

# *A Study of the Lexical Variants to Name the Devil in the Conversation of Inland Paraná*

Rosângela Maria de Almeida **NETZEL\***  
Vanderci de Andrade **AGUILERA\*\***

\* Master in Human Sciences Teaching at pela UTFPR (2016) and PhD Student at Estadual University of Londrina. Contact: roalmeidaprofe@gmail.com.

\*\* Postdoctoral Degree at the Universidad of Alcalá (UAH). Senior Lecturer in the Postgraduate Program in Language Studies at the Universidade Estadual de Londrina. PQ 1D researcher at CNPQ. Contact: vanderci@uel.br.

## **Abstract:**

This paper deals with a geo-sociolinguistic analysis of the lexical choices that the speakers of seventeen cities of inland Paraná State make to complete the sentence: *God is in heaven and in hell is ...?* The data that supported this research were collected and transcribed by researchers of the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil Project (ALiB), a contemporary initiative for the variationist study based on the importance of valuing regionalisms and understanding the motivations that generate them. In order to do so, the following analyses were carried out: (i) bibliography on the references to this being in some western religions; (ii) lexicographic, on the inclusion in dictionaries of the variants found; (iii) geolinguistics, on the spatial distribution of the variants in the interior of Paraná; and (iv) sociolinguistics to verify that extralinguistic factors such as location, sex, age, schooling and religion can interfere in the choice of the speaker over the use of this or that denomination. The data showed that the speakers of the sixteen localities of inland Paraná State know almost two dozen names for the devil, of which five are the most frequent: *diabo*, *capeta*, *demônio*, *satanás* and *lúcifer*, and most of them are included in dictionaries with this meaning in Aulete (1964) and Ferreira (2004). As for the extralinguistic variables, it was verified that the men and the informants of the age group II are responsible for the greater number of variants and also for the unique occurrences. The variables locality, sex and religion, which the informants profess, do not seem to influence the presence or frequency of the variants.

## **Keywords:**

Lexicon. *Devil*. Inland Paraná.

*Signum: Estudos da Linguagem, Londrina, v. 21, i. 2, p. 28-51, Aug. 2019*

*Received on: 12/17/2018*

*Accepted on: 05/21/2019*

# A Study of the Lexical Variants to Name the *Devil* in the Conversation of Inland Paraná

---

Rosângela Maria de Almeida Netzel; Vanderci de Andrade Aguilera

## INTRODUÇÃO

The theory of linguistic variation conceives human language as dynamic, heterogeneous and diverse in nature. In this context, the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil Project (ALiB) values local and regional varieties and seeks to understand the motivations that generate them, in order to include the organization and dissemination of a general atlas of the country with regard to Portuguese language in its research.

Based on this conception of language, the data from field research that made possible this work come from different regions and refer to the denominations for the devil. For this paper, the names collected in inland Paraná were selected, together with informants stratified according to age and gender, with a survey undertaken and transcribed by researchers from the ALiB Project. Consequently, this article is materialized as an attempt to approach sociolinguistic findings.

The relevance of the theme is, therefore, due to the heterogeneous nature of the spoken language, influenced by culture. Thus, the established problem consists of how the speakers of 16 inland cities call the referred entity of popular and religious culture and what are the issues that influence such lexical choices.

For this, a data analysis was carried out, based on the organization of occurrences and the relationship with the variables locality of origin of the informants, gender, age group, education and religion.

The question that generated the data was question number 147 of the Semantic-Lexical Questionnaire presented for the informants to complete: *God is in heaven and in hell is the ...* As there is still no linguistic letter on this slice of the research, the data was provided directly by the work team of Vanderci Aguilera, professor at the Postgraduate Program in Language Studies – PPGEL – at the State University of Londrina.

In the writing of the article, in the case of data already transcribed, attention was paid to the fidelity to written forms of the variants, bringing together, for analysis, each of them under the current spelling. Therefore, this study is interested in the set of lexical variants of ALiB, without, however, undertaking phonetic-phonological analyzes.

As the survey regarding the term devil served a wide range of cities, in this article it was decided to cut the data, considering Paraná inland cities. The methodological option and the option for graphs and detailed tables took place so that readers, both laypeople and experts, could cross data and generate additions in their readings.

Regarding the choice of the lexical item to be analyzed, the interest can be justified, first, by the availability of data from ALiB not yet analyzed, as well as by the presence of related words in Brazilian folk literature, in the popular imagination and in religious dogmas. It is also interesting to note that the expressions that refer to the devil and its variants are sometimes make the stories subject to criticism, there are those who avoid reading or pronounce it, which makes it interesting to investigate which extralinguistic social factors would influence such choices or omissions.

It is also reiterated that the analysis of the variables locality, gender, age, education and socio-cultural aspects, such as the religion declared by the informant, were considered in this article as the main ones because they are factors that influence linguistic variation and because they appear on the record of each informant.

### **LINGUISTIC VARIATION AS A CONSTITUENT ELEMENT OF THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE**

According to Hora (2004), studies on language already existed in the classical period of ancient Greece and in Rome, persisting in the Middle Ages and in the 18th century, and were intensified and perfected in the 20th century. In this course, the 17th and 18th centuries were marked by the rationalism of general grammars, in which language was studied as a mere representation of thought, and the aim was to achieve the ideal language. The first half of the 19th century was characterized by Historical Linguistics, with comparative grammars, in which the reconstruction of the mother tongue was sought. From that period, the eventual changes undergone by the language served as the basis for innumerable theories linked to language, from neogrammatical studies to variationists.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, Dialectology, using the methodology of Geolinguistics, inaugurates a new phase of language studies. The publication of the volumes of the *Atlas Linguistique de la France*, by Gilliéron, during the years 1902 to 1910, encourages the practice of mapping vernacular data and arouses the interest of researchers from many countries inside and outside Europe.

Later, in the 1960s, the variationist perspective, called Theory of Variation or Quantitative Sociolinguistics, initiated by Labov, emerged with the aim of describing language, its social and linguistic determinants, rejecting the relationship between language and homogeneity, taking into account its variable performance (HORA, 2004).

From the most attentive theoretical perspective, therefore, it was possible that the apparent chaos of the universe of the spoken language, of a heterogeneous and diversified nature, became an object of study in scientific research. Thus, with the variationist studies, it was found that there is a strong relationship between language and society, a fact defended with greater vehemence by Labov, from 1963 onwards, which emphasizes the possibility, virtual and real, of systematizing the existing and specific variation of spoken language (TARALLO, 2005). In this way, linguistic variants are

shown as forms in variation, characterized by two or more ways of saying the same thing. The set of variants is called a linguistic variable.

In contemporary times, the variation-based theoretical-methodological approach has been incorporated into dialect studies and, consequently, into the production of linguistic atlases, as a reinforcement of the importance of valuing regionalisms and understanding the motivations that generate them. In this context, the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil (Projeto ALiB), according to Cardoso (2010), is a national initiative, under development, encompassing seventeen university institutions in the country, with the collective goal of carrying out broader studies that lead to systematic and general knowledge of linguistic reality, a desire that permeates dialectal activity in Brazil. In this way, the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) took a pioneering attitude when undertaking the implementation of this proposal. As the beginning of the project, there are initiatives dating from 1952 and, in the production path, the difficulties led the dialectologists to carry out the linguistic mapping work from regional atlases and only in 1996 the discussion about the national project was resumed.

