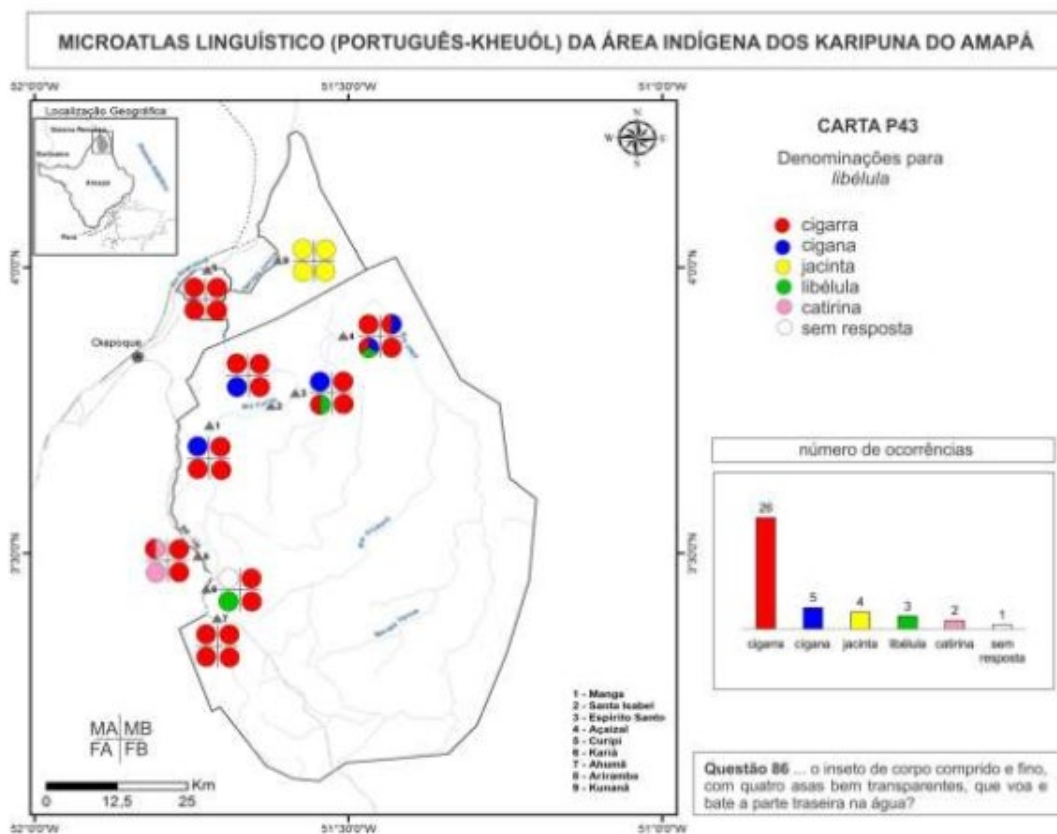


Figure 2: Atlas Linguístico dos Karipuna do Amapá – ALIKAP's cartogram – variants in Portuguese

Source: Sanches (2020)

Another interesting fact is *catirina*, which in ALiB collects in the Northeast region, but observing the ALIKAP (Sanches, 2020) the variant enters northern regions localities as seen in Figure 2. Likewise, in the linguistic contact sense, *Atlas Geossociolinguístico Quilombola do Nordeste do Pará - AGQUINPA* (Dias, 2017) categorically documents that in the Northern Region, the *jacinta* word variant as a lexical norm in the investigated community (Figure 3). The *cigarra* term occurrence confirms previous data found in

<sup>34</sup> The Atlas presents two letters for each question analyzed: one in Portuguese and the other in *kheúol* language.



the ALiB letter, but the first term, *jacinta*, has been predominant in northern capitals. However, it is crucial to point out that in AGQUINPA, there is still a pronunciation form not documented by ALiB in the northern capitals: the word *socó* (1 occurrence).

