

# *Lexical Aspects of Rural Speech in Geolinguistic Data Collected in Bahia, Sergipe and Paraná*

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## **Abstract:**

This article aims to discuss geolinguistic data related to the naming of canine and molar teeth, collected in two samples: (i) the first, composed of variants from the interior of Bahia, Sergipe and Paraná, registered in the linguistic atlas of these States, through the speech of informants of rural origin and with limited access to formal education; (ii) the second, formed by the variants collected from supposedly urban informants, that make up the *corpus* of the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil – ALiB. Due to the fact that the Atlas Prévio dos Falares Baianos (Prior Atlas of the way people from Bahia State Speak) (ROSSI, 1963) is one-dimensional (diatopic nature) and the Linguistic Atlas of Sergipe (FERREIRA *et al.*, 1987) and Paraná (AGUILERA, 1994) are two-dimensional, the data will be treated primarily, from the perspective of Traditional Geolinguistics, although reference can occasionally be made to the influence of the variable sex/gender. In the second moment, we seek to compare these rural data recorded in the regional atlas with those collected in the urban area by the ALiB (unpublished *corpus*) to verify the lexical collections regarding (dis)similarity – if they are similar or if they present differences that can be attributed to the time registration – regarding the chronological distance that separates the studied *corpora*; or to the environment – rural or urban, where the data come from.

## **Keywords:**

Lexicon; Linguistic atlas; Rural; Urban.

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# Lexical Aspects of Rural Speech in Geolinguistic Data Collected in Bahia, Sergipe and Paraná

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## PRESENTATION

The advent of the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil Project in 1996 (COMITÊ NACIONAL DO PROJETO ALiB, 2001) and the publication of its first volumes (CARDOSO *et al.*, 2014a; 2014b) gave rise to research on the lexicon of Portuguese spoken in Brazil. The number of works in the area of the lexicon using the ALiB data is over a hundred, of which we cite the articles by researchers in the area<sup>3</sup>.

Long before, at the beginning of the 19th century, lexical aspects of Brazilian Portuguese, when compared with European Portuguese, urged the Viscount of Pedra Branca to comply with the request of Professor Balbi (1826), contributing two small lists of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) words and of the European Portuguese (EP) regarding: (i) names that changed their meaning from one modality to another and (ii) names in use in Brazil and unknown in Portugal (BALBI, 1826, p. 172-174).

However, following common methodological principles, it was during the 20th century that academic research on regional lexicons and those referring to work activities proliferated, such as the lexicon of the horse (TRINDADE, 1980), trapicheiros (LEÃO, 1988), horticulture (SOZIM, 1995), apiculturist (SOZIM, 1991), coffee culture (CASTRO, 2000), cachaça (LAMBACH, 2002), the pantaneiro cowboy (NOGUEIRA, 1989), carnauba tree (PEREIRA, 1990), among others .

Specifically on the rural lexicon, the bibliography does not seem so vast. Beginning with *O Dialeto Caipira* (AMARAL, 1976 [1920]) and followed by Marroquim (1996 [1934]) and Teixeira (1944), studies were developed with Cardoso and Rollemberg (1988, 2009), Cardoso and Ferreira (2000), Isquerdo *et al.* (2014), among others.

In the work *O Dialeto Caipira*, Amaral does not refer only to vocabulary, but makes an incursion into the other levels of language: phonetics, lexicology, morphology and syntax, with the aim of “characterizing this ‘caipira’ dialect, or [...] this aspect of the Portuguese dialect in São Paulo” without taking into account “all the São Paulo styles that we have come across, but only those that are affiliated with this old popular trend” (AMARAL, 1976, p. 43).

Marroquim (1996 [1934]) studies the popular language of Alagoas and Pernambuco in its various aspects: phonology, morphology (gender, number, degree), lexicology, thematology and syntax. So did Teixeira (1944), who investigated the characteristics of the language of Goiás in phonetics, morphology, syntax and lexicon in the 1940s.

The search for more recent texts that deal with rural language in BP leads us to consider Professor Suzana Cardoso as one of the dialectologists who was most dedicated to the studies of the rural lexicon. The author believes that, as they are “depositors of conservation, but agents of innovation, rural speeches represent, in the incorporation of cultural facts, a source to be explored”. For Cardoso:

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<sup>3</sup> To name a few: Cardoso (2009), Aguilera (2005, 2009), Cardoso and Mota (2011), Altino and Yida (2015, 2016), Ramos and Bezerra (2015), Razky, Guedes and Costa (2015), among others.

More distant from the coercive force of the school, in a way freed from the daily pressure of the media, rural areas manage to retain forms, uses, phonic realizations that in the process of linguistic change are replaced by others [...]. Free from the same disciplinary action of systematic study, rural speeches are allowed to innovate in an uncompromising way, but faithful only and solely to the system of their own language (CARDOSO, 1995, p. 72).

