

Bahia and Sergipe: a Linguistic Continuum that Lasts Over Time

Jacyra Andrade **MOTA**¹
Josane Moreira de **OLIVEIRA**²

¹ PhD in Vernacular Languages at Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro - UFRJ (2002). PhD, Associate Professor II at Universidade Federal da Bahia - UFBA. Contact: jacymota@gmail.com

² PhD in Vernacular Languages at Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro - UFRJ (2006). PhD, Full Professor at Universidade Estadual de Feira de Santana - UEFS. PhD, Full Professor at Universidade Federal da Bahia - UFBA. Contact: josanemoreira@hotmail.com

Abstract:

This article presents a comparative study of lexical data from the *Atlas Prévio dos Falares Baianos* – APFB (ROSSI, 1963), from the *Atlas Lingüístico de Sergipe* - ALS (FERREIRA *et al.*, 1987), and from the *Atlas Lingüístico do Brasil* - ALiB (CARDOSO *et al.*, 2014). We aim to verify the existence, from a lexical point of view, of a continuum between Bahia and Sergipe, states that integrate the so-called Bahian sub-speech in Nascentes' (1953) proposal for a dialectal division of Brazil. The research corpus consists of data from maps 124 to 140 of the ALS and the corresponding maps of the APFB. As for the ALiB data, only four questions are considered, which have correspondents in APFB and ALS. Comparing lexical data from Bahia and Sergipe from the semantic areas of Fauna and Pastoral Activities of the three atlases mentioned, which cover an interval of about 40 years, the hypothesis of a linguistic continuum Bahia – Sergipe, that lasts over time, is supported.

Keywords:

APFB. ALS. ALiB. Lexical variation. Bahia. Sergipe.

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Jacyra Andrade Mota; Josane Moreira de Oliveira

INTRODUCTION

This article, in honor of Carlota da Silveira Ferreira, one of the pioneers in Brazilian Dialectology, has the purpose of presenting the results of a research on the existence (or not) of a Bahia – Sergipe linguistic continuum, stemming from the examination of the lexical variations documented in some of the maps of the *Atlas Prévio dos Falares Baianos* (APFB)³ and of the *Atlas Lingüístico de Sergipe* (ALS)⁴, “considering [...] the fact of this data having been collected in a same type of linguistic investigation, by the same work group, with the application of similar methodological procedures” (FERREIRA; MOTA; ROLLEMBERG, 1994, p. 111).

Maps 124 to 140 of the ALS are compared (FERREIRA *et al.*, 1987) with the corresponding ones of the APFB (ROSSI, 1963), concerning the semantic fields of Fauna and Pastoral Activities, observing mainly the Bahia and Sergipe bordering area, with the aim of observing the linguistic continuum between both states, considering the proposal by Nascentes (1953) that both states integrate the same dialectal area (see Figure 4). The identification of possible dialectal sub-areas in the state of Sergipe are also part of this study, through the analysis of some maps in the ALS, as previously mentioned. The hypothesis that supports this study is based on Ferreira, Mota and Rollemberg (1994), who maintain that:

Extralinguistic data, such as political history of the states of Bahia and Sergipe, and their populational formation, colonization similarities and geographical vicinity and, in a synchronic perspective, small scale farming predominant in the rural area, explain the coincidences which, from a linguistic perspective, present in the two areas, coincidences already highlighted by Antenor Nascentes [1953] who considered as one sole manner of speech, the “Bahian speech”, the linguistic reality of both states is evidenced in the maps of in **Atlas Prévio dos Falares Baianos** (APFB) and in **Atlas Lingüístico de Sergipe** (ALS).

A large number of isoglosses encompasses the Bahia-Sergipe area, confirming the classification of the master philologist. There is, nevertheless, isoglosses of lesser extent that demonstrate the existence of diversity within the area (FERREIRA; MOTA; ROLLEMBERG, 1994, p. 111).

In a specific section, data extracted from the corpus of the *Atlas Lingüístico do Brasil* (ALiB)⁵ are presented, also in relation to the two states under analysis. Regarding the ALiB (CARDOSO *et al.*, 2014)⁶, data with reference to the four questions that have not yet been mapped are examined, the only ones with correlation in the APFB and in the ALS in the semantic field of the Fauna, examined herein.

Other studies have already been performed with the purpose of comparing data of Bahia and Sergipe from the data mapped in the APFB and in the ALS, such as, for example, those of Cardoso (1994)⁷, Cardoso and Rollemberg (1994), Ferreira, Mota and Rollemberg (1994) and Ferreira and Rollemberg (1994), which evidence

³ Published in 1963.

⁴ Published in 1987, despite being concluded since 1973.

⁵ Published in 2014.

⁶ Not all of these maps included in the APFB and ALS have corresponding ones in the ALiB, as discussed further ahead.

⁷ Republished in 2021 (see References).

similarities between the varieties of the two states. The thesis, in progress, carried out by Thaís Dultra Pereira – *A fauna na Bahia e em Sergipe, ontem e hoje*⁸ (Fauna in Bahia and Sergipe, yesterday and today), shall present the comparison among some items documented in both atlases – APFB, ALS – and in the corpus of the ALiB Project.

Accordingly, this article is structured in five sections – Dialectology; APFB, ALS and ALiB: methodological issues; Bahia and Sergipe: data comparison of APFB and ALS; Dialectal sub-areas in Sergipe; what ALiB depicts about Bahia and Sergipe – as well as this Introduction, Final Considerations and References.

1. DIALECTOLOGY

The existence of different manners of speech of people or groups of people has been verified for a long time. However, the scientific treatment of these differences was consolidated at the end of the XIX century, mainly with the autonomy of linguistic sciences such as Dialectology, which, as a method of linguistic geography, proposed to study the everyday and popular language.

Dialectology gained importance and prestige in France which, due to its wide regional variety at that time, emphasized the necessity of studying the different manners of speech in use that were subject to disappearing as a result of levelling integration or imposition of a prestigious linguistic variety.

