

TYOLOGY OF LINGUISTIC ATLAS: proposed (re)categorization for the Brazilian context

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- **ABSTRACT:** The vast geospatial extension of Brazilian territory, combined with linguistic and social plurality, poses challenges to the creation of linguistic atlases, presenting a complex diversity for those who seek to describe the multiple facets of Portuguese and other languages through Geolinguistics. Since 1996, when the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil Project (ALiB) was launched, there has been a robust growth in the production of atlases, developed as theses or dissertations, made possible by a solid base of geolinguistic work. It is also notable that geolinguistics in Brazil has become an area of interest and no longer an auxiliary method of dialectology. Based on these observations and the growth in the production of linguistic atlases with different perspectives, the aim of this study is to propose a typological (re)classification that expands Alinei's (1994) proposal, aimed at European atlases, from four to eight categories: continental, language groups, national, regional, state, small domain/local, contact/frontier and historical-linguistic routes, according to the scope and purpose of these works. For this task, a bibliographic survey with a critical-descriptive objective was used methodologically, analyzing canonical and contemporary geolinguistic works, with an emphasis on productions from the Romance family.
- **KEYWORDS:** Geolinguistics; Linguistic atlases; (Re)classification of Brazilian linguistic atlases.

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Introductory notes

Geolinguistics has emerged in Brazil as an area of interest within dialectological studies, largely detaching itself from the secondary role it used to occupy as an auxiliary method of Dialectology, a transformation supported by the mobilization of the theoretical-methodological apparatus from various areas, such as Geography, Thematic Cartography, History, Anthropology and Computer Science. Thus, Geolinguistics has developed its own methods and instruments for collecting, selecting and organizing linguistic data (Romano, 2014), from the perspective of the interrelationship between language and space on the same unified and mainly diatopic cartographic plane.

With this in mind and based on the theoretical and practical observations made mainly in Brazil, it can be said that geolinguistics in the country has followed its own path, distancing itself from the model developed in European countries. This split originated, above all, from the observation that Brazil has geographical, historical and social specificities and, consequently, the creation of linguistic atlases must obey an internal, national and identity-based logic, to contemplate the history of the language itself.

For Romano (2020) and Silva and Romano (2022), geolinguistics gained more solid theoretical and methodological contours after the founding of the Brazilian Linguistic Atlas Project (ALiB), through the consolidation of a methodology based on on-site research, with semi-structured questionnaires and a cartographic proposal covering different nuances of Brazilian Portuguese. In addition to the national atlas, approximately six decades after the publication of the first state atlas, the Atlas Prévio dos Falares Baianos – APFB (Rossi *et al.*, 1963), currently almost the entire territory is covered by atlases of the federal units, in addition to a multitude of small-scale works that broaden the understanding of dialectal phenomena limited to small localities.

Another point worth reiterating is that geolinguistics primarily seeks diatopic variation, that is, the spatial distribution of linguistic variants (lexical, phonetic-phonological, and morphosyntactic) on the surface of a map, as provided by atlases. Social aspects and other dimensions, such as binary contrasts between the variables gender, age, and education, are derived, in the second instance, from this diatopic macro view. For this, cartography needs to be legible to the consultant, since, at first glance, the reader must be able to infer the distribution of dialectal forms captured by collection point (surveys) and, on second glance, deduce the variants by social group, for example. The problem with dialectal cartography is not the invention of signs for the interpretation of phenomena, since Thematic Cartography already includes all this apparatus (colors, layout, gradation), but rather how to use and arrange all this material so that the reader can interpret it (Thun, 2010, p. 1).

In view of the above and based on the systematic study of important compendia on dialectology and geolinguistics, especially on the Romance subfamily, as it appears in Pop (1950), Iordan (1962), Coseriu (1977), Chambers and Trudgill (1980), Wouk (1981) and Veny (1986); in addition to the reference works that deal specifically with

Brazilian Geolinguistics,¹ it was observed that it is not a tradition in Brazil to produce manuals or theoretical compendiums on dialectology and geolinguistic practice, since there is a more ‘pragmatic’ concern, linked mainly to the production of linguistic atlases or specific analyses of some item collected by these works.

In this sense, it is beneficial that, almost 150 years after the publication of the first atlas covering a nation, Georg Wenker’s *Sprachatlas* (1881), and more than six decades after the creation of the APFB (Rossi *et al.*, 1963), geolinguists are returning to the theoretical and methodological thinking that underpins the creation of linguistic atlases, particularly in the Brazilian context. To this end, the main objective of this text is to present a proposal for the typological (re)classification of atlases in terms of their scope and objectives.