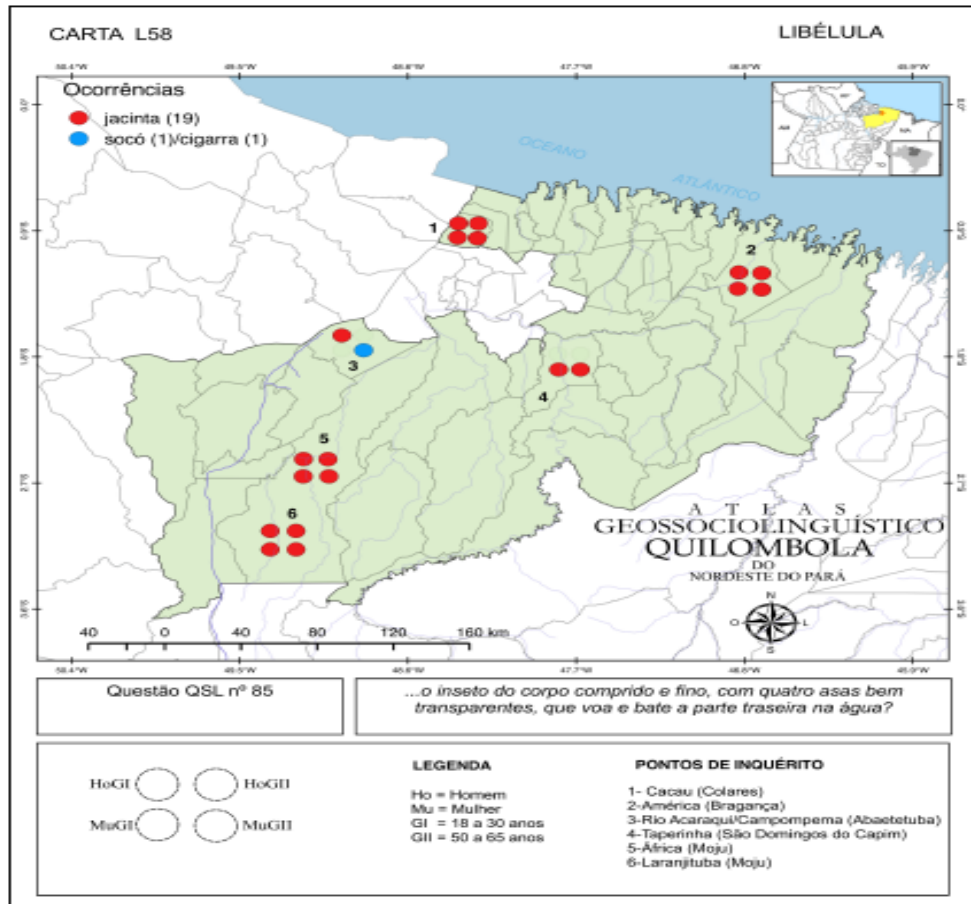
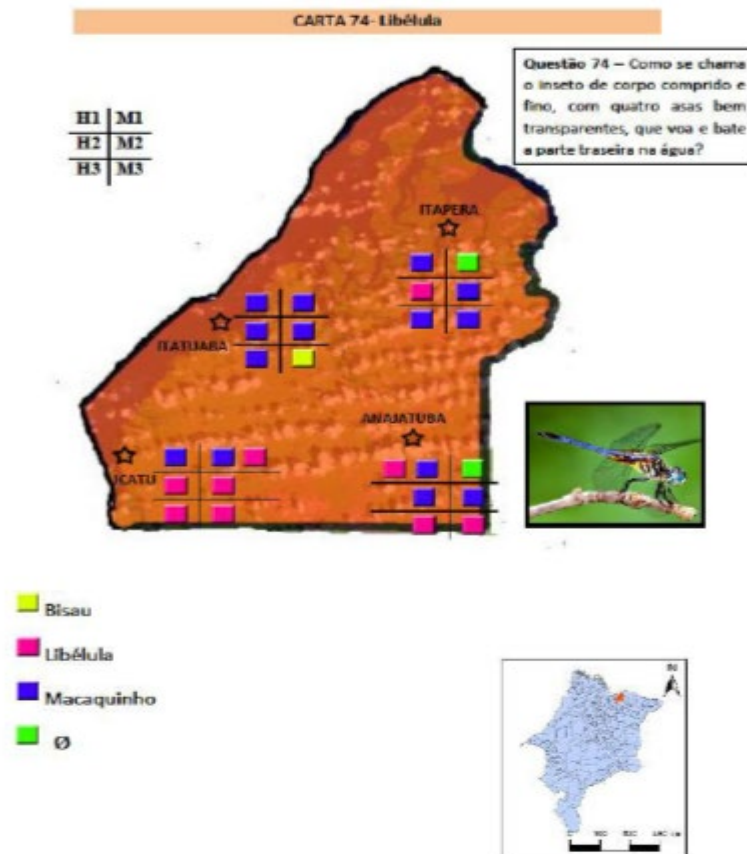


Figure 3: Atlas Geossociolinguístico Quilombola do Nordeste do Pará's cartogram

Source: Dias (2017)

The Northeast region is represented by two Small Domain Atlas, the *Atlas Linguístico de Icatu – AlinI* (Mendonça, 2017) and the *Atlas Fonético e Léxico-Semântico do Cariri cearense – Alicace* (Saraiva, 2019), end up showing essential nuances about the regional point of view. For example, the first local Atlas of Maranhão described three lexical forms for the insect in question - *macaquinho*, *libélula*, and *bisau* (Figure 4).