Cardoso also contributes texts to the collection organized by Ferreira *et al.* (1988), which brings together 23 works by the authors (seven of which on the lexicon) initially presented between 1959 and 1981, in several national scientific events, and published, later, in annals and periodicals in the area of language. These are rural dialectology studies based on the Atlas Prévio dos Falares Baianos – APFB (ROSSI, 1963) and on the Linguistic Atlas of Sergipe – ALS (FERREIRA *et al.*, 1987), on data referring to the speech of informants whose activities were carried out mainly in the countryside: farmer, cowboy, cattle breeder, oxcart driver, among others.

In this collection (FERREIRA *et al.*, 1988), the concern with the rural lexicon is demonstrated in the various articles developed by Ferreira as author (*rótula*), or in co-authorship with colleagues Freitas (other names for the months of *June* and *July*), Mota and Rollemberg (lexical *differences* in Sergipe and Bahia).

Cardoso and Rollemberg (1988) had presented in 1969, at the II Congress of ALFAL, the results of a research on the *sarolha* variant, as a response to question 24 of the APFB and to question 56 of the ALS, on the names for humid land<sup>4</sup>. Four decades later, the authors (CARDOSO; ROLLEMBERG, 2009) return to the theme, questioning the vitality of this lexical item and documenting it with data from the ALiB Project related to eight northeastern capitals and localities in the inlands of Bahia (18 points), Sergipe (two points), Alagoas (three), Pernambuco (four). They conclude that the presence of *sarolho(a)* in the investigated localities in these states reveals “certain continuity [...], but with a reduction in the spatial domains of the form in question”.

In 2000, Cardoso and Ferreira published the *Léxico rural: glossário - comentários* in which they brought together all the forms mapped in the APFB (ROSSI, 1963) and in the ALS (FERREIRA *et al.*, 1987), totaling 880 entries and 4106 phonetic variants.

Years later, Cardoso (2016) publishes *Um passeio pelo léxico rural da Bahia*, examining data from the APFB (ROSSI, 1963) and discussing the manifestations of Christian religious sentiment, the presence of archaisms and French borrowings in the lexicon of speakers of that atlas.

Until then, the focus of studies on the rural lexicon was oriented mainly towards: (i) the diatopic and/or diastratic description of the collected variants; (ii) investigating the presence or absence of these variants in lexicographical works most used in Brazil; (iii) the elaboration of lexicons or glossaries; and (iv) the etymology of the registered forms.

Thus, the concern with defining what, in the language, was rural or urban and delimiting the space of each one was not part of the scope of dialectological works since the informants of such research obeyed the profile: man, illiterate, rural, adult, sedentary (HARAS or NORMS). Likewise, rural communities were well marked by differences resulting from the distance from the large centers and the difficulty of accessing them, the low population density, the absence of basic sanitation, electricity and technology, among others.

The arrival of European and Asian immigrants, social mobility, industrialization, the demand for goods provided by science and technology that the great centers offered, changed the profile of the Brazilian population from the 20th century and, consequently, the concepts of rural and urban are discussed from different perspectives, as we seek to present, synthetically, throughout this work.

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<sup>4</sup> The authors also discuss other meanings of “*sarolha*” taken from the ALS *corpus: humid farofa* (question 260) and *types of beiju* - mainly wet round with coconut (question 269).

## THE RURAL AND THE URBAN: ANTAGONISTIC OR COMPLEMENTARY REALITIES?

The concepts of rural and urban are of interest to Dialectology and Geolinguistics, but also to other areas such as Sociology, Economics, Statistics, Geography, History, Ecology, Agronomy, to name a few. Both concepts, however, are not consensual among specialists, who sometimes consider these realities sometimes antagonistic, sometimes complementary.

For the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE<sup>5</sup>), urban area is the entire seat of a municipality, therefore city and district (neighborhood), without taking into account the size of the city or the number of inhabitants. This Institute considers as basic characteristics of an urban area the continuous buildings, housing, existence of curbs, sidewalks, lighting network, access to health and education services, presence of environmental sanitation, forms of leisure, among others.

At the other end of the scale, the countryside or rural area, according to the IBGE, is the space used for the development of agriculture, cattle raising, extractivism, forestry, environmental conservation, rural tourism (ecotourism), among others.

Table 1 was adapted for this article from the educational website *Toda matéria*<sup>6</sup>. It summarizes the basic characteristics of rural and urban areas, in terms of territorial and economic formation.

**Table 1** - Characteristics of the rural area X urban area.

Rural	Urban
Natural landscape.	Humanized landscape.
Scattered population with low demographic density.	Concentrated population with moderate or high population density.
Primary Sector of the Economy (extractivism, agriculture and cattle raising).	Secondary (industry and energy production) and tertiary (trade and services) sectors of the Economy.

**Source:** *Toda Matéria* website, adapted by the authors.

This dichotomous vision, contemplating two autonomous, well-defined and excluding poles (IBGE, 2017, p. 12), could be applied to the Brazilian reality of the beginning of the 20th century, but the continuous changes in society due to industrialization and the rural exodus, among other factors, demanded from the specialists a deeper reflection about both classifications. Thus, to better understand the evolution of these concepts, we sought works based on information from the IBGE (GIRARDI, 2008; ALVES; VALE, 2013; ALVES, 2019) and on studies by the Institute itself (2017).