As suggested by the morphology of the term itself, Dialectology is a linguistic science of dialects, in other words, it aims to study regional variation of the language. For researchers in this science, linguistics phenomena are mainly considered within their spatial dimension.

The first linguistic atlases appeared in the XIX century. Of a one-dimensional character, these atlases are the result of a catalogue of questions applied in networks, either through surveys by correspondence, or through fieldwork, with the objective of understanding the linguistic reality of a spatial structure and describe the linguistic areas of a politically defined territory. Such mode, valid to date, characterizes the APFB and the ALS, atlases that, according to Mota and Cardoso (2006), integrate the third phase of Brazilian Geolinguistics⁹.

[...] in the beginning of the XX century, the multidimensional linguistic atlases appear. Extrapolating the diatopical dimension, these new atlases registered also other dimensions of linguistic variation – diastratic, diagenational, diasexual, diaphasic, diareferential and even dialingual. From the respondent Haras (male, adult, agricultural worker, illiterate, sedentary) to a wider universe of respondents from rural and urban areas, of different schooling levels, different ages, of both genders and different situations of manners of speech (OLIVEIRA, 2020, p. 55).

Considering that Dialectology incorporates the methodological apparatus of Sociolinguistics, in this phase it is possible to mention Geosociolinguistics “once obviously the atlases combine geographical and social variables in the documentation and in the analysis of linguistic phenomena” (OLIVEIRA, 2020, p. 55). This multidimensional Geolinguistics model characterizes the ALiB, which, according to Mota and Cardoso (2006), is part of the fourth phase of Brazilian Geolinguistics¹⁰.

⁸ The doctoral student submitted to the Qualifying Exam on November 26, 2021, having been approved. In the thesis (in progress), Pereira (2021) raised data from nine localities of the APFB (Barra, Caetité, Carinhanha, Itaberaba, Jacobina, Jeremoabo, Santana, Vitória da Conquista and Santa Cruz Cabralia) and two of the ALS (Propriá and Estância), coinciding with the ALiB ones, comparing also the three atlases. From the analysis the maps “cria da ovelha” (sheep offspring), “gambá” (opossum) and “sangussuga” (leech) were included. In this text, apart from the data presented by Pereira (2021), data from other localities of the APFB and of the ALS and data from Salvador and Aracaju, of the ALiB, were considered.

⁹ The authors establish four phases: 1st phase: 1826 – 1919 – studies of a lexicographic nature, identifying peculiarities of Brazilian Portuguese (regional glossaries); 2nd phase: 1920 – 1951 – studies of a monographic nature that describe specific regions, studies describing the Portuguese language spoken in Brazil, and other studies on the contribution of Indigenous and African languages to the national language; 3rd phase: 1952 – 1995 – first studies of a Geolinguistics basis, state and regional atlases; 4th phase: 1996 to date – resumption of the idea of a national atlas by the ALiB team.

¹⁰ Teles (2018) proposes that the publishing of the first two volumes of the ALiB, in 2014, marks the beginning of the fifth phase of Brazilian Geolinguistics.

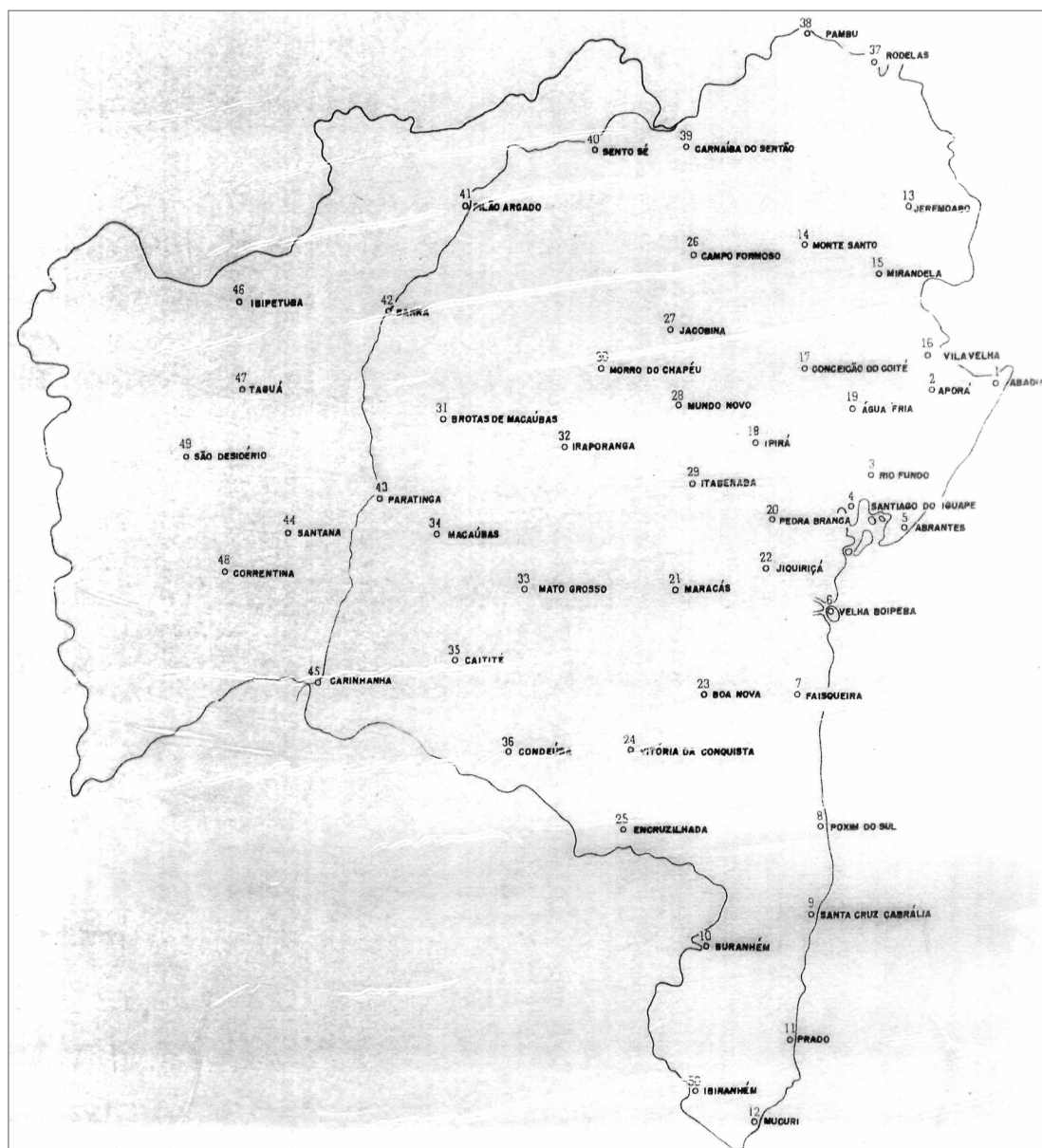
It is important to observe that Dialectology works with actual data, in other words, it studies day-to-day and active language, used in communication. Dialectology has various and useful applications, among which emphasis is given to supplying material for the historical study of the language or of a nation towards an educational policy of the language.