**Figure 4:** Atlas Linguístico de Icatu's cartogram - MA

**Source:** Mendonça (2017)

ALiB has no records of the diminutive form *macaquinho* in the capitals. However, there is an exclusive speaker's reaction from the capital São Luís to *macaco*, i.e., AlinI ratifies that the *macaquinho* form is a regional/local pronunciation form that belongs to the Maranhão state.

In the second Atlas of Small Domain in the northeast region, the *Alicace*, from Cariri - Ceará, there is a more complex situation from a quantitative point of view to designate the *libélula*. Thoroughly, in the linguistic letter that deals with the topic (Figure 5), there are 13 pronunciation variants mapped, but at least seven of them are not included in the ALiB, so in productive order, there are: *gafanhoto*, *canudo*, *cachimbo*, *avião*, *amor de véio*, *mijarcorda* and *esqueleto*; meanwhile, the other pronunciation forms (*libélula*, *lava-cu*, *bunda n'água*, *helicóptero*, *zigue-zague* and *besouro*) are coexisting.

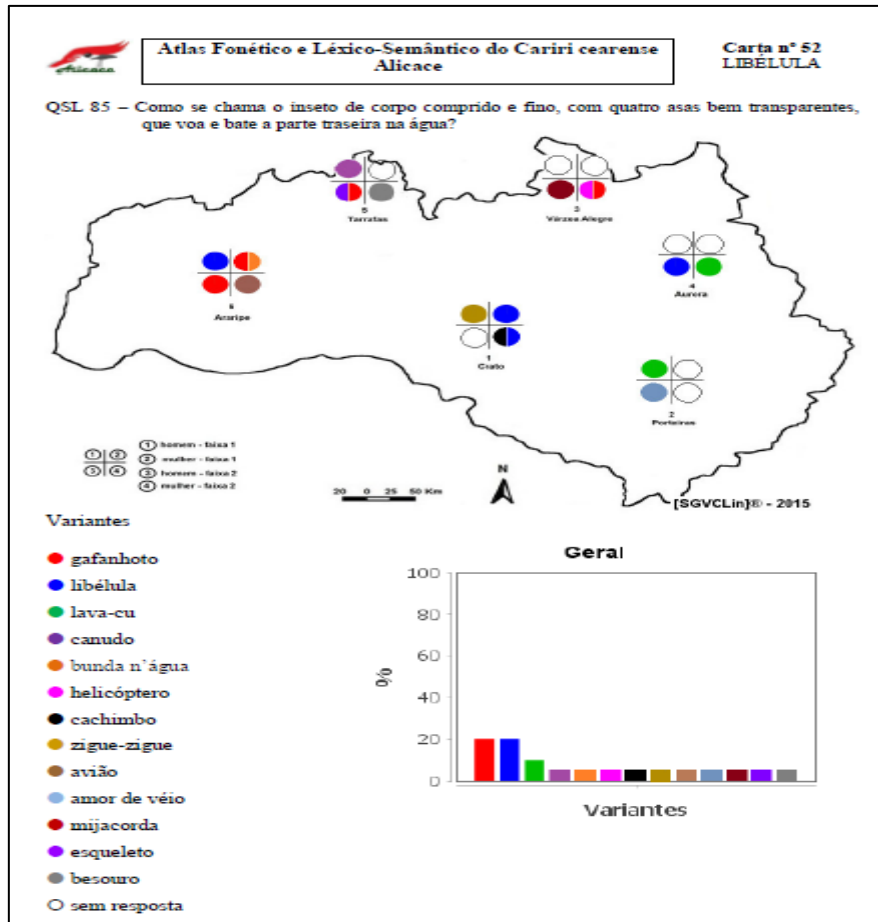


Figure 5: Atlas Fonético e Léxico-Semântico do Cariri cearense' cartogram – Alicace

Source: Saraiva (2019)

As a representative of the Southeast region, there is the *Atlas Semântico-Lexical do Grande ABC*<sup>35</sup> (Cristianini, 2007) and the *Atlas Linguístico Pluridimensional do Português Paulista*<sup>36</sup> (Figueiredo Junior, 2018) and in both the most effective form is the *libélula*, as in ALiB (Letter n° L12 and L12c). The first atlas (Figure 6) shows a meaningful amount of mapped pronunciation variants, ten of which half allude to other insects: *grilo* (cricket), *pernilongo* (mosquito), *besouro* (beetle), *mariposa* (moth), and *tanajura*.