The methodology adopted in this study is qualitative, with procedures carried out through a bibliographic survey, with a critical-descriptive objective, as it details the works and approaches of geolinguistics, with an emphasis on the Brazilian context. The study analyzes the methodologies and categories present in linguistic atlases, in addition to questioning these productions in light of the geographical, social, and historical specificities of Brazil. (Gerhardt; Silveira, 2009; Gil, 2017). Thus, it was necessary to revisit some of the foundations and knowledge crystallized in dialectology manuals, with a view to demonstrating the points of rupture between European and Brazilian geolinguistics, culminating, finally, in the reclassification proposal outlined here, based on linguistic atlases.

From traditional linguistic geography to modern geolinguistics: the consolidation of an area of interest

Geolinguistics (Pisani, 1940; Cardoso, 2010), formerly known as spatial linguistics (Bartoli, 1945) or linguistic geography, has as its primary intention the arrangement of variant forms on cartographic surfaces, demonstrating to the consultant, in the foreground, the diatopic distribution of the phenomenon, whether phonetic, lexical, or morphosyntactic. Because it originates from various branches of knowledge (geography and history, for example), it is multidisciplinary in nature, giving it the ability to incorporate different perspectives in the analysis of the relationship between language and space.

One of the foundations for geolinguistics is specifically centered on cartography, understood as a “set of scientific, technical and artistic studies and operations that [...] are aimed at the creation of maps, charts, and other forms of expression and representation of objects, elements, phenomena and physical and socioeconomic environments” (IBGE, 1999, p. 12). This science plays a fundamental role in understanding the spatial-territorial

¹ Brandão (1991), Ferreira and Cardoso (1994), Aguilera (1998, 2005), Isquierdo (2008), Cardoso (2010), Aguilera and Romano (2016) and Razky, Oliveira and Lima (2017).

environment, insofar as it communicates visually and in an intelligible way a situated and scaled reality of a territory or geographical area.

Within the categories that make up the cartographic branch, linguists are specifically concerned with the apparatus provided by thematic cartography, a subdivision responsible for drawing up contextual maps on different themes, both physical and social, using the references found in a cartographic database (IBGE, 2018, p. 29). The thematic map can be understood as an amalgam, with the first layer containing the information and physical references of the environment under analysis, a base map,² for example, and the other layers containing the physical and social information that is intended to be shown to the consultant/interlocutor.

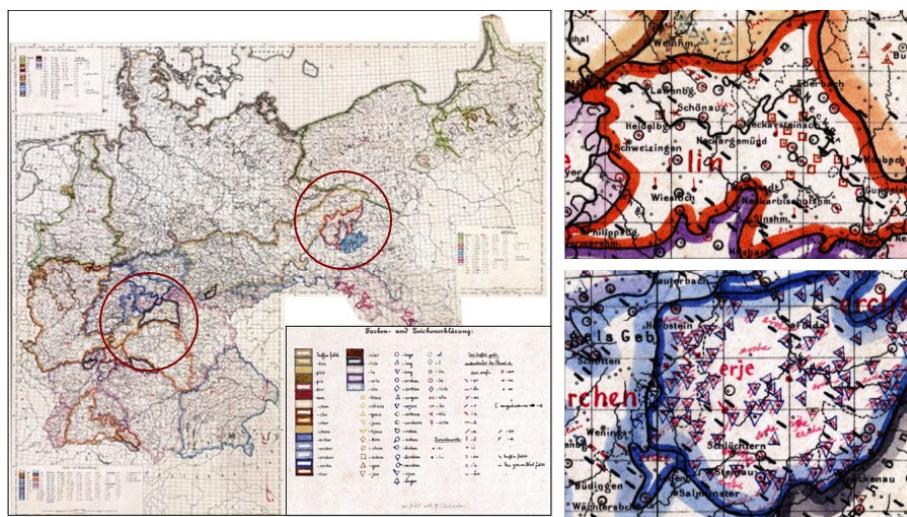
Historically, the first thematic map was produced in 1701 by Edmont Halley, entitled “Isogonic Map,” which shows the lines representing the earth’s magnetic variations (Lameli, 2010, p. 569). However, the first to use a cartographic basis to demonstrate languages and their phenomena, in other words, a thematic map with a linguistic content, was Gottfried Hensel, in 1741, containing the different renditions of the first stanza of the ‘Lord’s Prayer’ in Europe in 33 languages (Lameli, 2010), using light and dark colors, probably to demarcate a possible Hebrew origin of the languages, following the myth of the Tower of Babel. In the *marginalia* of the sheet, there is various pieces of information about the languages and their alphabets