2. APFB, ALS AND ALiB: METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

The comparison among these atlases, prepared at different moments of the history of Linguistics and Dialectology in Brazil – despite relying on the presence of representatives of the pioneering group led by Nelson Rossi –, requires that some methodological issues be taken into consideration, such as:

a) The relationship between the researched network and the demographic density of the areas, in this case strongly depending on the extension of the research and on the financial conditions available for the projects. Bahia, with 564,733,177 km², relied on questions at 50 network points, while Sergipe, with 21,910 km², relied on 15 network points, distributed throughout the state. The network points of the o APFB and ALS may be visualized in Figures 1 and 2, respectively.

Figure 1 - APFB network points.



Source: Rossi (1963, Carta V).

Figure 2 - ALS network points.



Source: Ferreira *et al.* (1987, Carta IV).

b) The technical resources for registering the manner of speech of the interviewed parties, null at the time of the APFB, for lack of battery-powered devices or electric power networks in the cities in the countryside of the state of Bahia to permit the use of electric devices. It should be observed that, even in locations that had electric power, there were no portable devices to accompany the movements of the researchers. In this case, the researchers from Bahia were obliged to repeat the deeds of Edmond Edmont, in the countryside of France, at the end of the XIX century, in the data collection for preparing the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (GILLIÉRON; EDMONT, 1902-1910): they would hear the answer and immediately transcribe it, as accurately as possible.

The investigators of the APFB were, nevertheless, in better conditions than the latter, as referenced by Rossi (1965), in the Introduction volume to the *Atlas Prévio dos Falares Baianos*, recalled by our honoree in an article about the APFB (cf. FERREIRA, 1998, p. 19): “[...] we judge it licit to admit that we were apprentices to a lesser extent before having attempted an atlas”.

At ALS, the investigations were performed with portable battery-powered recorders, using mini tapes available at the time for the fieldwork.

In 2001, when the investigations were started for ALiB, registers were recorded on mini-CDs or mini-discs, CDs or DVDs, which were transcribed and filed at the Universities participants of the project.

c) The methodology itself of the dialectological studies, which, since the *Atlas Lingüístico de Sergipe*, began to include the systematic distribution of respondents by gender, at all the locations, placing it among the first three bidimensional linguistic atlases¹¹, unlike the APFB, which, despite having interviewed men and women, in general, two respondents per locality, did not respect the sexual dimension in all the locations. In the APFB, out to the 100 interviewees, 57 were women and 43 were men.

¹¹ In Brazil, the *Atlas Lingüístico do Paraná* (AGUILERA, 1994) was also structured as bidimensional. Thun (2017) comments that these atlases are among the first three bidimensional atlases, mentioning the third one as the Val d’Aran micro-atlas, inserted in the monograph of Otto Wilkelmann (2011).

In the ALiB, the network of which encompasses 250 points (see Figure 3), emphasis is given to the inclusion of medium and large sized localities – including the state capitals¹² – and, within the parameters of the Multidimensional Dialectology (THUN, 2017), of respondents stratified in two age groups, two genders and literate (elementary education and, in the capitals, also university level), having abandoned the illiterate and semi-illiterate, more connected to the rural area, as in the so-called Traditional Dialectology.

It is important to observe that there are still gaps, even after a careful analysis of the available results, related, very frequently, to the dialectological method itself. In this respect, two aspects are mentioned: the importance of the diatopical dimension in Dialectology and the need for a relatively high number of interviewees, distancing from the ideal of a sole investigator as proposed by Gilliéron.

In the ALiB, the territorial extension covered was of 277,851 km, equivalent to almost seven times around the globe on the Equatorial line, as often reminded by Suzana Alice Cardoso, idealizer of the project for achieving a Linguistic Atlas of Brazil, in relation to the Portuguese language, and President of the National Committee that she coordinated up until her death in 2018. These kilometers were covered by 33 investigators, in general accompanied by assistants, who travelled to document the manner of speech of 1,100 individuals, registering, at times, unknown denominations such as, for example, *catende* for “lagartixa” (lizard) and *peteca* for “bolinha de gude” (marbles).

As to the age of the respondents, in the ALiB, only two age groups were included – the first from 18 to 30 years, and the second, from 50 to 65 years –, having left out and intermediate age group.

Figure 3 - ALiB network points.



Source: Cardoso *et al.* (2014, v. 2, p. 59).

¹² Except Palmas and Brasília, for methodological reasons.

Table 1, below, presents the names of the locations related to the network points presented in figures 1 and 2.

Table 1 - Locations of the APFB (1 to 50) and of the ALS (51 to 65).