<sup>35</sup> In English: Semantic-Lexical Atlas of the Great ABC.

<sup>36</sup> In English: Pluridimensional linguistic atlas of the Portuguese spoken in the Brazilian state of São Paulo.

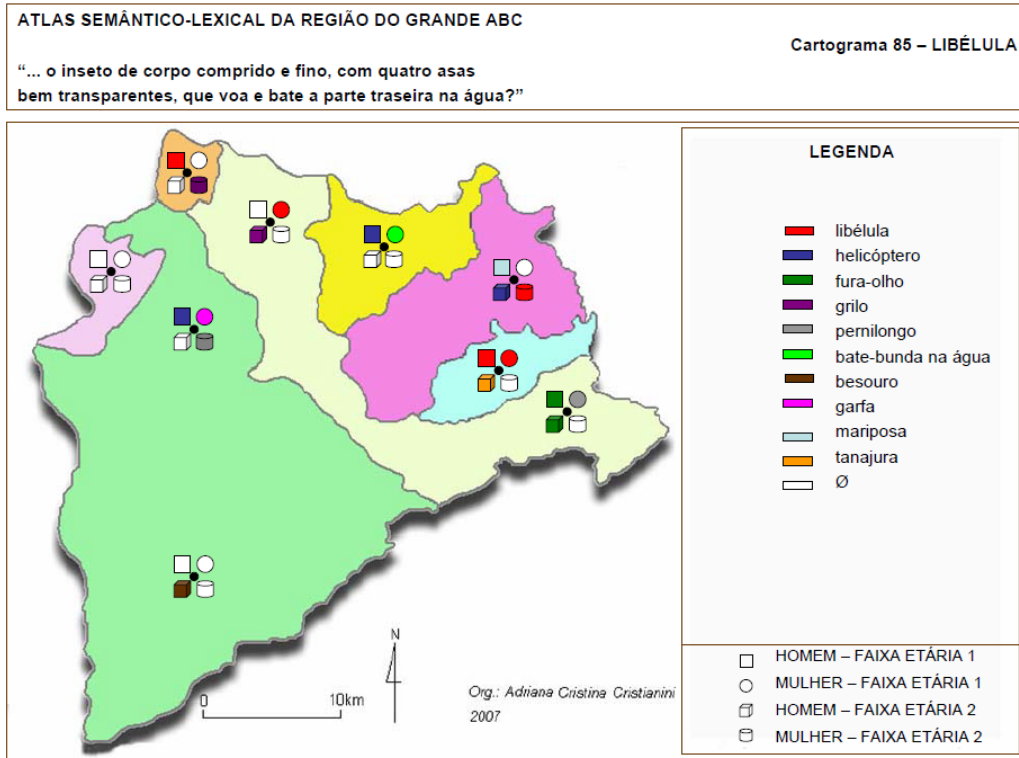


Figure 6: Atlas Semântico-Lexical da Grande ABC's cartogram

Source: Cristianini (2007)

The atlas mentioned above marks informants who did not respond, which corresponds to 47.23%, as they did not know how to answer the question, possibly because of a lack of knowledge of the subject, i.e., this atlas evidences the situation experienced in very urbanized realities, especially when dealing with issues related to the sizeable semantic area land/nature.

The *Atlas Linguístico Pluridimensional do Português Paulista* (Figueiredo Junior, 2018) represents cities located in the interior of São Paulo (Santana de Parnaíba, Pirapora do Bom Jesus, Araçariguama, São Roque, Sorocaba, Itu, Porto Feliz, Tietê, Capivari, and Piracicaba). Only two informants could not answer the question (Figure 7), possibly demonstrating that the insect is better known and named in more interior cities than in the capital, as verified by Cristianini (2007).