The ALiB Project, according to Cardoso and Mota (2012, p. 855), constituted nationally as “the first attempt to describe Brazilian Portuguese based on data collected, *in loco*, [...] from the investigation in a network of points extending from Oiapoque (point 001) to Chuí (point 250)”.

Therefore, the ALiB Project is developed in the field of Dialectology, with a methodological basis in Geolinguistics and Sociolinguistics, in a trend of language studies that, started in Europe, expands and diversifies. Thus, it responds to a desire expressed by Brazilian philologists and linguists who point out the importance of linguistic atlases and, thus, reaffirm the plurality of language. Thus, attention is also paid to the implications of a social nature, aiming at examining data at the interface with other branches of knowledge such as history, sociology, anthropology, among others, in order to contribute to the foundation and definition of theoretical positions on the nature of Portuguese language in Brazil. In addition, it aims to contribute to the understanding of this language as a diversified social instrument of communication, with varied rules of use, but endowed with a systemic unit (CARDOSO, 2010, p. 170).

As in this article, many researchers have used the collected data, which has provided interesting materials for articles and other scientific productions in the field of Sociolinguistics, which allows exploring the multiple character of the language in its variations.

Thus, the data analyzed here, from the systematizations carried out by researchers affiliated to ALiB, were extracted in the speech of 64 participants, born in 16 Paraná inland cities. These informants were selected according to the profile defined in the project's methodology, which considers age (range I – 18 to 30 years; range II - 50 to 65 years); gender (male and female); place of birth (people born, raised in selected locations and also descendants of parents from the same regions or language communities); schooling up to the 9th grade of Elementary School.

The decision to analyze the lexical variation is justified by its daily presence in the interactions, which attracts a lot of attention and because studies in this perspective are scarce compared to studies at other levels, in order to be influenced by extralinguistic factors. In this context, it is reiterated that the variables gender, age, education, locality and socio-cultural aspects are privileged here, for they are among the social factors that most influence linguistic variation, alongside the ethnic factor, which was not evidenced in the data of the ALiB (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 1998b).

### **Possible Cultural Motivations in the Denomination of the *Diabo* (*Devil*)**

According to Isquerdo (2016, p. 173), when dealing with the lexical variation around the names of some birds, “the lexicon of a language substantiates the knowledge produced in a society throughout its history, whether of a technical-scientific, whether built by the strength of culture, traditions and beliefs that populate the popular imagination of a society”, that is why the denomination of birds “is found in between pagan traditions and principles of different religions, especially the Christian one”. Also, when talking about the denomination of the devil, of biblical origin, which unfolds in many tales and legends throughout Brazil and the world, the relationship between lexicon and culture is inferred.

Santos (2006, p. 212), when stating that “places are seen as an intermediate between the world and the individual”, guides the perspective of this work that chooses the diatopic distribution as the first to be analyzed in this article, in order to be pertinent to describe some characterizations attributed to the state in which the data were collected.

The state of Paraná is one of the three states in the Southern Region of Brazil, whose historical occupation occurred from three diverse population waves and with different motivations: that of Traditional Paraná, which occurred in the 17th century, with the search for gold, consolidated in the centuries XVIII, in which the large land properties of the Campos Gerais prevailed, based on the creation and trade of cattle, and XIX, identified by extractive activities and the export trade of yerba mate and wood; finally, that of Modern Paraná of the North, already in the 20th century, from the tropical coffee agriculture that was, at first, more linked to São Paulo and that of Modern Paraná of the Southwest and West, of pig farmers and cereal planters, more directly linked, at the beginning, to Rio Grande do Sul (AGUILERA, 1996).

As for the diassexual factor, which considers the differences between male and female speech, Paiva (2004), states that the most evident differences between the speech of men and women are located precisely on the lexical plane, being cultural the consideration that certain words are more adequate for men than when pronounced by women, due to the socialization process and the roles that each community assigns to subjects, which is less pronounced in Western societies, but still present. Thus, it emphasizes that the changes in the social organization may be underlying the neutralization of the effect of the variable gender in the younger groups of the population.

Diagerational variation is another topic to be explored, even as a complement to the variable diasexual, as it is pointed out that the approximation of the linguistic behavior of younger speakers may reflect that, in this age group, the interaction of men and women is reconfigured in society, with blurring the boundaries between male and female roles, in order to break down stereotypes (PAIVA, 2004).

Sociocultural aspects are also addressed in the analysis, such as the variable education, since it is considered that the school generates changes in the speech and writing of the people who attend it and of the discursive communities. This includes the religious factor, one of the focuses of interest in this article, due to the nature of the theme. Given this, it is pertinent to highlight some characteristics of the most common religions in Brazil.

There has been an increasing pluralization of Christian churches in Brazil, coming from outside or founded right here, which has reinforced the character of the country as an increasingly Christian country, since the retreat of Catholicism does not mean or imply the retreat of Christianity. Thus, many who today abandon Catholicism adhere to another branch of Christianity, which does not greatly change the worldview, as they are only re-Christianized. In this context, the reference to the devil, Satan or demon, constitutes a syncretism between the Catholic and Evangelical branches. Based on this figure, the bible, the holy book of Christians, affirms that evil does indeed exist in the world and that humanity has evil within it, referred to as “superhuman forces of evil”, of Satan who, according to legend, had been the most beautiful of all angels – Lucifer (bearer of the Light) – but he was expelled to the infernal regions for opposing the will of God. Therefore, it represents a personal power of opposition to God: *o diabo* (the devil). In some passages, it is also mentioned as the future executioner of those who do not practice charity, deserving eternal punishment (GAARDEN, 2000).

Therefore, in these Christian religions, there is an explicit reference to the demonic being, present in the sacred books and in the practices of worship, as a way of regulating human behavior. This figure of the devil thus embodies a threat that terrible things may happen in the afterlife to those who do not follow the dogmatic demands of religious institutions.

Another Christian religion, spiritism, according to Kardec (2014, p. 40), is “at the same time, a science of observation and a philosophical doctrine. As a practical science, it consists of the relationships that are established between us and the spirits; as a philosophy, it understands all the moral consequences that flow from these same relationships”. The main axis of this religion is the belief in reincarnation and the concrete possibility of communication with the dead. An inspiration taken from the Gospels is highlighted: the ethics of charity, having in Jesus Christ the most important entity ever incarnated, and the greatest commandment is love of neighbor, to be respected by the living and the dead.

On the existence of the devil, Kardec (2017, p. 103), the founder of spiritism, explains:

If there were demons, they would be God's work. But, would God be just and good if he had created beings destined eternally for evil and to remain eternally wretched? If there are demons, they are found in the lower world in which you inhabit and in similar ones. It is these hypocritical men who make a righteous God an evil and vengeful God and who judge to please him through the abominations they practice in his name.

Among the most numerous non-Christian religions in Brazil, there are Afro-Brazilian religions in which the figure of the devil is syncretism. The presence of the devil, even when not explicit, can be inferred in terms that denote opposition to "light", cited as negative influences, bad vibrations, *encostos* (evil spirits), demands and disincarnated spirits that need atonement for their faults in order to purify (GAARDEN, 2000).