Supported by data from the IBGE Demographic Censuses and comparing the indices of 1950 and 2000, Girardi (2008) shows that the Brazilian urban population increased by 633.4% in fifty years, that is, from 18,782,891 inhabitants to 137,755,550, meaning that the urbanization rate of 36.1% rose to 81.2% in the meantime. The author adds that “the intense rural exodus and the great vegetative growth of the population contributed to this process”<sup>7</sup> (GIRARDI, 2008, p. 159). Graph 1<sup>8</sup> shows the urban population evolution in each decade and by region.

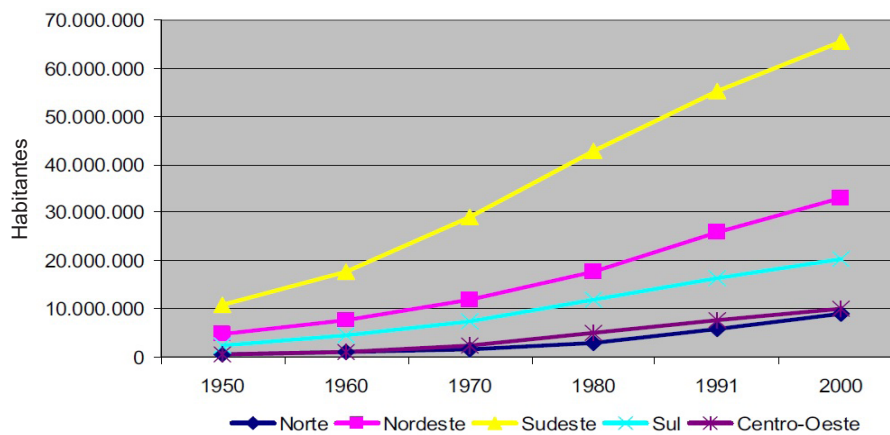
<sup>5</sup> Conf. <https://educa.ibge.gov.br/jovens/conheca-o-brasil/populacao/18313-populacao-rural-e-urbana.html>

<sup>6</sup> Conf. <https://www.todamateria.com.br/zona-rural-e-zona-urbana>

<sup>7</sup> Vegetative growth is the difference between the number of births and deaths in a given period.

<sup>8</sup> It appears in the original as *Graph 10.3 – Evolution of the regional urban population – 1950-2000* (GIRARDI, 2008, p. 160).

**Graph 1 - Evolution of the regional urban population - 1950-2000.**



Dados: IBGE - Org.: Eduardo Paulon Girardi

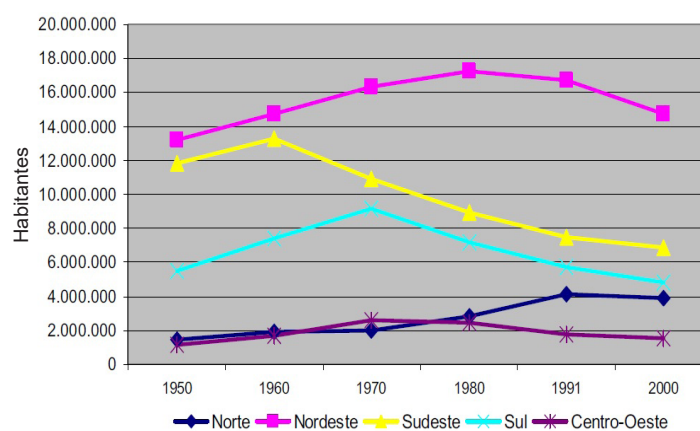
Source: Graph 5.3 (GIRARDI, 2008, p. 160).

From Graph 1, we can see that urbanization in the Southeast Region occurred in a much more expressive way than in the other Regions and little significant in the North and Center-West regions in half a century of history. On the other hand, the Brazilian rural population, in 1950, was 33,161,506 inhabitants, that is, 63.84% of the total population, and 50 years later it represented only 18.8% of the total, according to IBGE data, mentioned by Girardi. In the author's words:

The modernization of agriculture, the extreme subdivision of land in the peasantry of the South and the advance of the agricultural frontier in the Center-West and North gave complexity to the evolution of the rural population in the country. The Southeast region was the first to show a decrease in the rural population, which occurred in the 1960s. It was also the Southeast that showed the most intense decrease in the rural population, with a negative balance of 4,971,925 inhabitants in the countryside between 1950 and 2000, which represents a difference of -42%. The modernization of agriculture and the intensification of industrialization in the Southeast from the 1960s onwards explain this population dynamics (GIRARDI, 2008, p. 162).

Girardi's data expressed in Graph 2<sup>9</sup> illustrate the decline of the rural population from 1950 to 2000.