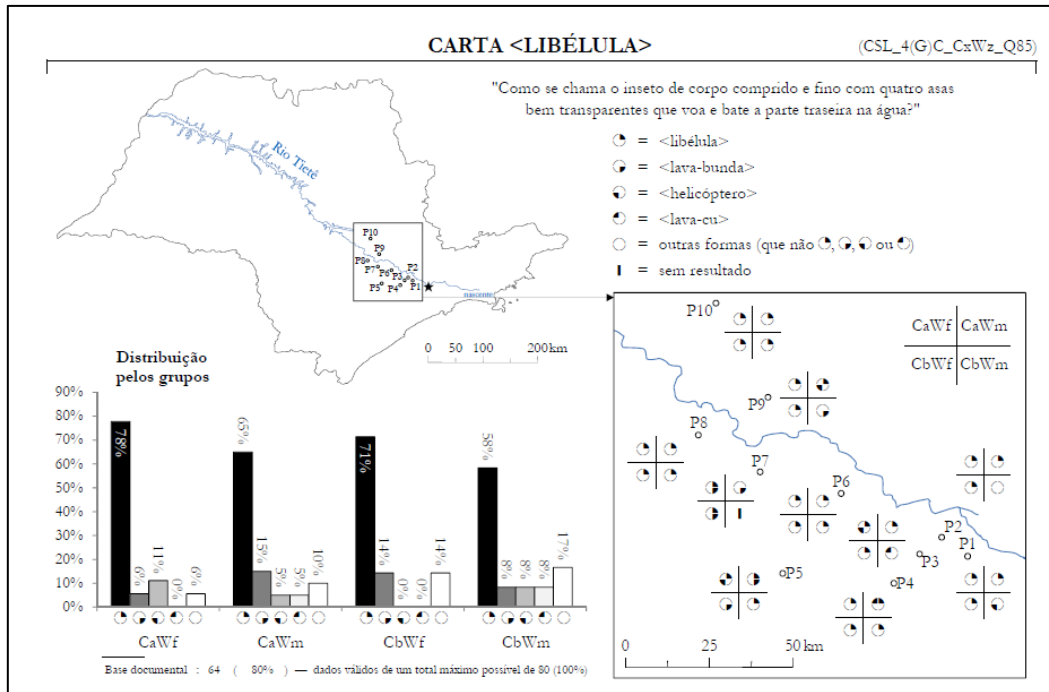


Figure 7: Atlas Linguístico Pluridimensional do Português Paulista's cartogram

Source: Figueiredo Junior (2019 – tomo II)

As it was already mentioned, *libélula* is the most recurrent variant in the *corpus*, followed by *lava-bunda*, *helicóptero*, and *lava-cu*, among other less productive and undescribed forms. However, all of them coincide with the ALiB macro-regional letter using the term *cigarra* in São Paulo capital (Carta L12c), whose two small domain atlases were not registered by Cristianini (2007) and Figueiredo Junior (2019), but exist in Amapá state with excellent representation, as seen in Figure 2, with the ALiKAP letter (Sanches, 2020).

As South region representatives, two atlases from Paraná take part: *Atlas Linguístico de Curiúva* - ALIC (Siqueira, 2015) and the *Atlas Linguístico do Norte Pioneiro do Paraná* - ALINPIPR (Ribeiro, 2021) and, as evidenced in other small atlases domain, in both the term *libélula* wins. In Curiúva's Atlas (Figure 8), the second variant is the *louva-deus*, cited by at least five informants, so it is a pronunciation form that is not described in ALiB's macro-regional letters. Under the label *others*, the ALiC documents *lava-bunda*, *capitão*, and *caneta* are an explanatory note of lexical letter 42.