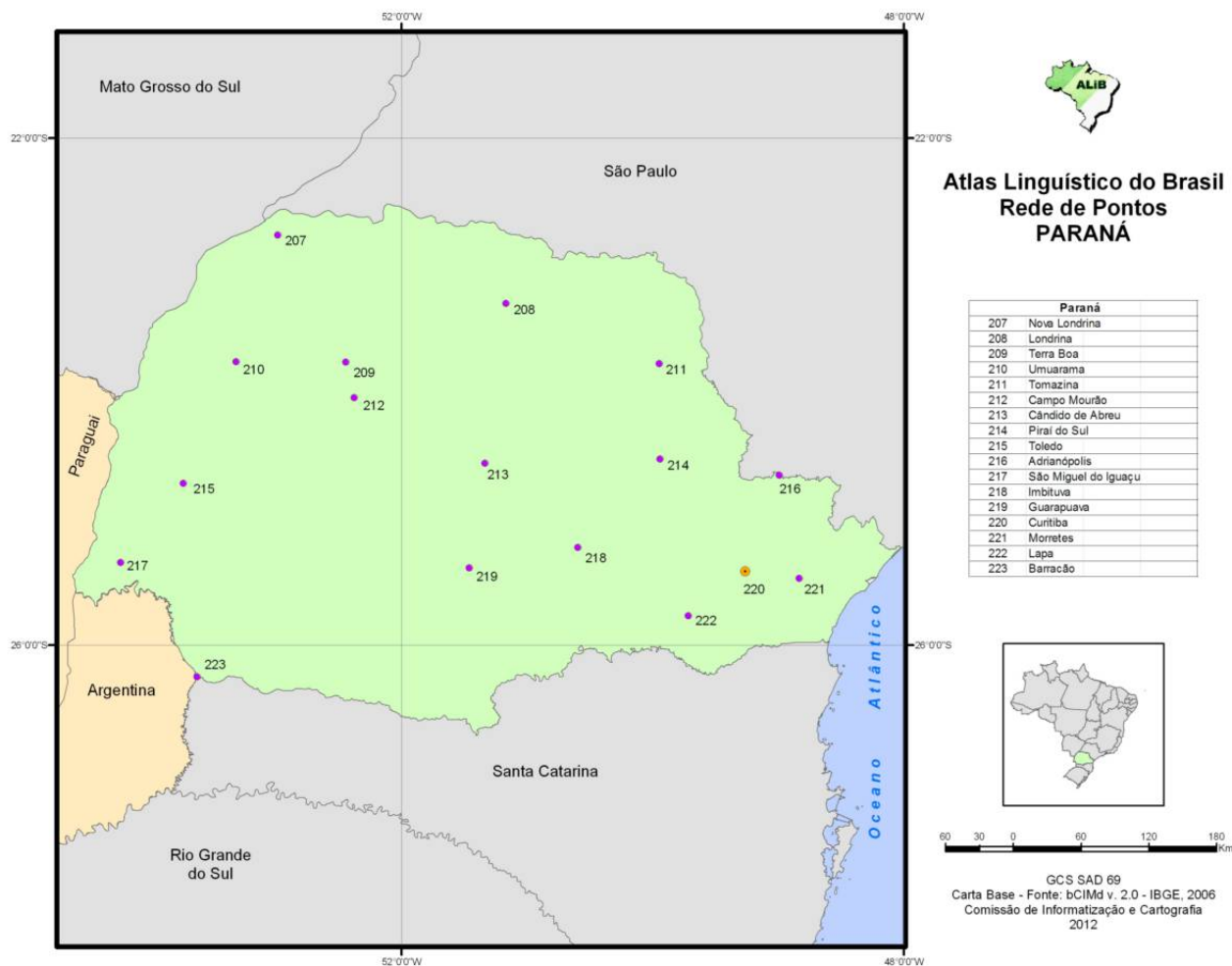
It appears, therefore, that, in several branches, Christian and non-Christian, the presence of evil is stressed as an entity, specific or not. Likewise, in the literary field, the forces opposing God are mentioned and the demonic character is mentioned or inferred in several fictional plots, usually as an antagonistic, powerful and feared entity, mentioned in the folklore of various peoples around the world, which is evident in cultural manifestations, as in literature and cinema.

In this perspective, among other authors and works that mention this entity, Magalhães et al. (2012) discuss the influence of the demonic figure in literature, establishing a relationship between different styles, genres and traditions. The authors consider that such a theme is present in ancient literature, often called religious, and even in texts considered non-religious, with denominations such as *diabo* (devil), *mal* (evil), *satã* (satan), and *demônio* (demon). Thus, they reiterate that the demonic is not limited to formal and institutional religion, as it is also present in many literary narratives, in addition to being part of the imagery and representations of the most different layers of Brazilian culture. Consequently, they conclude that, if the figures of Satan are traditionally religious figures, the demonic, in turn, establishes a creative frontier with figures of evil, in other traditions of thought, overcoming dogmatic and totalitarian impositions that institutionalize divine figures and experiences of the sacred.

Another example of approaching the theme is found in Almeida (2010), who discusses different faces and phases of the demonic symbolic representation by Art, through the socio-historical-cultural development of the West, manifested from the Middle Ages to modernity. Thus, it emphasizes the symbolic artistic production about the devil and its diverse contours since the final centuries of the Middle Ages, in order to emphasize the importance that he assumed in the 14th century, as a necessary figure for the moralization of society, in contrast with the present, in which the Cultural Industry started to use it as entertainment, through the consumption of cultural products to satisfy tastes. It also points out that, on the one hand, the devil remains as a possible explanation for the presence of evil in the world, a mythical symbol of evil and, on the other, he faced the weakening of his religious function and became an instrument in the service of dominant ideology of society and the gears of capitalist industry.

## ANALYSIS AND DESCRIPTION OF THE VARIANTS COLLECTED IN INLAND PARANÁ

In order to better organize the data, the localities involved, totaling sixteen municipalities in Paraná, were listed as follows (by name and code in relation to the survey), as stated in the ALiB Project (CARDOSO et al., 2014, v. 1): Nova Londrina (207), Londrina (208), Terra Boa (209), Umuarama (210), Tomazina (211), Campo Mourão (212), Cândido de Abreu (213), Piraí do Sul (214), Toledo (215), Adrianópolis (216), São Miguel do Iguaçu (217), Imbituva (218), Guarapuava (219), Morretes (221), Lapa (222) and Barracão (223).



Source: Cardoso et al. (2014, p. 77).

**Picture 1** – Regional cut to identify the linguistic points of Paraná

Picture 1 allows a visualization of the points mentioned, better placing the reader on the location of the cities where data were generated. As it is a study of speech in inland Paraná, data from the capital, Curitiba (220), are not included.