1. Abadia	18. Ipirá	35. Caetité	52. Tomar do Geru
2. Aporá	19. Água Fria	36. Condeúba	53. Estância
3. Rio Fundo	20. Pedra Branca	37. Rodelas	54. Pedrinhas
4. Santiago do Iguape	21. Maracás	38. Pambu	55. São Cristóvão
5. Abrantes	22. Jiquiriçá	39. Carnaíba do Sertão	56. Itaporanga
6. Velha Boipeba	23. Boa Nova	40. Sento Sé	57. Laranjeiras
7. Faisqueira	24. Vitória da Conquista	41. Pilão Arcado	58. Simão Dias
8. Poxim do Sul	25. Encruzilhada	42. Barra	59. Divina Pastora
9. Santa Cruz Cabrália	26. Campo Formoso	43. Paratinga	60. Ribeirópolis
10. Buranhém	27. Jacobina	44. Santana	61. Brejo Grande
11. Prado	28. Mundo Novo	45. Carinhanha	62. Propriá
12. Mucuri	29. Itaberaba	46. Ibipetuba	63. Nossa Senhora da Glória
13. Jeremoabo	30. Morro do Chapéu	47. Taguá	64. Gararu
14. Monte Santo	31. Brotas de Macaúbas	48. Correntina	65. Curalinho
15. Mirandela	32. Itaporanga	49. São Desidério	
16. Vila Velha	33. Mato Grosso	50. Ibiranhém	
17. Conceição do Coité	34. Macaúbas	51. Santa Luzia	

Source: Own creation.

In relation to the locations presented in the network points of Figure 3, only those coinciding with the APFB in Bahia and with the ALS in Sergipe were considered. For the total of 250, see <https://alib.ufba.br/content/rede-de-pontos>.

Table 2 - Locations of the ALiB coinciding with those of the APFB and of the ALS.

BAHIA		SERGIPE
82. Jeremoabo	92. Santana	78. Propriá
84. Barra	97. Carinhanha	80. Estância
86. Jacobina	98. Vitória da Conquista	
90. Itaberaba	101. Santa Cruz Cabrália	

Source: Own creation.

Once the network points were defined, data was collected from the selected maps for a comparative study between Bahia and Sergipe, and the results are presented and discussed below.

3. BAHIA AND SERGIPE: APFB AND ALS DATA COMPARISON

In order to verify the existence or not of linguistic continuum among the states of Bahia and Sergipe, both participants, together with the north of Minas Gerais and east of the then state of Goiás, of the Bahian sub-speech, in the proposal of Nascentes (1953) for the classification of Brazilian dialects (see Figure 4), 17 maps of the *Atlas Lingüístico de Sergipe* (numbers 124 to 140) were examined, and the corresponding ones of the *Atlas Prévio dos Falares Baianos* (numbers 125 to 137 and 141 to 143), considering the data of all the localities of both network points.

Figure 4 - Nascentes' Proposal (1953) for Brazil's dialectal divisions.



Source: Barbadinho Neto (2003, p. 700).

The analysis herein considered only the lexical level of the linguistic structures contained in the maps. The well documented phonetic variation documented in the APFB and in the ALS was disregarded. The reason for such procedure is merely methodological, with the preference for considering lexical items in their orthographic format.

Comparing the data found in the examined APFB and ALS maps, the following results were obtained:

- Four maps presented a total linguistic identity between the two states, namely the form that occurred in Bahia was the same and sole form that occurred in Sergipe, as observed in Table 3, as follows:

Table 3 - Total identity between Bahia and Sergipe.

MAP - BA	MAP - SE	QUESTION	LEXICAL ITEM
127	126	“type of batrachian”	<i>çaçote</i>
130	131	“numb the cow’s udder”	<i>amojar</i> ¹³
133	134	“type of sheep with a lot of wool”	<i>merinó</i> ¹⁴
137	140	“white ox”	<i>alvação</i>

Source: Own creation.

¹³ The verbal form *amojar* appeared with various inflections, including compound forms with auxiliary verbs, but the form registered in this text was the infinitive, once it is a lexical analysis.

¹⁴ The form *luminó* was registered in this map as an occurrence, collected from a bystander at point 28. Once it was unique, and heard from a bystander and having documented also at this point the form *merinó*, the map was considered homogeneous.

• Nine maps presented a partial linguistic identity between Bahia and Sergipe, once there are common forms to both states – which are the majority – but there are other forms that occur individually, in one or the other state. Observe Table 4, below:

Table 4 - Partial identity between Bahia and Sergipe.

QUESTION	MAP		FORMS - BA		FORMS - SE	
	BA	SE	Lexicle Items	Total Points	Lexical Items	Total Pons
“lizard”	125	124	<i>lagartixa</i> <i>catende</i> <i>taruíra</i>	40 10 3	<i>lagartixa</i> <i>catende, catenga</i> ¹⁵ <i>bribo, víbora</i> <i>cangambá</i> ¹⁶	12 5 3 4, 1 1
“reptile similar to a lizard”	126	125	<i>bribo, víbora</i>	45	<i>bribo</i> <i>catenga</i> <i>catende</i>	6 2 1
“leech”	128	127	<i>sanguessuga</i> <i>mazá</i> <i>chupão</i> <i>puxão</i> ¹⁷ <i>manzuá</i> ¹⁸	40 7 4 1 1	<i>sanguessuga</i>	15
“possum”	141	128	<i>gambá</i> <i>cangambá</i>	24 15	<i>cangambá</i>	8
“hunting traps”	142 e 143	129	<i>mundéu</i> <i>fojo</i> <i>laço</i> <i>arataca</i> <i>jequi</i> ¹⁹ <i>enxó, quixó</i> <i>esparrela</i> <i>poleiro</i> <i>zabumba</i> ²⁰ <i>carpão</i> ^{*21} <i>desordem</i> ²² <i>caçamba</i> ²³ <i>champrão</i> ^{*24}	47 16 14 9 6 3, 2 2 2 1 1 1 1 1 1	<i>laço</i> <i>jequi</i> <i>mundéu</i> <i>arataca</i> <i>esparrela</i> <i>zabumba</i> <i>espera</i> <i>ratoeira</i> <i>munzuá</i>	5 5 3 3 3 3 3 1 1

Continues

¹⁵ The forms *catengo* and *catengue* were considered variations of *catenga*, which was selected to represent it once it is the only form out of the three registered in a dictionary. The dictionary *Aulete Digital* (2021) registers *catenga* as a variation to *catende*, both arising from the Quimbundo, with the same definition.