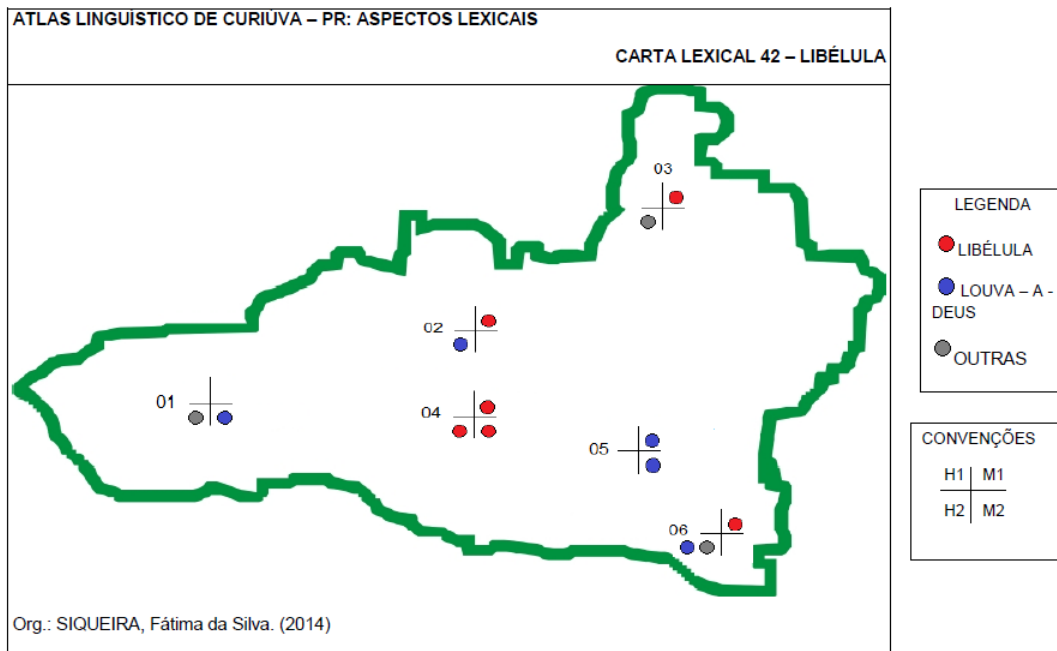


Figure 8: Atlas Linguístico de Curiúva's cartogram – Paraná State  
Source: Siqueira (2014)

The *Atlas Linguístico do Norte Pioneiro do Paraná* describes five more representative pronunciation forms: *libélula*, *pito*, *mariposa*, *helicóptero*, and *others* (Figure 09). The *pito* form, for example, is not present in the L12 letter of the ALiB (Figure 1) and the Atlas in question only occurs within the interior of São Paulo territorial limits.

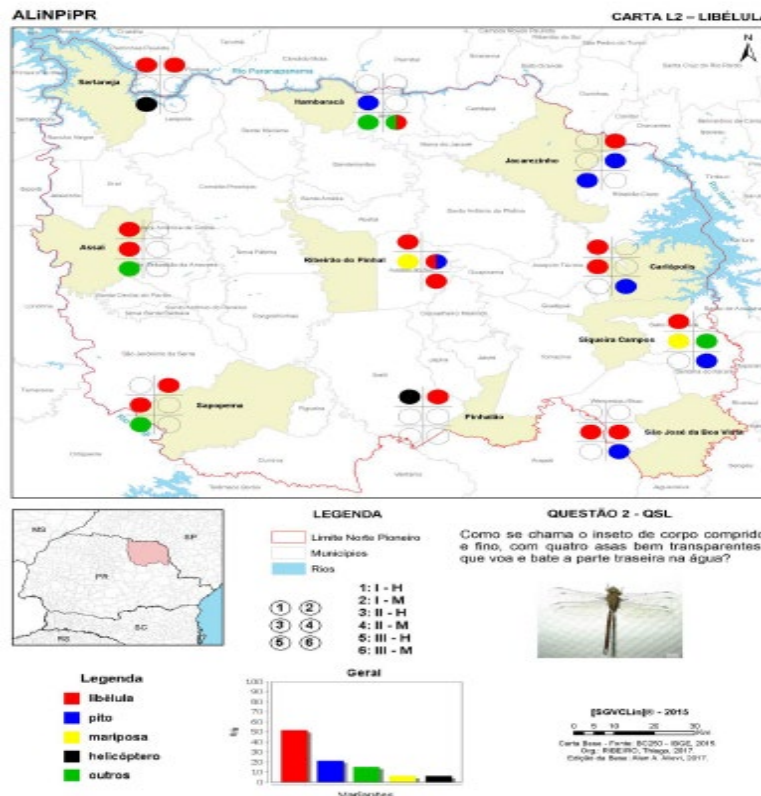


Figure 9: Atlas Linguístico do Norte Pioneiro do Paraná's cartogram  
Source: Ribeiro (2021 – Tomo II)

Finally, as Central-West Region representatives, there are *Atlas Linguístico de Corumbá e Ladário*<sup>37</sup> – ALiCola (Alencar, 2013) and the *Atlas Semântico-lexical do Norte do Mato Grosso*<sup>38</sup> – ASLNMAT (Azevedo, 2015). Incredibly, in the first mentioned atlas (Figure 10), there is only one cartographed pronunciation form: *papa-mosquito*, getting 90% of the research *corpus*, while the others are grouped in the category *others*, making about 10% of the valid answers.