It is emphasized that, in each inland city, four informants were interviewed, which, according to Cardoso et al. (2014), were interviewed individually, who answered in full to an extensive questionnaire. In numerical information, men were given odd

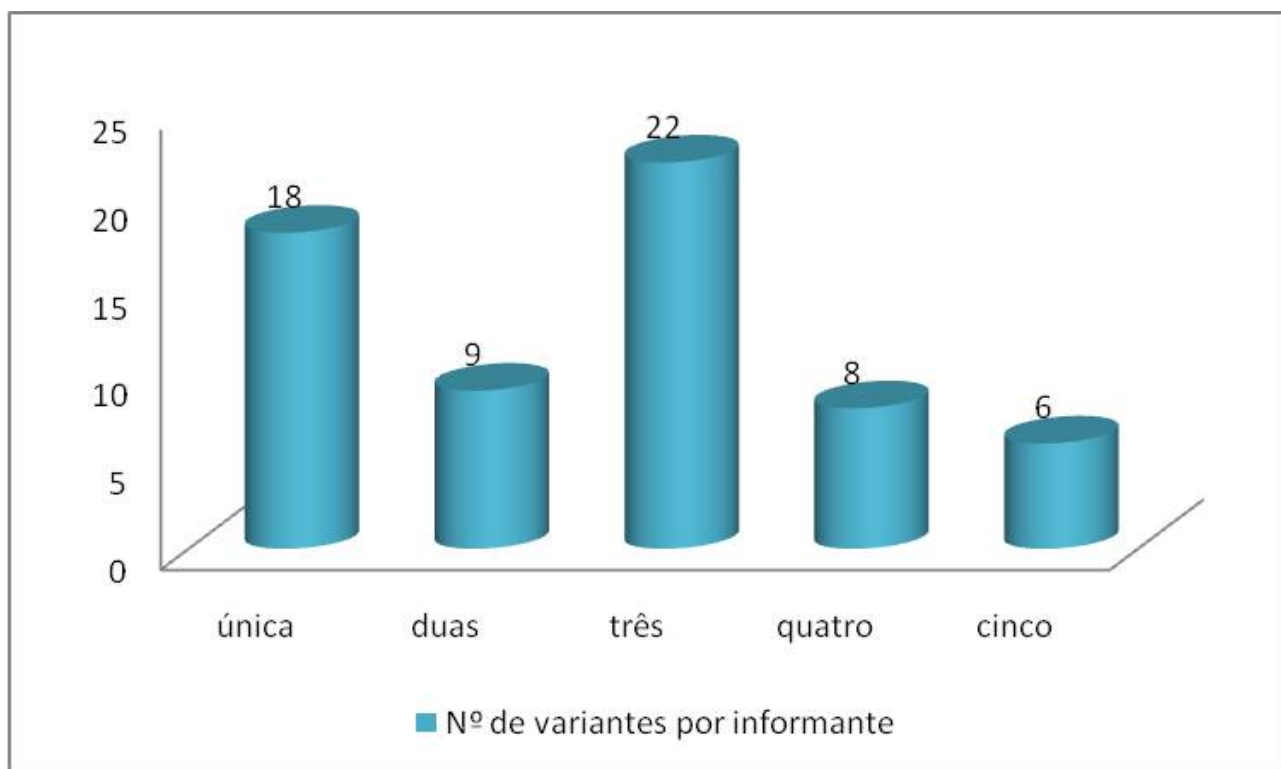


numbers and women even numbers; in the countryside, all had basic education and, as for the age group, the informants identified by the numbers 1 and 2 belong to the range 1 and the numbers 3 and 4, to the range 2.

### The Variants for *Diabo* in the Speech of the Inland Paraná

Initially, the data were recorded in an Excel spreadsheet to facilitate the survey of the total number of occurrences, as well as to account for the variants according to the variables location, gender, age group, education and religion.

Graph 1 shows that, among the 64 respondents, some presented a single answer while the majority expressed more than one record for the requested denomination, with informants who listed up to five answers to name the devil.



**Source:** Prepared by the authors based on the ALiB corpus.

**Graph 1** – Number of variants for *diabo* per informant

According to Graph 1, eighteen (28.6%) out of the 63 informants gave a single answer, sixteen of them registered the *diabo* form and the other two registered *capeta* or *demônio*. However, when asked to respond if other names were known for this entity, nine (14.3%) gave two responses; 22 (34.9%), elicited three forms; eight (12.7%) presented four lexical items and, finally, six (9.5%), registered five variants. In some cases, it was not even necessary for the interviewer to request other forms, since the informant himself listed several of them spontaneously.

From the list of data, it was possible to observe that, out of the 63 informants who answered the question, only seven did not mention the name *diabo*. Coincidentally, this form is also the most recurrent in the Christian Bible, which may have, due to the Christian tradition of Brazilians, motivated its predominance among Paraná speakers.

To count the variants, those that have the same root were amalgamated, obeying some criteria such as: (i) addition of diminutive suffix, gender or number ending, such as *diabo* and *diabinho* and (ii) forms with phonetic variation or morphophonetics, *lúcifer/lucifêl*; *satanás/satanái*. On the other hand, the variants of *satã* and *satanás* were counted separately because they belong to distinct etyma, according to Ferreira (2004).

For this total of 164 records, all responses given by the 63 informants were considered, which explains the average of 2.6 responses per speaker. As a first response, the *diabo* variant was registered by 47 informants, representing 74.6% of the total; as the 2nd and 3rd answers, the most productive was *capeta*, with 18 and 9 records, or 40% and 27.8%, respectively. *Demo / demônio* were the 4th and 5th most frequent response, with five and three occurrences, that is, 33.3% and 50%, respectively.

**Chart 1** – Number of variants according to the sequence in the informants' speech

Sequence of responses Variants	1 <sup>a</sup>	2 <sup>a</sup>	3 <sup>a</sup>	4 <sup>a</sup>	5 <sup>a</sup>	Total
<i>diabo</i>	47	9	1	1	-	58
<i>capeta</i>	8	18	9	1	-	36
<i>demo/demônio</i>	5	4	3	5	3	20
<i>chifrudo</i>	1	-	3	-	-	4
<i>saci</i>	1	1	1	-	-	3
<i>cramunhão</i>	1	-	-	-	-	1
<i>satanás</i>	-	10	9	-	1	20
<i>cão</i>	-	1	-	-	-	1
<i>lúcifer</i>	-	2	3	3	1	9
<i>coisa-ruim</i>	-	-	2	1	-	3
<i>inimigo</i>	-	-	1	-	-	1
<i>maldito</i>	-	-	1	-	-	1
<i>bicho-preto</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>belzebu</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>pé-redondo</i>	-	-	-	1	1	2
<i>pé-vermelho</i>	-	-	1	-	-	1
<i>satã</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>(o)nhengo</i>	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total	63 <sup>1</sup>	45	35	15	6	164

**Source:** Prepared by the authors for this study, based on data from ALiB.

<sup>1</sup> The total of 63 informants in this chart, as well as in other parts of this article, is due to the fact that one of the 64 informants chose not to mention any denomination.

Considering the lexical variants, there are apparently many suitable names for that entity, some more common, others more particular, but all loaded with meaning for the speakers who use them within their communities. In order to better visualize the occurrence indices, Graph 2 was elaborated, containing the variants with three or more records, and the groupings of the less frequent ones (round-foot) and the unique occurrences, under the name of *others*.



**Source:** Prepared by the authors for this study, based on data from ALiB.

**Graph 2** – Indices of occurrence of variants for *diabo* in inland Paraná

Graph 2 shows that the five most frequent lexical variants, including the phonetic and morphophonemic variants of each, are: *diabo/diabinho* (58 records), *capeta / capetó* (37), *demônio/demo* (21), *satanás* (20), *lúçifer*<sup>2</sup> (9) and *chifrudo* (4). The rest, *saci* and *coisa-ruim*, present three records each. Under the rubric *others*, we gather *pé-redondo* (two records) and the following unique occurrences: *Belzêbu*, *bicho-preto*, *cão*, *cramunhão*,<sup>3</sup> *inimigo*, *maldito*, *pé-vermelho*, *satã* and *(o)nhengo*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Although the variants *demônio*, *satanás*, *satã*, *belzêbu* and *lúçifer* appear in capital letters in some dictionaries and / or accredited consultations, it was decided here for the lowercase spelling, in order to standardize.