**Graph 2 - Evolution of the regional rural population - 1950-2000.**



Dados: IBGE - Org.: Eduardo Paulon Girardi

Source: Graph 5.4 (GIRARDI, 2008, p. 163).

<sup>9</sup> It appears in the original as *Graph 10.4 – Evolution of the regional urban population – 1950-2000* (GIRARDI, 2008, p. 163).

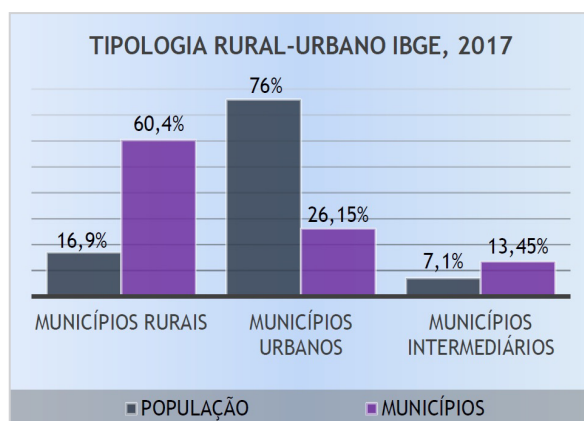


Graph 2 shows, on the one hand, a more accentuated decline in the rural population in the Southeast Region, followed by the South Region and, on the other hand, the increase in the North and stability in the Center-West. The Northeast Region had population growth in rural areas in the 1980s, with exodus in the following decades, with less expressive rates.

More recent studies by the IBGE began to discuss that, between the two realities, another one emerges, called *intermediary*, considering that industrialization would be the element of approximation between the rural reality and the urban reality.

The scholars consulted understand that the rural X urban polarization, given the Brazilian reality, is no longer sustainable. This is what Graph 3 demonstrates.

**Graph 3 -** Official population and rural-urban typology IBGE, 2017.



Source: Alves (2020).

Alves (2020), according to the estimate, already brings a new classification proposal, no longer a dichotomous classification of municipalities, but trichotomous, inserting the category of *intermediate* municipalities. In that year, Brazil had 60.4% rural, 26.15% urban and 13.35% intermediate municipalities, whose population would represent, respectively, 16.9%, 76% and 7.1% of the total population.

Girardi (2008), in his thesis, already argued that this trichotomous typology can be contested because

The increase in population density in the “gray” zones – which are no longer properly rural and which are not properly urban – does not mean that the material and historical contradiction between the urban phenomenon and the rural phenomenon is disappearing. In economic and ecological terms, the differences between these two modes of relationship between society and nature are deepened rather than diluted (GIRARDI, 2008, p. 161).

Alves and Vale (2013) justify this new proposal, noting that

The rural-city relationship in the organization and production of space must be guided by different segments of analysis, whether economic, culturalist, demographic, environmental or social. The concept of geographic space is too rich for these discussions, and dichotomously retaining rural and urban does not support the understanding of this complexity in the best way. Limiting the analysis from a metropolitan point of view is very poor to understand the reality of remote places and little influenced by metropolitan regions, in these places the rural determines the rhythm of life of the rural and urban population, in addition to maintaining cultural and territorial identity issues present regardless of the degree of urbanization (ALVES and VALE, 2013, p. 39).

In an attempt to standardize the rural and urban concepts, the Senate Bill 316/09 was presented in 2009, establishing that municipalities should be classified according to the following criteria: population size, demographic density and composition of the Domestic Product Gross (GDP) municipal. It would be

up to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), based on the new criteria, to reclassify the municipalities and update the values referring to population, population density and proportion of the value added of agriculture in relation to the municipal GDP<sup>10</sup>. The classification of each municipality, according to the project, would comply with the following requirements, as shown in Table 2:

**Table 2** - Proposal for classification of municipalities according to PLS 316/09.

Classification	Population	Agriculture X municipal GDP	Demographic density
Rural	< 50 thousand	Agriculture more than 1/3 of GDP	< 80 inhab/km <sup>2</sup>
Relatively rural	< 50 thousand	Agricultural production greater than a third and 15 hundredths	< 80 inhab/km <sup>2</sup>
Small size	< 50 thousand	Agriculture below 0.15 of GDP	< 80 inhab/km <sup>2</sup>
Midsized	Between 50 and 100 thousand / or 20 thousand and 50 thousand		> 80 inhab/km <sup>2</sup>
Big size	> 100 thousand		

**Source:** Prepared by the authors with data from the Agência do Senado.

The project also foresees that the territory and population of the municipalities classified as rural or relatively rural, including the municipal headquarters and the district headquarters of that municipality, be considered as rural for the purposes of official statistics and public policies.

In this particular, according to the IBGE (2017), both social and economic transformations modify the spatial configuration of municipalities, with no time for reformulations of the current legislation in order to accompany the new territorial structures, the process of spatial distribution and the economic activities of populations. Other findings refer to the official boundaries between rural and urban areas, as many instruments, defined according to fiscal objectives, place the domicile in one or another area, sometimes disregarding the territorial and social characteristics of the municipality and its surroundings.