¹⁶ Form with one sole occurrence at point 65 of the ALS (Currálinho).

¹⁷ Form with one sole occurrence at point 18 of the APFB (Ipirá). The respondent answers *chupão* and, then, *puxão*.

¹⁸ Form with one sole occurrence at point 14 of the APFB (Monte Santo).

¹⁹ The forms adopted here was *jequi* (and not *jiqui*) and *enxó* (not *inxó*), as found in the notes of the maps in question, once these are in the dictionary and the others aren't.

²⁰ Form with one sole occurrence at point 15 do APFB (Mirandela).

²¹ Form with one sole occurrence at point 17 do APFB (Conceição do Coité).

²² Form with one sole occurrence at point 10 do APFB (Buranhém).

²³ Form with one sole occurrence at point 16 do APFB (Vila Velha).

²⁴ Form with one sole occurrence at point 26 do APFB (Campo Formoso).

“small sized cattle”	129	130	<i>criação</i> <i>criatório</i> <i>miunça</i>	32 9 1	<i>criação</i> <i>miunça</i>	10 1
“sheep offspring”	131	132	<i>borrego</i> ²⁵ <i>cabrito</i> ²⁶ <i>marrã</i> <i>carneirinho</i> ²⁷ <i>bezerro</i> <i>bodete</i> <i>bodego</i>	33 30 3 1 1 1 1	<i>borrego</i> <i>cabrito</i> <i>marrã</i> <i>carneirinho</i> <i>ovelhinha</i> ²⁸	11 11 6 3 1
“goat without horns”	132	133	<i>mocha</i> <i>murcha</i> <i>mouca</i> <i>suruca</i> ^{*29} <i>toca</i> ³⁰	48 8 3 1 1	<i>murcha</i> <i>mocha</i> <i>mavó</i> ^{*31} <i>mofina</i> ³²	9 7 1 1
“pig that grows little and fattens a lot”	134	135	<i>baé</i> ³³	49	<i>baé</i> <i>faixa branca</i> ³⁴ <i>alanchim</i> ^{*35} <i>palanchim</i> ^{*36}	14 1 1 1

*Lexis not included in dictionaries, spelling proposed herein³⁷.

Source: Own creation.

Maps number 136, 137, 138 and 139 from Sergipe, for which the corresponding maps from Bahia are numbers 135 and 136, were analyzed separately from the rest. The reason for this procedure was the fact that in Sergipe these maps “designation of oxen according to age” was broken down into 1st, 2nd and 3rd phases and semasiology, whereas in Bahia there is no distinction of phases. Accordingly, the set of forms were compared between Bahia and Sergipe, considering also forms that despite not being transcribed on the maps are in the notes, being a part of the comments made by the respondents at the time of the questionnaire. Thus, it was observed that there was a linguistic continuum between both states, above all when considering the explanations offered by the respondents for the items they mentioned. The respondents in Bahia, despite not having been any specific question for each age phase of the oxen, mentioned it in their comments, which enabled the data comparison. The result of the examination of these maps is presented in Table 5, below:

²⁵ The form *borrego* encompasses the occurrences of *borrego*, *borreguinho* and *borregozinho* once the latter ones are considered as derivatives of the first (they are in the diminutive form).

²⁶ The form *cabrito* encompasses the occurrences of *cabrito* and *cabritinho*, once the latter is the regular diminutive form of the first, and thus derived from it.

²⁷ The form *carneirinho* was adopted here and not the primitive form *carneiro* once it was not registered on the map.

²⁸ The form *ovelhinha* was adopted and not the primitive form *ovelha* once it was not documented here.

²⁹ Form not in the dictionary with this meaning. One sole occurrence at point 24 of the APFB (Vitória da Conquista).

³⁰ Form with one sole occurrence at point 21 do APFB (Maracás).

³¹ Form with one sole occurrence at point 65 do ALS (Currálinho).

³² Form with one sole occurrence at point 61 do ALS (Brejo Grande).

³³ The form *baé* encompasses the occurrences of *baé* and *baezinho*, the latter being a regular diminutive form of the first and, thus, derived from the it.

³⁴ Form with one sole occurrence at point 58 do ALS (Simão Dias).

³⁵ Form with one sole occurrence at point 53 do ALS (Estância).

³⁶ Form with one sole occurrence at point 54 do ALS (Pedrinhas).

³⁷ The spellings proposed for the forms not included in the dictionary were not based on etymological criteria. Unassumingly once the spelling only graphically represents as accurately as possible the phonetical deliveries registered in the examined maps. The dictionaries consulted were Ferreira (1986), Volp (2021-2022) and *Aulete Digital* (2021).

Table 5 - Designation of oxen according to age in Bahia and Sergipe.

“Designation of oxen according to age”	BA (maps 135 and 136)	SE (maps 136 to 139)
1 st phase	<i>bezerro</i> <i>novilbo</i>	<i>bezerro</i> <i>novilbo</i>
2 nd phase	<i>mamote</i> <i>garrote</i>	<i>mamote</i> <i>garrote</i>
3 rd phase	<i>boi</i> <i>catueiro</i> <i>marruá</i>	<i>boi</i>

Source: Own creation.

Considering the fact that all of the forms that predominate in Sergipe, at least on the maps worked herein, are present in Bahia, mainly in the bordering area and, in most cases, being also predominant in Bahia, it can be said that that we are dealing with the same dialectal area, once Sergipe can be viewed as a region that continues the linguistic reality of Bahia. It should be observed that the forms that are documented only in Sergipe occurred in small numbers and often beside common forms.