<sup>3</sup> In the informant's speech: *gramunhão*.

<sup>4</sup> On the audio it was not possible to identify if the <o> is article or part of the name.

In an analysis of the denomination of the demonic figure in the Christian Bible, facilitated by the websites that store online versions of this holy book, the expressions *diabo*, *satanás*, *demônio* and *lúcifer* are directly related; the latter occurs only once, in the book of Isaiah, chapter 14. It was also found that *belzebu* is present in some passages, referring to the prince of demons, who would be the evil spirits. The expression *cão* is also used several times, in the sense of inferiority, in metaphors that translate contempt and humiliation. The *maldito* form, registered under the phonetic variant *mardito*, in turn, is presented in the Bible, but always in the sense of a cursed man, most often with an imperative tone, in sentences that characterize threats to those who deviate from the good path. *Inimigo* is another recurring word in the biblical text, but indefinitely, in the plural most of the time.

It is likely that the variants *diabo*/ *diabinho*, *capeta*/ *capetô*, *satanás*/ *satanais*/ *satãnais*/ *satanaí*, *satã*, *demo*, *demônio*/ *demôni*/ *demonho*, *lucífér*/ *lucífer*/ *lúcifer*/ *lucifél* / *lucifé* and *belzebur*, are motivated by the influence of the Christian religion professed by most informants. As *cão*, *maldito* and *inimigo* may also have been motivated by the religious factor, as they are present in the holy book of Christians, albeit indirectly, related to the figure of the *diabo*. In the case of *demônio*, in the sense of evil spirits, it is also very present in the Spirits' Book, one of the foundations of Kardecism, or Spiritism.

## The Dictionary of Variants for the *Diabo* Gathered in the *Corpus*

In consultation with two dictionaries of the Portuguese language, Aulete (1964) and Ferreira (2004), it was found that, out of the eighteen variants listed, three are not included in these lexicographic works: *(o)nhengo*, *pé-redondo* and *pé-vermelho*; three of them have other meanings in the dictionary: *chifrudo*, *inimigo* and *saci*.

Aulete (1964) and Ferreira (2004) register:

*Belzebu*, from the Hebrew: Ba'al zebuh, 'god of flies' and the prince of demons, according to the New Testament;

*Bicho-preto*: Brazilianism of the Northeast, the *diabo*;

*Cão*: popular Brazilianism, the *diabo*.

*Capeta*: according to Aulete, it is a Brazilianism, the *diabo*. Ferreira (2004) registers: [De *capa*<sup>1</sup> + *-eta* (ê)] is of familiar use with remission to *diabo*.

*Coisa-ruim*: according to Ferreira (2004) it is a popular form, Brazilianism and Capeverdenism in the sense of *diabo*. Aulete (1964) puts it like a Brazilianism in the sense of *diabo*;

*Demo*: according to Aulete, it's a familiar form, meaning *demônio*, *diabo*. Ferreira (2004) states that it is a reduced form of *demônio*, with remission to *diabo*;

*demônio*: comes from Greek *daimónion*, from late Latin *daemoniu*. The author clarifies: (i) in ancient beliefs and polytheism, it was the inspiring genius,

good or bad, who presided over the character and destiny of each individual; soul, spirit, and (ii) in the Jewish and Christian religions, it refers to the evil angel who, having rebelled against God, was precipitated in Hell and seeks the doom of humanity; genius or representation of evil; evil spirit, spirit of darkness; *Lúcifer*, *Satanás*, *Satã*, *diabo*.

Consulting dictionaries of some Romanic languages, we find in Ferreira (1991), in the Latin Portuguese Dictionary, two entries of nouns: one for *daemoŨn*, *o(nis)*, with the meanings of: a spirit, a genius; the bad angel, the Demônio; another for *demonium*, *i(i)* (*dim. de daemon*): Little genius; Demônio. Bloch and Wartburg (1932), no *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Française*, it is clarified, in the entry *démon*, that the name dates back to the 16th century, resumed from the 13th century: “sous la forme *demoygne*, d’après le lat. *daemonium*. Empr. du lat. eccl. *daemon* (du grec eccl. *daimôn*; en grec class., signifie “génie protecteur, dieu”, sens repris au XVI<sup>e</sup> s.); sens fig., 1680”. Corominas (2006), in *Breve Diccionario Etimológico de la Lengua Castellana*, informs that there is only the form *demonio*, from the Greek *daimónion* ‘genio, divinidad inferior’, among Christians ‘demonio’ diminutive of *daimon* ‘dios, divinidad’. Almoyna (1984), in the *Dicionário de Espanhol-Português*, brings only the entry *demonio* with remission to *diablo*. In view of the lack of consensus among the consulted lexicographers, we chose to analyze together the names *demônio* and *demonio*.

*Diabo*: according to Aulete = evil spirit or genius; the *demônio*, according to the belief of several ancient and modern peoples. Ferreira (2004) explains: it is the familiar form of Greek origin *diábolos*, in lat. eccl. *diabolu* with remission to *demônio* (2 to 7).

*Lúcifer*: in Aulete, Satan. According to Ferreira (2004), it comes from the Latin eccl. Lucifer, ‘the torch bearer’, ‘the morning star’. 1. *diabo*. In *Dicionário de Latim Português*, Ferreira (1991) there are two entries for *luŨci(fer)* (*lux*, *fero*): the first as an adj. meaning ‘that brings light, that gives clarity, light, that brings a beam; the second, with an initial capital letter, noun, the planet Venus, the morning star, for bringing the morning light. In the speech of informants from Paraná, the proparoxyton, paroxyton and oxytonous forms alternate – *lúcifer*, *lucífer* and *lucifér*. As in common Latin when proparoxytones lost space to paroxytones, so does Portuguese.

*Maldito*: popular Brazilianism, the *diabo*.

*Satã*: Aulete (1964) refers simply to Satanás. Ferreira (2004) clarifies: from b. lat. *Satan* < Gr. *satân* < hebr. *satan*, ‘the opponent’, ‘the accuser’, the ‘*demônio*’ [...], with remission to *diabo*, in the 2nd entry.

*Satanás*: in Aulete (1964): o *demônio*, o *diabo*, *Belzebú*. Name given by the Scripture to the chief of the rebellious angels converted into an evil spirit. In Ferreira (2004): from lat. *Satanas*, the one who traps, enemy, also with a remission to *diabo*, in the 2nd entry *diabo* (2).

Aulete (1964) registers, in addition to these: *cramulhano*, current form in the Azores, as a synonym for *diabo*, *barzabum*, *mafarrico*.

In an attempt to find the meaning of the variants that are not in both dictionaries or in one of them, the informal dictionary, an online tool, was used, and these forms were found: (i) *pé-redondo*, good dancer, compared to the river dolphin, folk figure; (ii) *cramunhão*, little devil, folk figure that represents pact and enrichment; (iii) *unbango*, scratching or injuring with nails; (iv) *pé-vermelho*, popular name given to the natural person of northern Paraná. Extension of meaning due to the fact that the figure of the *diabo* is always represented in red.

The *saci* figure is well known in Brazil as a folk myth, personified in a very mischievous black boy, with only one leg, dressed in red shorts and cap, bringing a pipe to his mouth. In popular tales and legends and also in children's literature, such as Monteiro Lobato's, it is quoted from different perspectives. The antics attributed to him may have motivated the extension of the meaning for the *diabo*.