As we can see, the categorization of geographic space admits other perspectives besides the dichotomous and trichotomous views, given the complexity of the social fabric that has been established over more than half a century.

This brief look at the main discussions on the concepts of rural and urban, from a geopolitical perspective, indicated that the subject is not exhausted and is far from being consensual among the various parties involved: politicians, geographers, farmers, agribusinesses, among others.

As for the data from the *corpus* of the state atlases – APFB, ALS and ALPR, the authors themselves defined them as *rural atlas*, following the Traditional Dialectology method for choosing the informants: rural activity (rural producer, animal breeder), place of residence away from the downtown area, low or no school attendance.

Regarding ALiB, although it is defined as an *urban atlas*, most informants live outside downtown area and have at most eight years of schooling. In this way, we sought from the IBGE the classification of the municipalities that make up the network of points of the three states in question: in Bahia, thirteen locations are in the Urban group, two in the Adjacent Intermediate group; six in Rural Adjacent and one in Rural Remote. The three points of Sergipe are considered urban. From the network of points in Paraná, we have nine in the Urban group, four in the Intermediate Adjacent and four in the Rural Adjacent.

<sup>10</sup> Source: Agência Senado. <http://legis.senado.leg.br/sdleg-getter/documento>. Accessed on February 02, 2022.

## THE NETWORK OF POINTS IN BAHIA, SERGIPE AND PARANÁ ACCORDING TO APFB, ALS, ALPR AND ALiB

The state atlases, prior to the launch of the ALiB Project, did not follow the same methodological principles as Silva Neto (1957) and Nascentes (1958) recommended, namely, a central coordination and a single methodology towards a national atlas so that the data were intercomparable. Thus, of the three atlases used here, two (APFB and ALS) follow a similar methodology as they were developed by the same team of researchers. However, the APFB (ROSSI *et al.*, 1963) is a one-dimensional atlas, that is, it only contemplated the diatopic dimension, while the ALS (FERREIRA *et al.*, 1987) is two-dimensional, that is, in addition to diatopy, it was concerned with the diasexual dimension, systematically interviewing a man and a woman at each point of the network.

In turn, the ALPR (AGUILERA, 1994), the result of an academic thesis, followed the ALS, by inquiring an informant of each sex at each point, but applying the questionnaire developed by Pedro Caruso (1983) for the Linguistic Atlas Project of the State of São Paulo.

Some similarities can be observed regarding the definition of the network of points, mainly with regard to the proportion of the number of municipalities at the time of data collection and the respective number of points of the investigated network. Table 3 shows the demographic and methodological aspects of the three atlases studied here.

**Table 3** - Demographic aspects according to the 1960 (Bahia and Sergipe) and 1980 (Paraná) Censuses.

Atlas	Municipalities/Points	%	Population	Area/Density
APFB	194/50	26%	6,389,022	564,760/11 inhab/km <sup>2</sup>
ALS	61/15	25%	760,273	21,938/35 inhab/km <sup>2</sup>
ALPR	290/65	22%	7,749,752	199,315/39 inhab/km <sup>2</sup>

**Source:** Prepared by the authors based on data from IBGE, 2002, p. 14-15.

For the APFB (ROSSI, 1963), 50 localities were defined, of which, as informed in *Letter VIII – Population and administrative situation of localities in 1950 and 1960*, thirty were classified as *cities*, fifteen as *boroughs* and five as *villages*. We used data from Letter VIII referring to the number of inhabitants of each of the cities, although these numbers correspond to the population of the survey site and not to the municipality where each one (borough, district, village) was located.

The survey of the total number of inhabitants registered in the APFB indicated: (i) three locations with less than one hundred inhabitants; (ii) seventeen, between one hundred and one thousand inhabitants; (iii) 26, between one thousand and five thousand; (iv) two, between five thousand and 10 thousand and (v) two with more than ten thousand (Vitória da Conquista, with 46,876 inhabitants).

In ALS (1987), the study was carried out in 15 locations, in each of which informants of both sexes were systematically interviewed, aged between 35 and 52 years, with minimum or no education, most of them working in the countryside. All the points investigated have less than 20 thousand inhabitants: three locations had between 15 and 20 thousand, two between five and ten thousand, six between one and three thousand, five with less than a thousand inhabitants. As for the economy, twelve focus their activities on agriculture, one on fishing, one on stone extraction and one on small port activity. Furthermore, according to Cardoso (2005), the administrative situation of the localities in the 1960s – the decade of data collection – is mostly cities, with the exception of one categorized as a village.



For ALPR<sup>11</sup>, in 1980, of the 65 locations that make up the network of points, 27 (42%) of the locations had less than 25 thousand inhabitants; 21 (32%) had between 25 and 50 thousand; 10 (15%), between 50 and 100 thousand; and seven (11%) had more than 100 thousand inhabitants, emphasizing that Londrina had more than 500 thousand inhabitants and the capital, Curitiba, more than one million.