The data in tables 4 and 5, despite evidencing the presence of lexical forms that only occur in one or another state, substantiates a strong linguistic unity between Bahia and Sergipe. The common forms among both areas, when not documented in most of the points, marked a significant presence in the bordering areas between both states. Emphasis is given to the fact that many of the specific forms, from one or the other state, occur together with common forms, in other words, in various maps, at the same point, there would be a common form and an isolated form.

For an improved visualization of this result, Table 6 below can be observed, containing only common lexis and the indication of its behavior, in other words, whether they were majority and/or if documented in the bordering area³⁸.

Table 6 - Common lexis documented in Bahia and Sergipe.

QUESTION	MAP		COMMON LEXIS	BORDERING AREA	MAJORITY	
	BA	SE			BA	SE
“lizard”	125	124	<i>lagartixa</i> <i>catende</i>	X X	X	X
“reptile similar to a lizard”	126	125	<i>briba</i>	X	X	X
“leech”	128	127	<i>sanguessuga</i>	X	X	X
“possum”	141	128	<i>cangambá</i>	X		X
“hunting trap”	142 e 143	129	<i>mundéu</i> <i>laço</i> <i>jequi</i> <i>arataca</i> <i>esparrela</i> <i>zabumba</i>	X X X X X X	X	X X

Continues

³⁸ The bordering area mentioned herein is the area of Bahia bordering with the state of Sergipe, these being points 1, 2, 3, 4, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19 and 37 of the APFB. It should be observed that the mentioned border is geographical or territorial, not in relation to isoglosses or linguistic limits.

“small sized cattle”	129	130	<i>criação</i> <i>miunça</i>	X X	X	X
“sheep offspring” ³⁹	131	132	<i>borrego</i> <i>cabrito</i> <i>marrã</i> ⁴⁰ <i>carneirinho</i> ⁴¹	X X	X	X X
“goat without horns”	132	133	<i>mocha</i> <i>murcha</i>	X X	X	X
“pig that grows little and fattens a lot”	134	135	<i>baé</i>	X	X	X

Source: Own creation.

It is important to consider that, despite the difference between the two atlases examined being of only about seven years⁴², which could have contributed towards having documented in different manners of speech in both states, reference is to the methodology adopted when carrying out the investigations. The methodologically important data considered is the greater knowledge of the researched area, at the time of the investigation for ALS, thanks not only to the fact that it was performed in Sergipe, experimental investigations in the 15 locations that became the network points, but also to the knowledge of Carlota Ferreira, from Sergipe, who led the realization of this atlas. The review and adaptation of the questionnaire previously used in Bahia should also be remembered, with a prior writing of all of the questions, and the audio tapes of all of the investigations.

Nonetheless, what is important is that the linguistic reality observed in Sergipe seems to be a reflex of the linguistic reality of Bahia. Accordingly, it is once again evidenced that “Nascentes was right” – resuming the statement by Cardoso (1986) –, including Bahia and Sergipe in the same dialectal area of Brazil.

4. DIALECTAL SUB-AREAS IN SERGIPE

It is understood that the diatopical variation of language involves the identification of dialects, sub-dialects and even sub sub-dialects, concepts that are not absolute, only considered in a relational context. Accordingly, the studied area is divided through isoglosses that are outlined to map out the linguistic borders, that is, the dialects, sub-dialects or sub sub-dialects.

In the attempt to identify possible dialectal sub-areas in Sergipe, that, as was observed, is part of a dialectal area known as of “Bahian speech”, some of the ALS maps that contained lexical variations were examined.

The maps observed, numbers 124, 125, 129, 130, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138 and 139, do not seem to demonstrate the existence of sub-dialects in areas of Sergipe. Despite the presence of various lexis for the same question, these are not distributed in sub-areas. Often, in once same point, or one same location, different forms occur. There are points of the network where five different forms were registered.

The documented lexis are distributed throughout the territory of Sergipe, not having observed situations that either in the North, the South, the East or the West certain outputs occurred.

³⁹ About “sheep offspring”, see Cardoso (2021), text initially published in 1994.

⁴⁰ The lexis *marrã* was not documented in the bordering area, nor was it majority in either of the states, however it was registered in both atlases, demonstrating a linguistic equivalence between Bahia and Sergipe.

⁴¹ The lexis *carneirinho* was not documented in the bordering area nor was it majority in either of the states, however it was registered in both atlases, demonstrating a linguistic equivalence between Bahia and Sergipe..

⁴² This interval refers to a temporal distance between the application of the linguistic questionnaires in both states: in Bahia, between 1960 and 1961; in Sergipe, between 1966 and 1967.

The diatopical or geographic variation of the language was thoroughly documented, discussed, examined and evidenced, without space for theoretical comments regarding the validity of the concepts defined in the dialectological studies. Despite not having found dialectal sub-areas in Sergipe, the theory of diatopical variation of the language is not invalidated.

Sergipe is the smallest state of Brazil in extension and its territory, from North to South, is of 251 km and from East to West, a distance of 284 km. Maybe its geographical size contributed to the territory's linguistic unity.

5. WHAT THE ALiB DEMONSTRATES ABOUT BAHIA AND SERGIPE

Volume 2 of the ALiB brings the first linguistic maps that portray linguistic phenomena on phonetical-phonological, lexical and morphosyntactic levels. However, no lexical map encompasses the lexis studied in the APFB and in the ALS. Thus, upon consulting the questionnaires (COMITÊ NACIONAL DO PROJETO ALiB, 2001) and the ALiB data banks, four questions were found that coincide with some of the APFB and ALS maps considered in this study, having proceeded with the investigation of the answers documented in the 10 localities (eight in Bahia and two in Sergipe), coinciding in the three atlases (see Table 2).