The *pé-redondo* variant can lead to the association of *pé-de-cabra* as a popular form in the sense of the devil. As for *onbengo* (or *nbengo*), there are two possibilities: (i) it is a phonetic variant of *nanbenga* that can have two origins: Maori and Kimbundu; this would be the most likely hypothesis: it means 'hanging the meat' or 'power is hated'. For example: one who leaves the village and returns successfully with hunting. Another hypothesis would be that it is a phonetic variant of *anbanga*, of Tupi devil; or *anbangá*, in Tupi-Guarani mythology, the spirit of evil, with reference to the devil (FERREIRA, 2004).

Some of these forms may be related to the stereotypes created about this entity, which is usually portrayed as a character of red color, with large feet and hands, and horns, characterizations that may have motivated the names *chifrudo*, *pé-vermelho* and *pé-redondo*. We cannot, however, fail to consider these popular variants as originating from linguistic taboos, a study that could be further explored in another opportunity.

## **THE INFLUENCE OF THE VARIABLES LOCATION, GENDER, AGE, EDUCATION AND RELIGION ON LEXICAL VARIANTS FOR THE *DLABO***

As extralinguistic variables, localities, gathered by geographic mesoregions, gender, age group, education and religion of the informants were considered.

### **The Names of the *Diabo* in Paraná Inland Cities: diatopic distribution by mesoregion**

There are ten Mesoregions in Paraná: North Pioneer, North Central, Northwest, Western Center, Eastern Center, West, Center-South, Southwest, Southeast and

Metropolitan of Curitiba, in each of which at least one location to be investigated by ALiB was contemplated. Chart 2 shows the distribution of variants by the mesoregions and by the selected points in Paraná to compose the ALiB:

**Chart 2** – Distribution of variants according to Paraná mesoregions

Mesoregions	Localities and Codes	Variants and Number of Occurrences
Northwest	Nova Londrina (207)	<i>diabo, capeta, satanás, demônio</i>   4
Northwest	Umuarama (210)	<i>diabo, capeta, satanás, demônio, belzebu, Lúcifer</i>   6
North Central	Londrina (208)	<i>diabo, capeta, satanás</i>   3
North Central	Cândido de Abreu (213)	<i>diabo, capeta, demônio, satanás, chifrudo, maldito, Lúcifer, coisa-ruim</i>   8
North Pioneer	Tomazina (211)	<i>diabo, saci, satanás, Lúcifer, inimigo</i>   5
Western Center	Terra Boa (209)	<i>diabo, capeta, demônio, demo, chifrudo, pé redondo</i>   5
Western Center	Campo Mourão (212)	<i>diabo, capeta, demônio, satanás, satã</i>   5
Center-South	Guarapuava (219)	<i>diabo, capeta(ô), demônio, Lúcifer</i>   4
Eastern Center	Piraí do Sul (214)	<i>diabo, capeta, demo</i>   3
West	Toledo (215)	<i>diabo, capeta, demônio, satanás, Lúcifer</i>   5
West	São Miguel do Iguçu (217)	<i>diabo, capeta, demônio, Lúcifer</i>   4
Southeast	Imbituva (218)	<i>diabo/diabinho, demônio, satanás, Lúcifer, coisa-ruim</i>   5
Metropolitan of Curitiba	Adrianópolis (216)	<i>diabo, capeta, Lúcifer, coisa-ruim</i>   4
Metropolitan of Curitiba	Morretes (221)	<i>diabo, satanás, chifrudo, onbengo, bicho preto, pé-vermelho, pé redondo</i>   7
Metropolitan of Curitiba	Lapa (222)	<i>diabo, capeta, satanás, demônio</i>   4
Southwest	Barracão (223)	<i>diabo, capeta, satanás, demônio, cramunhão, Lúcifer</i>   6

**Source:** Prepared by the authors for this study, based on data from ALiB.

Chart 2 shows that the *diabo* is the only form recorded in all ten Mesoregions and in the sixteen investigated locations. *Capeta*, the second most frequent, does not occur only in Pioneer North, in the Southeast and in the Metropolitan Region of Curitiba, at points 211, 218 and 221, respectively. It is also observed that the highest number of denominations occurred at three points: 213, in North Central; 221, in the Metropolitan Region of Curitiba; and 223, in the Southwest; while at points 208 (North Central) and 214 (Central-Eastern), the lowest number of them occurred (3). This fact – the occurrence of a greater or lesser number of variants per point – does not allow, due to the lack of

supporting evidence, that a thorough interpretation can be made, as several factors may contribute to this, among them, the interviewer's ability to search for other names to the entity with the informant and the greater or lesser propensity or availability of the informant to give more answers than requested.

### The Variable Gender and the Names for the *Diabo*

As for the variable gender, a series of sociolinguistic researches has pointed, among others, to two aspects: (i) on the one hand, that women use, more frequently than men, the most prestigious variants; (ii) on the other, that female speech is more conservative than male speech, with a tendency to follow the prescriptions of normative grammar. Given these two possibilities, it was considered pertinent to analyze whether the gender factor would have any influence on the use of certain variants for the devil, and the result is shown in Chart 3.

**Chart 3** – Distribution of occurrences of variants according to the variable gender

Variants	Men	Women
<i>diabo</i>	30	28
<i>capeta</i>	20	16
<i>satanás</i>	12	8
<i>demo/ demônio</i>	9	11
<i>lúcifer</i>	6	3
<i>chifrudo</i>	2	2
<i>saci</i>	3	0
<i>pé-redondo</i>	1	1
<i>coisa-ruim</i>	0	3
<i>cramunhão</i>	1	0
<i>cão</i>	1	0
<i>maldito</i>	1	0
<i>(o)nhengo</i>	1	0
<i>bicho-preto</i>	1	0
<i>pé-vermelho</i>	0	1
<i>belzebu</i>	1	0
<i>inimigo</i>	0	1
<i>satã</i>	1	0
Partial sum	90	74
Total	164	

**Source:** Prepared by the authors for this study, based on data from ALiB.



The data indicate that men from Paraná know a greater number of denominations for the devil than women: 90 and 74 records, that is, 55% and 45% respectively. Out of 18 denominations, only three – *coisa-ruim*, *pé-vermelho* and *inimigo* – were not recorded in male speech, while women did not refer to *saci*, *cramunhão*, *cão*, *maldito*, *(o)nhengo*, *Belzebu*, *bicho-preto* and *satã*.

These results confirm the studies by Paiva (2004) regarding the difference between female and male speech in the lexical plane, reaffirming the persistence of the culture of considering that certain words are better in the mouth of a man than pronounced by a woman, as seems to be the case with the different denominations of the demonic entity. In the case of *saci*, in which the three occurrences are in the speech of men, it can be said that they have a greater knowledge of the facts involving beliefs and myths or even to assign the same name to different entities. *Coisa ruim* and *inimigo* registered only by women, with three and one occurrences, respectively, seem to be linked to the taboo of not directly naming the devil, but using a euphemistic, more diffuse and generic expression. In summary, single occurrences were more frequent in male speech (73%) and bring a more dysphemic semantic load, such as *cramunhão*, *cão*, *(o)nhengo*, *Satã*, words in which vowels and nasal diphthongs are very present. Chart 3 also shows that the variants *diabo* and *demônio* are common forms for both sexes, while *capeta*, *lúcifer* and *satanás*, especially the latter, are more frequent in male speech.