The network of points constituted by ALiB selected 22 locations for the state of Bahia; for Sergipe, three; and for Paraná, seventeen. As this atlas proposes to photograph the urban linguistic reality, the choice of locations was based on demographic density, in the proportion of the urban population in the regions of the country, “with data collection in a city environment, having considered urban centers the host cities of the municipalities” (ISQUERDO *et al.*, 2014, p. 43).

Of the locations that are part of the ALiB network of points, the IBGE (2010) informs the population density as shown in the data shown in Table 4.

**Table 4** - Number of inhabitants per location selected for ALiB.

State/Population	< 25 thousand	Between 26 and 50 thousand	Between 51 and 100 thousand	> 101 thousand
Bahia	Two (9%)	Seven (32%)	Six (27%)	Seven (32%)
Paraná	Eight (47%)	Three (18%)	One (6%)	Five (29%)
Sergipe	-	One (33.3%)	One (33.3%)	One (33.3%)

**Source:** Prepared by the authors with IBGE data.

This panorama guides the questions of this article, that is, the possibility of comparing rural data recorded in the regional atlas with those collected in the urban area by ALiB (unpublished *corpus*), verifying: (i) their (dis)similarities when using the variants; (ii) the chronological distance that separates the *corpora*, given that the data collections undergo a lapse in time (1960s for APFB and ALS and 1980s for ALPR, early 2000s for ALiB) and (iii) the nature of the studies (the first three idealized as rural atlas and the last as urban). This question, in fact, motivated this study.

## THE VARIOUS DESIGNATIONS FOR CANINE AND MOLAR TEETH IN DIATOPICALLY AND DIACHRONICALLY DISTINCT *CORPORA*

The data collected in the lexical charts of the studied atlases were grouped in Table 5 and demonstrate the synoptic panorama found. For better visualization, the most frequent variants (= or >5%) were listed in the data from Bahia, Sergipe and Paraná.

**Table 5** - Demonstration of the most frequent variants and non-answers for questions about teeth in state atlas (APFB, ALS, ALPR) and in ALiB data in the three states (Bahia, Sergipe, Paraná).

Atlas/theme	Most frequent variants (= or >5%)					NR
APFB/canines	<i>presa</i>	-	-	-	-	9
ALS/canines	<i>presa</i>	-	-	-	-	4
ALPR/canines	<i>presa</i>	-	-	-	-	9

*Continues*

<sup>11</sup> Letter V of the ALPR (AGUILERA, 1994, p. 22) punctually shows the distribution of the population.

APFB/wisdom	<i>queiro</i>	-	-	-	-	3
ALS/wisdom	<i>queiro</i>	-	-	-	-	two
ALPR/wisdom	<i>siso</i>	<i>do juízo</i>	<i>de leite</i>	<i>queiro</i>	-	14
ALPR/molars	<i>queixal</i>	<i>chato</i>	<i>pilão</i>	<i>do fundo</i>	-	19
ALiB-BA/canines	<i>presa</i>	<i>caninos</i>	-	-	-	15
ALiB-SE/canines	<i>presa</i>	<i>caninos</i>	<i>grande</i>	-	-	-
ALiB-PR/canines	<i>presa</i>	<i>caninos</i>	-	-	-	3
ALiB-BA/wisdom	<i>queiro</i>	-	-	-	-	13
ALiB-SE/wisdom	<i>queiro</i>	<i>queixal</i>	-	-	-	two
ALiB-PR/wisdom	<i>siso</i>	<i>do juízo</i>	-	-	-	11
ALiB-BA/molars	<i>queixal</i>	<i>queiro</i>	<i>molar</i>	-	-	49
ALiB-SE/molars	<i>queixal</i>	-	-	-	-	3
ALiB-PR/molars	<i>molar</i>	<i>chato</i>	<i>do fundo</i>	<i>queixal</i>	-	34

**Source:** Prepared by the authors.

Before delving into the registration of variants, it is worth mentioning the significant number of non-responses (NR) recorded both in the *corpora* of the regional atlas and in the ALiB *corpus*, which may denounce the lack of familiarity of the informants to designate the studied referents.

In general, informants from state and national atlases use names for teeth focusing on their function and location. *Queixal* (“*from que jaw*”), present in the language since 1720, refers, according to Moraes Silva (1878, p. 536), to the “chin tooth, which is neither an incisor nor a canine; molar, jaw, which treads and crushes eating”. *Prey* (*presa*), recorded since 1789, according to Houaiss (2001), referring to canine teeth for humans, as well as for mammals in general that use tusks or modified incisors for hunting. *Queiro* (“*from que jaw*”), registered in the following century, 1831, used to name the third molar teeth that erupt between the ages of 17 and 21. This form is defined in Houaiss (2001) as Brazilianism and Northeastern Regionalism. The flat, *large*, *pestle* and *bottom chato* (*flat*), *grande* (*large*), *pilão* (*pounder*) and *do fundo* (*back tooth*) variants refer to the shape, function and location of these teeth. The variants *siso* and *juízo* (wisdom) are closely linked to the meaning of the term and its emergence in early adulthood. Finally, the *canine* variant, supposedly introduced by schooling, uses the term of general anatomy to designate the pointed and perforating tooth that allows tearing food.