The questions on ALiB's semantic-lexical questionnaire (QSL), used for comparison purposes, were numbers 059, 071, 079 e 084, reproduced below:

- QSL 059 – BORREGO (lamb): What is the offspring of a sheep called when it is born? Until what age is that name given to it?
- QSL 071 – GAMBÁ (possum): What is the name of the animal that lets off a bad smell when it is threatened?
- QSL 079 – CABRA SEM CHIFRE (goat without horns): What do you call a goat without ___?
- QSL 084 – SANGUESSUGA (leech): What is the name of the bug that sticks on the legs of people when they wade in a stream or marsh? (see COMITÊ NACIONAL DO PROJETO ALiB, 2001).

In Table 7, below, are the lexis documented in the APFB, ALS and ALiB for the four common references in the three atlases, considering the localities of the network points of Bahia and Sergipe in the ALiB that coincide with the APFB and ALS networks (see Table 2).

Table 7 - APFB, ALS and ALiB data comparison.

QUESTION	APFB	ALiB - BA	ALS	ALiB - SE
“sheep offspring”	<i>borrego</i> <i>cabrito</i> <i>marrã</i> <i>carneirinho</i> <i>bezerro</i> <i>bodete</i> <i>bodego</i>	<i>borrego</i> ⁴³ <i>cabrito</i> ⁴⁴ <i>carneirinho(a)</i> <i>bezerro</i> ⁴⁵ <i>filbote (de ovelha)</i> <i>ovelhinha</i> ⁴⁶ <i>bodinho</i>	<i>borrego</i> <i>cabrito</i> <i>marrã</i> <i>carneirinho</i> <i>ovelhinha</i>	<i>borrego</i> <i>cabrito</i> <i>carneirinho</i> <i>ovelhinha</i>
“possum”	<i>gambá</i> <i>cangambá</i>	<i>gambá</i> <i>sarignê</i> <i>sarnê</i>	<i>cangambá</i>	<i>gambá</i> <i>sarignê</i> <i>sarnê</i>
“goat without horns”	<i>mocha</i> <i>murcha</i> <i>mouca</i> <i>suruca</i> <i>toca</i>	<i>mocha</i> <i>(cabra) sem chifre</i> <i>aleijada</i>	<i>murcha</i> <i>mocha</i> <i>mavô</i> <i>mofina</i>	<i>mocha</i> <i>mavô</i> <i>murcha</i> <i>cabra sem ponta</i>

Continues

⁴³ Beside *borrego*, the form *borreguinho* occurred.

⁴⁴ The form *cabritinho* also occurred.

⁴⁵ Beside *bezerro*, the diminutive form *bezerrinho* also occurred.

⁴⁶ The form *ovelhazinha* also occurred.

“leech”	<i>sanguessuga</i> <i>mazá</i> <i>chupão</i> <i>puxão</i> <i>manzuá</i>	<i>sanguessuga</i> <i>lesma</i>	<i>sanguessuga</i>	<i>sanguessuga</i>
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Source: Own creation.

As can be verified in Table 7, around 40 years after the APFB and ALS, the ALiB registers some forms both in Bahia and in Sergipe already documented in the previous atlases.

For “sheep offspring”, the lexis *borrego*, *cabrito* and *carneirinho* are maintained in both states and the lexis *ovelhinha*, previously documented on the ALS, also appears in both states in the ALiB data. The forms *bodete*, *bodego* (registered in the APFB) and *marrã* (registered in the APFB and ALS) were not documented in locations common to the ALiB. The lexis *filhote* (*de ovelha*) and *ovelhinha* arise in the ALiB data for Bahia, forms that are not recorded in the APFB.

For “gambá” (possum), the form *cangambá* was not registered in the ALiB, but, beside the lexis *gambá*, which is predominant, the lexis *sariguê* and *saruê* were registered in both states, which forms do not appear on the APFB nor the ALS.

For “cabra sem chifres” (goat without horns), in Bahia, the ALiB registers *mocha*, *cabra sem chifre* and *aleijada* in Bahia, not having documented the lexis *mouca*, *suruca* and *toca* from the APFB. In relation to Sergipe, in the ALiB *mocha*, *mavô*, *murcha* and *cabra sem ponta* were found, the latter not registered in the ALS. The lexis *mofina*, of the ALS, was not registered in the ALiB.

In relation to “sanguessuga” (leech), with exception to the lexis *lesma*, that occurred to one respondent in Bahia in the ALiB data, the form *sanguessuga* seems to be dominant in both states. The forms *mazá*, *chupão*, *puxão* and *manzuá* registered in the APFB seem to have fallen in disuse.

Despite only having considered four questions of the ALiB QSL, from eight localities in Bahia and two in Sergipe coinciding with the network points of the APFB and of the ALS, respectively, the data confirms the linguistic continuum between Bahia and Sergipe.

Observing the data from the capital cities, Salvador and Aracaju, documented by the ALiB, that is not included in the network points of the APFB or the ALS, the following results, presented in Table 8, were encountered 8:

Table 8 - Lexis encountered in the capital cities of Bahia and Sergipe.

QUESTION	SALVADOR - BA	ARACAJU - SE
“sheep offspring”	<i>ovelhinha</i> <i>bezerrinho</i> <i>borrego</i> <i>marrã</i> <i>novilho</i> <i>cabrito</i> <i>carneirinho</i> <i>filhote</i> , <i>filhotezinho</i>	<i>bezerro</i> <i>cabrito</i> , <i>cabritinho</i> <i>borrego</i> , <i>borreguinha</i>
“possum”	<i>gambá</i>	<i>gambá</i>
“goat without horns”	<i>cabra sem chifre</i> <i>mocha</i>	<i>não tem chifre</i> <i>mocha</i>
“leech”	<i>sanguessuga</i>	<i>sanguessuga</i>

Source: Own creation.

In relation to “sheep offspring”, in Salvador, the forms *borrego* and *cabrito* occurred twice; the others had one sole occurrence, in Aracaju, *cabrito* (*cabritinho*) had five occurrences, *bezerro* and *borrego* (*borreguinha*) had two occurrences and the other lexis occurred only once. In relation to “possum”, the lexis *gambá* was categorical

in both capitals. For “goat without horns”, in Salvador, there was one occurrence of *cabra sem chifre* and one occurrence of *mocha*; in Aracaju, only two forms were also documented, one *não tem chifre* and one *mocha* (in both capital cities, six to eight respondents did not know how to answer). For “leech”, the eight respondents from both capitals answered only *sanguessuga*.