### **The Variable Age Group and the Names for the *Diabo***

For Silva-Corvalán (1989, p. 75-76), “the distribution of linguistic variables according to the age of the speakers has been interpreted as reflecting three possible situations: 1) group identity; 2) self-correction by the generational groups most active in public life; and 3) linguistic change in progress”. In order to verify this influence, it was considered pertinent to assess the extent to which the age group represents a factor that can define the use in one way or another. The ALiB corpus brings the speech of two age groups: in range I, there are speakers aged between 18 and 30 years; and in range II, those from 50 to 65 years. Chart 4 shows the distribution of variants according to this variable.

**Chart 4** – Distribution of variants according to the variable age group

Variants	Age Group 1	Age Group 2
<i>diabo</i>	29	29
<i>capeta</i>	19	17
<i>satanás</i>	11	9
<i>demo/ demônio</i>	10	10
<i>lúcifer</i>	1	8
<i>chifrudo</i>	2	2
<i>saci</i>	0	3
<i>pé-redondo</i>	1	1
<i>coisa-ruim</i>	0	3
<i>cramunhão</i>	0	1
<i>cão</i>	0	1
<i>maldito</i>	0	1
<i>(o)nhengo</i>	1	0
<i>bicho-preto</i>	1	0
<i>pé-vermelho</i>	0	1
<i>belzebu</i>	0	1
<i>inimigo</i>	0	1
<i>satã</i>	0	1
Partial sum	75	89
Total	164	

**Source:** Elaborated by the authors, for this study, based on data from ALiB.

Chart 4 shows that, in inland Paraná, the older ones know and express a greater number of variants for the devil (89 records) than the younger ones (75 records), because, out of the 18 denominations listed, the informants of Range II registered 16 names (there were no *onhengo* and *bicho preto*), and those from Range I, only 9. It is also observed that the most widespread forms in average Portuguese, such as *capeta*, *demônio*, *diabo* and *satanás* are used with similar frequency by both groups. In Range II, the difference is greater for *lúcifer* and for single, or less frequent, variants, such as *saci*, *coisa ruim*, *cramunhão*, *cão*, *maldito*, *pé-vermelho*, *belzebu*, *inimigo* and *satã*.

In view of this finding, it was considered pertinent, still, to cross the data to identify in which group the use of each form is concentrated. Chart 5 shows the distribution of these variants by extralinguistic variables: gender and age group.

**Chart 5** – Distribution of variants according to age and gender

Variants	Age Group 1		Age Group 2	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
<i>diabo</i>	14	15	16	13
<i>capeta</i>	10	9	10	7
<i>satanás</i>	6	5	6	3
<i>demônio</i>	6	4	3	7
<i>lúcifer</i>	1	0	5	3
<i>chifrudo</i>	1	1	1	1
<i>saci</i>	0	0	3	0
<i>pé-redondo</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>coisa-ruim</i>	0	0	0	3
<i>cramunhão</i>	0	0	1	0
<i>cão</i>	0	0	1	0
<i>maldito</i>	0	0	1	0
<i>(o)nhengo</i>	1	0	0	0
<i>bicho-preto</i>	1	0	0	0
<i>pé-vermelho</i>	0	0	0	1
<i>belzebu</i>	0	0	1	0
<i>inimigo</i>	0	0	0	1
<i>satã</i>	0	0	1	0
Total	41	34	49	40

**Source:** Elaborated by the authors, for this study, based on data from ALiB.

At first, the data in Chart 5 leads to the inference that both younger men (18 to 30 years old) and less young men (50 to 65 years old) use a greater number of denominations for the devil (41 and 49 respectively) than women (34 in Range 1 and 40 in Range 2). This fact contradicts the idea that, in the younger generation, currently, there is no difference between the speech of men and women with regard to the use of vocabulary. When looking at the total collected in Range 2, there is a slightly larger difference for men (49 and 40).

The number of occurrences of the *diabo* is more or less homogeneous in all groups, but *demônio* and variants are more frequent among women in Range 2. The reference to *saci*, as one of the possible names for the requested entity, is found only in speaks of men of Range 2, that is, they are the ones who extend the meaning of one being to another with which it keeps some similar characteristics

## The Variable Education and the Names for the *Diabo*

In inland areas, only informants with basic education were interviewed, whose schooling time ranged from one to eight years of study. For this study, the universe of 64 informants was considered in two groups regarding the length of stay in school: those who studied up to four years and those who studied up to eight years. Thus, we have the following: 49 informants for the first group and 15 for the second.

Among the 49 participants who did not study beyond the 4th grade, there were 118 occurrences to name the *diabo*, that is, 2.4 denominations per informant, while among the 19 who studied or studied in later grades, the number of occurrences was 45, or 2.36 forms per speaker. Thus, these averages per informant allow us to infer that the relationship between education and number of data does not present a substantial difference, although, in the less educated segment, a slightly higher number of denominations was registered for this entity. Therefore, the samples do not lead to conclusions about the influence or not of the school on the devil's denominations, probably because it is an unusual subject in school practices and more frequent in family conversations.

## Denominations for the *De vil* and the Variable Informants' Religion

For being mentioned in the holy book of Christians, the religious factor can be one of the motivations for the names *diabo*, *capeta*, *demônio*, *lúcifer* and *belzebu*. For a better understanding of the motivations that may have influenced the responses and to investigate whether there was a pattern in the responses that depended on this factor, the religious option of the participants was also analyzed, as registered in the informants' records.

Chart 6 shows the religion that the informants declared to profess and the number of occurrences.

**Chart 6** – The variable religion and the denominations for the *diabo*

Declared religion and number of followers		%
1 Catholic	51	79,8%
2 Protestant or Evangelical	9	14,0%
3 Spiritist	2	3,1%
4 Agnostic or not practicing <sup>5</sup>	2	3,1%
Total	64	100%

**Source:** Prepared by the authors for this study, based on data from ALiB.

<sup>5</sup> Informants who claimed to have distanced themselves from religion were included among agnostics or non-practitioners.

Most of the informants declared themselves to be Catholic, followed by evangelicals, and the minority, spiritists and agnostics, without any specific belief. Considering the 64 speakers and the total of 164 occurrences, an average of 2.5 variants per informant was obtained. Among Catholics, the average was 2.6 records per participant; among evangelicals 2,4; among spiritists, 2 occurrences per speaker, and among agnostics 2,7. It is observed, therefore, that Catholics and agnostics were the ones who manifested a slightly larger number of denominations for the *diabo* in the interior of Paraná, which may lead to the inference that these two groups are less shy when listing names for this entity than evangelicals and spiritists. The absence of dogmas for agnostics may indicate, through skepticism or indifference, the greatest sense of freedom in referring to the figure characterized by inhabiting hell. Likewise, the spiritists' different view of the *demônio* may have led to the fewest variants.

Besides linguistic taboo, that is, the refraining from pronouncing the name of this being, did not manifest itself explicitly, some informants were uncomfortable in naming the *diabo*. We reproduced, in sequence, the dialogue, extracted from the ALiB corpus, between the interviewer and informant 4 of Point 214, a Catholic, who resisted answering the question that was asked and refrained from uttering the name of the *diabo*:

(1) INQ.- What's in Hell?

INF.- (laughter) It is said there is no hell.

INQ.- No.

INF.- I think hell is here on earth, isn't it? .

INQ.- On Earth. But if there were, who would be there?

INF.- God is in heaven, on earth and everywhere, right?

INQ.- Yes, and who would be in hell?

INF.- Oh, I don't think that one ... that one ...