Given the concepts of the variants obtained in the atlas on screen, we analyzed the names obtained to designate the third molars that arise between youth and adulthood.

Under the heading *wisdom teeth*, in all points of letter 56 of the APFB and in letter 55 of the ALS, there was only one lexical variant – *queiro/ tooth queiro* (“*from que jaw*”) – registered in all points, always with the monophthongization of *ei>e*.

In ALPR, letter 66 – *dentes do siso* –, were computed, in addition to fourteen non-responses (10.3%), five variants distributed over a total of 122 valid responses, of which the most frequent was *siso* (wisdom) (49.3%),

followed by of *juízo/dente do juízo* (wisdom) (30.9%), *dente de leite* (milk-tooth) (5.1%), *dente quero* (“tooth I want”) (2.9%) and *curnio* (fang<sup>12</sup>) (1.5%).

As for the second *corpus* (unpublished data from ALiB), for Question 98 (third molars or *wisdom teeth*), in the 22 points of Bahia, we recorded a predominance of *queiro/tooth queiro* (“from que jaw”) (77.3%) and with a low frequency of *queixal* (“from que jaw”) (4.5%), *presa* (fang) (2.3%), *dente de coelho* (rabbit’s tooth) (1.1%) and 14.8% of non-responses. In Sergipe-ALiB, *tooth queiro* was the majority in 75% of the records, with only one occurrence of *queixal* (8.3%) and 16.7% of non-responses. In the data from Paraná-ALiB, two variants stood out: *siso/tooth siso* (43.8%), *juízo/dente do juízo* (wisdom tooth) (38.4%), in addition to two unique occurrences of *queixal* and *molecular*, both with 1.4% of the total. The non-response rate represents 15% of the total data.

The data collected in the samples for the regional atlas, with selection criteria for rural informants, and those recorded in the ALiB interviews, considering their urban character, show the similarity in the appointments made in the middle of the last century and the beginning of this one. The stability of records can mean the transfer of the population from rural to urban areas without abandoning the language inherited in the family environment.

Regarding the teeth that allow tearing the food, we found in the letters presented under the heading *dentes caninos* (*canine teeth*), in all points of Letter 57 of the APFB and in Letter 56 of the ALS, the occurrence of only one lexical variant – *presa* (fang). In the APFB Notes, it is stated that the informant from Contas (33A) added the form *mórão* and that of Glória (37A) argued: *fang*, but *the caboclo calls saw*. In ALPR II (ALTINO, 2007), Letter 246 brings the predominant form *presa* (fang) (88.8%) and less frequent records: *dente da frente* (front tooth) (2.3%), *canine* (1.5%) and *dente da vista* (eye tooth) (0.7%). The non-responses represent 6.7% of the total.

For Question 97 (*dentes caninos/presas* – canine teeth/fangs), in the unpublished ALiB data referring to the 22 points of Bahia-ALiB, a total of 88 responses were expected, referring to 84 collected in non-capitals and four in the capital Salvador. The data showed 90 records, meaning that two informants elicited more than one response. Of this total, we considered 62.2% *presa* (prey), 13.3% *canino* (canine), 7.8% others (*dente de vampiro* (vampire tooth), *queiro* (“from que jaw”), *queixal* (“from que jaw”), *quebrador de ossos* (bonebreaker)) and 16.7% of non-responses. In Sergipe-ALiB, in the three points, we obtained thirteen records of which 85.8% for *presa* (fang), 7.1% for *canino* (canine) and 7.1% for *dentão/dente grande* (large tooth). In Paraná-ALiB, in the answers of the 68 informants distributed over the seventeen points, we have two most frequent variants: *presa* (fang) (76.7%) and *canino* (canine) (16.4%), in addition to two unique occurrences *dente da frente* (front tooth) and *dente de vampiro* (vampire tooth), both with 1.4% of the total. Three informants could not answer (4.1%).

The insertion of the lexia *canino* (canine), in co-occurrence with *presa* (fang), allows concluding the introduction of a term used in school environment and that becomes part of the daily life of the population. This insertion may signal a more urban environment in relation to the variants presented in the previous question, but it does not allow us to demonstrate a break with the lexicon collected in the so-called rural atlas.

Finally, we pay attention to the records related to the *teeth that allow crushing the food* in both samples. The ALPR is the only one of the three studied atlases that presents the records for the first and second molar teeth. In Letter 67, there are four forms – *queixal* (“from que jaw”) (38.3%), *chato* (flat) (32.8%), *pilão* (pounder) (5.3%) and *do fundo* (back tooth) (4.6%), with a predominance of *queixal* and its less frequent variants: *dente do queixo* (chin tooth) and *queixado* (jaw tooth). Other shapes with only one register each: *dente traseiro* (back tooth), *dente quero* (“Tooth I want”), *moela* (gizzard) and *dente de faca* (knife tooth). This question raised the highest percentage (14.5%) of informants who were unable to answer it.