The high rate of non-responses registered among the respondents of the capital cities in the ALiB should be highlighted, due to the fact that the answers are part of a more rural context: two respondents from Salvador and one from Aracaju, all with elementary schooling, did not know how to designate “sheep offspring”; two women, one from each capital, did not know how to name the “possum”. 12 respondents, six from each capital, did not know the designation for “goat without horns”; and two respondents from Aracaju did not know the denomination for “leech”.

6. OTHER QUESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Despite the limited data, it is possible to question the validity of the questions that integrate the questionnaires of the linguistic atlases in semantic areas relating to rural lexicon when applied to urban respondents, as is the case of *bolsa/bruaca* – “object made of leather with a lid to carry flour on the back of a horse or donkey” –, a question that is part of ALiB QSL, that was not the object of this study but which exemplifies a case of something that is not part of the knowledge of the world of many respondents. Without contact or awareness of facts and phenomena that are typical of rural areas, the urban respondents, mainly the younger ones, are not knowledgeable of many concepts. In the city of Itaberaba (point 90 of the ALiB), for example, none of the four respondents knew how to designate a “goat without horns”. Thus, the use of hypernyms or generic names, such as *filbote*, and of diminutives, such as *ovelhinha* and *carneirinho*, for “sheep offspring”, and also generical lexis, such as *cabra sem chifre* and [*cabra que*] *não tem chifre*.

The maintenance of questions of this kind in linguistic questionnaires, however, permits the register of the disappearance of lexis and the advent of new forms of designating referents often unknown or even inexistent, either through the use of hypernyms or generic names, or through the use of lexis that, by way of analogy or metaphorical and/or metonymical extension, begin to designate other referents, as is the case, for example, of *cabrito*, *cabritinho* and *bodinho* for the offspring not only of she-goats but also of sheep.

Lastly, it is also important to question the interpretation of certain responses documented in the atlas under review. It is clear that in the case of the APFB the answers were listened, written down and transcribed. Without the audio register on tape, it is possible to have occurred errors in the transcription made by the researchers, in loco, of words such as, for example, *puxão* and *chupão*, in reference to the *sanguessuga* (leech); or it could happen that one of these denominations could reflect a case of hypercorrection, through linguistic insecurity of the respondent.

Would the lexis *cangambá*, registered in the ALS for “lizard”, really be the form of naming this animal? Would the form *mançuá*, registered only once in the APFB, be a variation of *maçã*? Would the lexis *mavô*⁴⁷ and *mofina*, sole occurrences in the ALS, be valid responses for “goat without horns”? *Mouca*, despite having been documented in three points of the APFB, is probably a variation of *mocha* to designate “goat without horns”. These examples illustrate cases of difficulties in the interpretation of the responses obtained, requiring from the present interviewer some insistence in order to obtain further clarification from the interviewees. And, in the case of not having obtained this information during the questionnaire, the researcher is responsible for a subsequent thorough exegesis of the data.

In the case of the question “pig that grows little and fattens a lot”, the lexis *faixa branca*, *alanchim* and *palanchim* occurred only once in the ALS. Is the first form really valid or did the respondent answer so as not to admit not knowing the designation? Should the last two lexis be interpreted as phonetical variations?

The form *miunça* to designate “small sized cattle”, documented both in the APFB as in the ALS, must be a phonetical variation of *miúça*, lexis registered in the *Aulete Digital* for “among the *sertanejos* (country people), designation for goats and sheep (Brazil, Northeast)”.

⁴⁷ Form documented also in point 78 of the ALiB (Propriá) as a sole occurrence.

The lexis documented as denominations for “hunting traps”, in the APFB, with one occurrence of each, such as *carpão/champrão*, *zabumba*, *desordem*, the lack of explanations as to the description and use of each one of them is felt. Also found in the answers in relation to these traps are names of objects used for catching fish or shellfish, such as *munzua*, and rat traps, such as *ratoeira*.

Finally, some questions remain without answers, but which may trigger a reflection about the data collection methodology, in the sense of calling attention to the researchers on the need for confirming with the respondents as to the responses enunciated, with a request for a description of the referent, for example. These questionings could instigate also future studies of a lexical-semantic or semasiological nature on lexis outlined herein, which was not the object of this article, that was limited to the comparison of registers of the forms in the three atlases considered.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This article was restricted to the lexical level and to selected maps and does not intend to be definitive, but a step forward in order that further ahead it may be possible to state with greater safety on the conclusions that are registered herein.

From the exam of the APFB and ALS maps and from ALiB data that composed the corpus of analysis of this paper, it was possible to observe that Bahia and Sergipe integrate the same dialectal area in the sense in which Sergipe continues with the linguistic reality of Bahia.

On a close observation of the maps of Sergipe, it is possible to establish a linguistic unit in Sergipe, in the sense that no dialectal sub-areas were identified.

Comparing the APFB, ALS and ALiB atlases distributed throughout around 40 years, confirms the proposal of Nascentes (1953) that Bahia and Sergipe integrate one sole sub-speech, the “Bahian speech”, in the words of the master philologist. Although many designations have fallen into disuse, those that are maintained continue to be common to both states and the similarities are perceptible, both when considering locations in the interior as well as when considering the capital cities, at least in relation to some concepts of the semantic areas of Fauna and Pastoral Activities considered in this article.

The present paper also served to confirm the importance of Dialectology, especially of the linguistic atlases, without which it would not be possible to understand the Brazilian linguistic reality, the diversity of which is recognized by all.

The exam of the designation of other referents and of other semantics could ratify or refute the hypothesis defended herein: that Bahia and Sergipe form a linguistic continuum that has been maintained throughout the history of the language.

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