INQ.- What do they say is in hell?

INF.- I don't like saying that name.

The motivations that lead her to avoid the requested name are not explicit, but the discomfort of this informant, who did not feel free to pronounce any name referring to the *diabo*, is notorious.

Other excerpts demonstrate that, whether by laughter, by the indeterminacy of the action agent (*others, some people, they say that, many people, the gang*), or by disgust interjections (*ai, credo*), the informant feels the need to preserve the face, to exempt itself from any guilt or punishment that may come from the pronunciation of the devil's name, as illustrated by the examples extracted from the corpus:

(2) The *diabo*, the *capeta*, **ai, credo** (208-2 – catholic informant).

(3) INF.- The *saci*, the *capeta*.

INQ.- Other names for *capeta*.

INF.- Some say *capeta*, others say *chifrudo*, others say *diabo* (209-3 – catholic informant).

(4) INF.- The *demônio*.

INQ.- Are there other names?

INF.- I don't think so.

INQ.- What names can we say for the devil?

INF.- **Well**, there are several names that they say, like *capeta*, these ugly names. (210-4 – catholic informant).

(5) INF.- The *diabo*, right, **they** say. (laughter).

INF.- According to the Bible it's the *diabo*.

INQ. - Are there other names for *diabo*?

INF.- *Diabo*? Oh, the *diabo*... **They say**, it has several names, right. **They say** *diabo*, **They say** *satanáis*, right... *mardito!* (laughter) I think the right would be *Lucifé*? It seems it's like that, right? In the Bible I think it's *Lucifé*, isn't it, because actually what was the right name of the angel? Cause the devil is an angel, right? *Lúcio*, something like that, *Luci*... the name, right? one of the God's dearest angels, right. And for the mismatch ... God himself changed his name, right, to *Lucifé* in the case, right. Would it be the *Lucifé*, or *diabo*, *demônio*, *satanáis*, right, **they say that a lot**, the *demônio*, right (213-3 – catholic informant).

(6) INF.- The *diabo*, right, at **their** convention is the *diabo*.

INQ. - What other names do you know for *diabo*?

INF.- *Diabo*, *Lúcifer*, right, **many people from the farm say** *Lúcifer*, the *diabo*, *coisa ruim* (216-4 – spiritist informant).

(7) INF.- The *diabo*, it must be it, yeah... yeah... (laughter) (221-3 – catholic informant).

(8) INF.- The *diabo*.

INQ.- Are there other names for *diabo*?

INF.- **The gang** say *diabo*, say *capeta*, that's what they say.

INQ.- What else? Isn't there more? More names for *diabo*?

INF.- *Satanás*... **they** say (222-1 – catholic informant).

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The study showed that, in the sixteen localities in inland Paraná, eighteen different denominations for the devil were recorded, which were analyzed according to the dictionary and the influence of the diatopic, diasexual, diastratic, diagenational variables and the each one's religious option. The *corpus* presented 164 records obtained from the 64 informants from inland Paraná, which indicates an average of 2.6 denominations per informant.

The consultation of the dictionaries showed that most of the names in dictionaries are in the sense of an entity that inhabits hell, three could not be found in dictionaries (*o)nhengo, pé-redondo, pé-vermelho*, and three of them have other meanings in the dictionary: *chifrudo, inimigo* and *saci*.

As for the influence of the extralinguistic variables surveyed: location, gender, age group, education and religion, only the variable diasexual seemed to be relevant, considering that men verbalized a greater number of variants than women. The manifestation of linguistic taboos was also quite subtle, expressed in laughter, interjections of aversion and indeterminacy of the agent, who knows and utters different names for the *diabo*.

Thus, based on lexical approach, it corroborates the idea that human language is permeated by variations that make it a heterogeneous and multifaceted communication tool, a precious source for geo-sociolinguistic analysis.

## REFERENCES

- AGUILERA, V. A. *Atlas lingüístico do Paraná*. Apresentação. Londrina: Editora da UEL, 1996.
- ALMEIDA, M. R. H. O diabo e a Indústria Cultural: as diversas faces da personificação do mal nas telas de cinema. *Revista Nures*, n. 16, set./dez. São Paulo: PUC, 2010. p. 1-55. Disponível em: <https://bit.ly/2ApSwCadiaind>. Acesso em: 16 ago. 2017.
- AULETE, C. *Dicionário contemporâneo da Língua Portuguesa*. 2. ed. bras. Rio de Janeiro: Delta, 1964.
- BIBLE Server. Disponível em: <https://www.bibleserver.com>. Acesso em: 18 ago. 2017.
- BÍBLIA online. Disponível em: <https://www.bibliaonline.com.br>. Acesso em: 18 ago. 2017.
- CARDOSO, S. A. *Geolinguística*: tradição e modernidade. São Paulo: Parábola, 2010.

CARDOSO, S. A. M. S. et al. *Atlas linguístico do Brasil: Introdução*. v. 1. Londrina: EDUEL, 2014.

CARDOSO, S. A.; MOTA, J. A. Projeto Atlas Linguístico do Brasil: antecedentes e estágio atual. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v. 56, n. 3, p. 855-870, 2012. Disponível em: <https://bit.ly/2XeokTAlfaAliB>. Acesso em: 20 jul. 2017.

*DICIONÁRIO informal*. Disponível em: <http://www.dicionarioinformal.com.br>. Acesso em: 18 ago. 2017.

FERREIRA, A. B. H. *Novo dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*. 3. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Positivo, 2004.

GAARDEN, J. et al. *O livro das religiões*. Tradução de Isa Mara Lando. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000.

HORA, D. Teoria da Variação: trajetória de uma proposta. In: HORA, D. *Estudos lingüísticos: perfil de uma comunidade*. João Pessoa: Palotti, 2004. p. 13-28.

ISQUERDO, A. N. Nomes do beija-flor e do joão-de-barro nas capitais do Brasil: o linguístico e o cultural no processo denominativo. In: AGUILERA, V. A.; DOIRON, M. P. B. (Org.). *Estudos geossociolingüísticos brasileiros e europeus: uma homenagem a Michel Contini*. Cascavel, PR: EDUNIOESTE; Londrina: EDUEL, 2016. p. 173-188.

KARDEC, A. *O que é o Espiritismo*. 56. ed. Brasília: FEB, 2014 [1884].

KARDEC, A. *O livro dos espíritos*. 93. ed. Brasília: FEB, 2017 [1884].

MAGALHÃES, A. C. M. et al. (Org.). *O demoníaco na literatura*. Campina Grande: EDUEPB, 2012. Disponível em: <https://bit.ly/3cl3eqWdemlit>. Acesso em: 16 ago. 2017.

MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, F. La variación sociolingüística. Las variables sociales. In: MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, F. *Principios de Sociolingüística y Sociología del Lenguaje*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1998. p. 33-70.

PAIVA, M. C. A variável gênero/sexo. In: MOLLICA, M. C.; BRAGA, M. L. (Org.). *Introdução à Sociolingüística: o tratamento da variação*. São Paulo: Contexto, 2003. p. 33-42.

SANTOS, M. *A natureza do espaço: técnica e tempo, razão e emoção*. 4. ed. São Paulo: Editora da USP, 2006.

SILVA-CORVALÁN, C. *Sociolingüística: teoría y análisis*. Madrid: Alhambra, 1989.

TARALLO, F. *A pesquisa sociolingüística*. São Paulo: Ática, 2005.