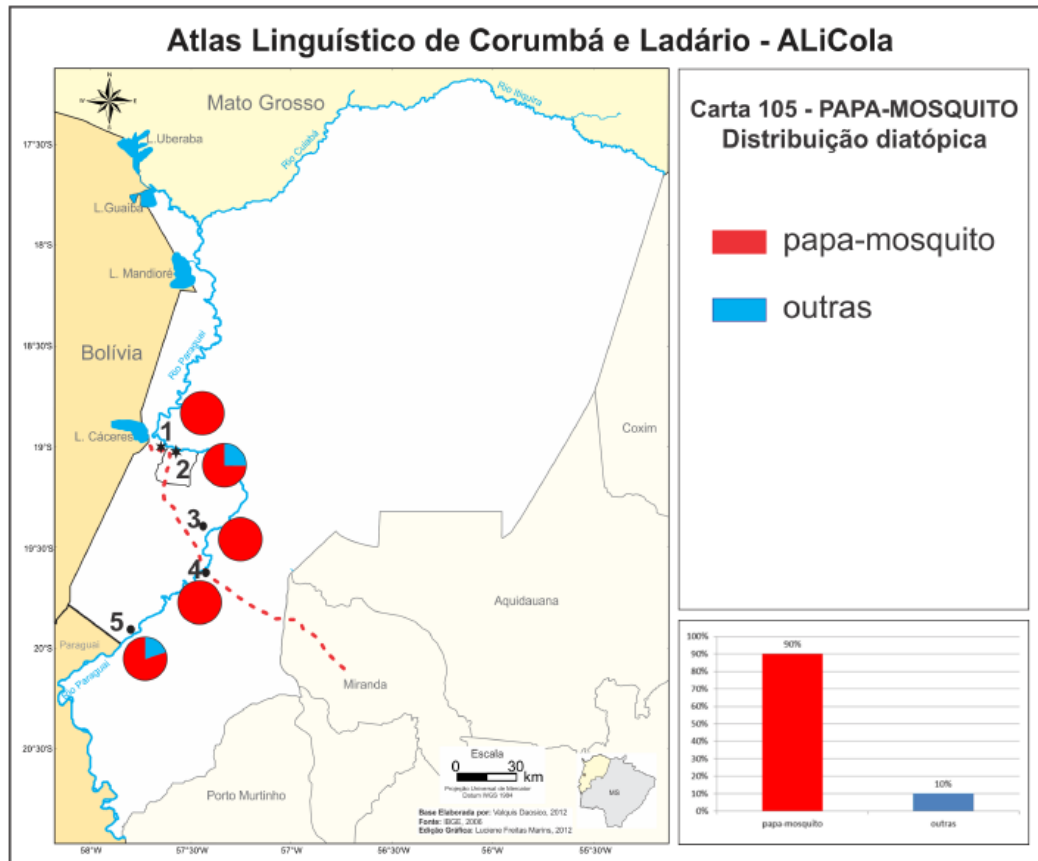


Figure 10: Atlas Linguístico de Corumbá e Ladário's cartogram

Source: Alencar (2013)

Regarding the most local atlases' importance, ASLNMAT is the second representative of this macro-region which embodies five locations in North Mato Grosso (Alta Floresta, Colider, Guarantã do Norte, Peixoto de Azevedo, and Sinop), as well as document other linguistic variants in the *corpus*, following the methodological tendency of this topodynamic<sup>39</sup> work: *libélula*, *vence água*, *lavabunda*, *cambito*, *cavalo de asa*, *bituca*, *cigarra*, *lava-cu*, and *catirina* (Figure 11).

<sup>37</sup> In English: Linguistic Atlas of Corumbá and Ladário.

<sup>38</sup> In English: Semantic-lexical Atlas of Northern Mato Grosso.

<sup>39</sup> Topodynamics refers to research participants who do not have ancestral roots in the city where data collection carried out.