The ALiB data have not yet been mapped, but we found that 54.4% of the ALiB-Bahia informants were unable to answer Question 99 (molars). Among the valid answers, we obtained: *dente do queixal/queixal* (“from que jaw”; jaw tooth) (21.2%), *dente queiro/queiro* (“from que jaw”) (7.8%), *molar* (7.8%); the less frequent ones

<sup>12</sup> Conf. Houaiss (2001), *colmilho* in Portuguese, from Spanish *colmillo* in the sense of ‘canine tooth’.

(*presa* (fang), *chato* (flat), *canino* (canine), *ocado* (“hollowed out”), *dente de trás* (back tooth)) add up to 8.8%. In Sergipe, there was also a very high rate of non-response (75%) and only 25% of *queixal* (“from que jaw”). Likewise, in Paraná-ALiB, the non-response rate was quite significant (49.3%). Among the valid answers: we registered *molar* (14.5%), *chato* (flat) (10.1%), *dente de trás* (back tooth) (7.3%), *queixal* (“from the jaw”) (5.8%), *dente grande* (large tooth) (2.9%), and others with only one record each: *colmilho* (fang), *siso* (wisdom), *mastigador* (chewer), *macelar*, *molecular*, *permanente* (permanent), *mandibular*, totaling (10.1%).

As a rule, for this particular issue, the polysemy used by informants in an attempt to name the teeth that are in the posterior part of the mandible seems to be more evident, whose function is clearer than the official nomenclature. In this way, *chato* (flat), *travesseiro* (pillow) and (*grande*) large relate to the shape of the molar teeth; *pilão* (pounder), (*moela*) gizzard<sup>13</sup>, *de faca* (knife) and *mastigador* (chewer), allude to the function of teeth; and *queixal*, *queiro* (“from the jaw”), *de trás* (back tooth), *do fundo* (back tooth), *macelar* (macellar), *molecular* e *mandibular*, referring to location. It is important to point out that we are considering *macellar* and *molecular* as forms related to the lexia *maxilar* (jaw).

The insertion of the lexia *molar*, even if it was registered only in the ALPR and in the data collected in Paraná by the ALiB, for comparison purposes, leads us to the same precepts already mentioned in the previous question, when dealing with the names for third molars. In both cases, the more urban environment of the national atlas does not seem to indicate an abrupt break with the rural lexicon collected in the state atlas.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

By way of conclusion, the data collated support the reflections in this article that can be added to other studies. The comparison of rural data recorded in the state atlas with those collected in the urban area by ALiB (unpublished *corpus*) allows the observation that there is similarity in the use of variants. As an example, we can mention that the names assigned to third molars have undergone little change, given that the prevalence of *queiro* (“from que jaw”), in Bahia and Sergipe, remains and the competition between *dente do sisso* and *dente do juízo* (wisdom teeth) in Paraná seems stable, with a slight increase in the rates of this last.

Based on graphs 1 and 2, prepared by Girardi (2008), we can attribute the recent insertion of the variant *canine* in the ALiB data to the vertiginous urbanization that took place from the 1980s to 2000s. This form, absent in the three state atlases, is represented in the ALiB data, in the three analyzed states, with rates of 16% (PR), 13% (BA) and 7% (SE).

The chronological distance that separates the *corpora*, collected in the 1960s for the APFB and ALS and the 1980s for the ALPR and in the early years of the current century for the ALiB, did not prove favorable to the adoption/change in the nomenclature, even with schooling required in the ALiB Project informant profile. The data coincide both for respondents with low or no schooling in the regional atlas and for those with schooling that, according to Mota (2014, p. 91), in order to adapt to the country’s educational landscape,

the lowest level of schooling was extended to the elementary course, which covers eight grades (currently nine) with preference for those who had not completed it and, in special cases, up to incomplete high school was admitted (up to 11 years of schooling) MOTA (2014, p. 91).

The variants for the molars (1st and 2nd) were only registered in the ALPR, absent, therefore, in the APFB and ALS. As for the ALiB data, what stands out most in the three states is the absence of responses: 75% in Sergipe, 54.4% in Bahia and 49.3% in Paraná. With low frequency, the following stand out: *queixal* (“from the jaw”), with 25% and 21.2%, in Sergipe and Bahia, respectively; *molar* (14.5%) and *chat* (flat) (10.1%), in Paraná.

<sup>13</sup> It consists of Ferreira (2004): gizzard. [from *grinding*]. S.f. Stomach grinder of birds, insects and some mollusks that grinds ingested food.

The nature of the studies in which the first three atlases were conceived and executed, as rural atlas, and ALiB, as urban, did not change the results. The data from both samples brought to the reflection of the rural X urban polarization seem to demonstrate that there are no clear boundaries that separate the rural from the urban, at least with regard to the denomination of the teeth. The spatial distribution of the data leans towards the rural continuum in areas officially recognized as urban.

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