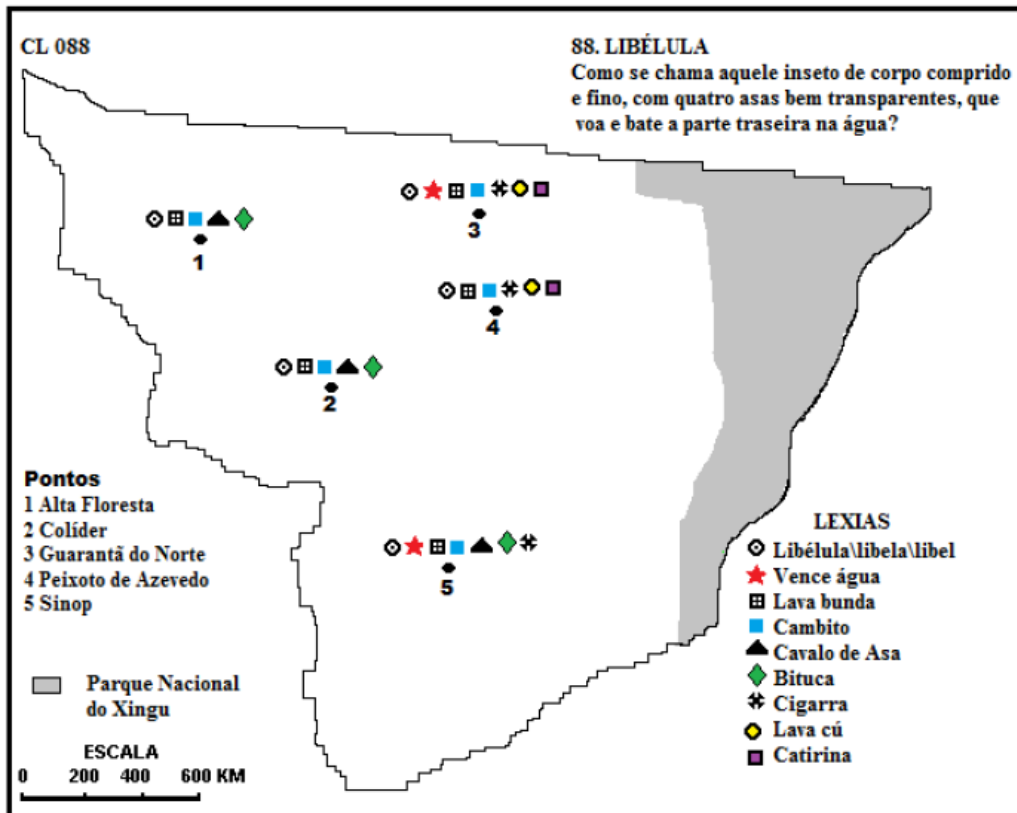


Figure 11: Atlas Semântico-lexical do Norte do Mato Grosso's Linguistic cartogram

Source: Azevedo (2015 - fragment)

Except for *vence água*, *cambito*, and *bituca*, ALiB collected the other terms, not necessarily in the Center-West Region, but in different Brazilian regions, designating through ASLNMAT how the migratory/topo-dynamic occurs (Radtke; Thun, 1998) in Brazilian dialect scenario. *Lava bunda* and *lava cu*, for example, exist in the Mato Grosso region but are also described in ALiB in Aracajú (NE), Vitória (SE), and Campo Grande (Central-West Region); *cavalos de asa* may be a Northeastern variant (seen as *cavalos* and *cavalos-do-cão*), as well as *catirina*, a variant collected in Maranhão by ALiB.

While compiling data analysis, this research discovered 48 (see Annex 1) linguistic variants documented by atlases. About 31 forms occur in only one small domain atlas studied (in color grey), which reveals the regional consistency of the insect's lexical polymorphism<sup>40</sup>. Only two forms occur in all Brazilian regions and almost all selected atlases: the *libélula* and *helicóptero* (in color green). Only two terms are present in ALiB: *cavalos do cão* and *mané-magro* (orange color). The ten remaining forms are in two atlases from the same or different regions.

#### 4 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Small Domain Atlases are essential for the Brazilian language variety. For example, there are ten different atlases containing unique pronunciation terms for *libélula*; meanwhile, there are two in each large Administrative Region, and they can easily compare these with ALiB, the National Atlas. Hence, in the North Region, for example, *cigarras* were identified only inside Capital atlases while before they saw these as a variant in the South and Southeast region, providing the impression of regionalism. In the Northeast, small domain atlases show the *macaco/macaquinho* terms, implying the famous regionalism represented in Maranhão, as shown by the ALiB, besides the cartography of at least seven forms not described in the state capitals worked by the National Atlas.

<sup>40</sup> Particularity of what can take very different forms.



In the Southeast, the Small Domain Atlas shows the urban and rural contrast in São Paulo since, in the capital, there are several forms linked to other insects, not necessarily the odonata category. At the same time, *libélula* is better known in localities in the interior of São Paulo. While in the South, it collected other variants not mapped by ALiB, such as *louva-deus* and *pito*. Finally, in the Center-West Region, there is the term *papa-mosquito*, demonstrating northeastern dialectal variants' importance.

The research goal and the theoretical-methodological innovations verified in Brazilian geo-linguistics bring value to atlases existence, and other dialectal productions follow their course since the formation of historical, geographical, and social elements established in these studies. In this sense, we confirm Alinei's (1994) proposed terminology that every atlas needs to be reorganized to meet the Brazilian demand, so this paper suggests the existence of six types of atlas: continental atlas, language group's atlas, national atlas, regional atlas, state atlas, and small domain/local atlas, considering the covered area extension.

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