Between the 18th and 19th centuries, there was a profusion of works focused on national languages in the European context covering a wide variety of topics, culminating in 1881 in the production and publication of Georg Wenker’s *Sprachatlas* and, in 1902, Jules Gilliéron’s *Atlas Linguistique de France* (ALF), two seminal works that laid the foundations for all geolinguistic work in the centuries to come (Teles, 2018).

Although Gilliéron is known as the ‘father of dialectology’ due to his systematic method of data collection, which was used in all major linguistic atlas projects after the ALF, Wenker’s atlas also brought undeniable advances to dialectal science. It is important to dismiss the idea of competition between Wenker and Gilliéron, which has been created and discussed throughout almost 150 years in the history of geolinguistics, since both used different collection techniques, but with similar results arranged in the form of maps (Lameli, 2010; Rabanus, 2011). In Wenker, for example, there is a very well-formulated and laid out cartography, a highly innovative resource for the time, including the use of colors, subdividing the isoglosses identified in German territory (Figure 1).

² Teles and Ribeiro (2006) point out that the so-called base map or base chart contains more concise information so that the final product doesn’t become confusing for the reader.

Figure 1 – Dialectal map created by Georg Wenker³ with isoglossic markings



Source: Adapted from: <https://regionalsprache.de/SprachGis/RasterMap/WA/381>

In 1876, Wenker began his project to collect dialectal data on German territory and, initially, the work consisted of sending a questionnaire made up of 40 sentences⁴ to teachers in locations in the north of the country. For each question, the respondents had to transcribe the sentences into the local dialect, meaning that the collection tool was predominantly focused on phonetics (Chambers; Trudgill, 1994; Wouk, 1981; Coseriu, 1982). Subsequently, the questionnaires were sent throughout the country; 45,000 of the 50,000 instruments sent out were received by Wenker.

While the number of questionnaires obtained is extraordinary, the volume of material generated becomes an obstacle to processing the results, as the researcher would presumably have to deal with approximately 1.8 million data items, with virtually no help from any of the tools currently in use. Given this scenario, Wenker chose to map only the locations in the north and center of the country and published two sets of hand-drawn maps entitled *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs* (SDR – *Linguistic Atlas of the German Empire*) (Chambers; Trudgill, 1994, p. 39-40).

Despite the few tools Wenker had available to create his atlas, the overall result of the cartography is very positive, being referenced by Rabanus (2011) as the most accurate geolinguistic mapping when compared to works from the late 20th century (linguistic atlases of German regional dialects, for example). Figure 1 shows the results

³ For more information on the atlas: <https://regionalsprache.de/wa.aspx>. Accessed on: July 4, 2023.

⁴ They can be consulted in full at: <https://wolfgang-naeser-marburg.lima-city.de/htm/wenker.htm>. Accessed on: July 4, 2023.

for variation from the question: “Behind our house there are three beautiful *apple trees* with red apples”⁵ (our translation), obtained through indirect research.

The cartographic bases used by Wenker had features that were very important for the time: two base maps were used, one containing a survey of the lands of the German Reich (scale 1:300,000) and another of Liebenow⁶ (1:1,000,000). The markings of the variant forms were delimited by means of isoglosses with distinctive colors, and the variants that deviated from this ‘regional norm’ were marked with symbols. As for the colors, up to 22 were used per map, a very audacious and insightful resource for the time, leading Chambers and Trudgill (1994, p. 40) point to the *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs* as the “first published linguistic atlas” and Lameli (2010, p. 575) considers it as the “[...] first real language atlas in the sense of a collection of phenomena based maps”, an opinion that is shared at a macro level in this work.

For Jules Gilliéron’s *Linguistic Atlas of France*, data was collected from 639⁷ localities by the surveyor Edmond Edmont in just four years, between 1896 and 1900. As Edmont completed his work in each locality, the collected material was sent to Gilliéron and the variants were promptly described on the surface of the maps, with the first volume being published just two years (1902) after the data collection was completed, i.e. almost simultaneously with the end of the fieldwork.

In addition to a very well-formulated methodology, the success of the ALF also stemmed from the steps taken after the publication of the work, promoted by two of Gilliéron’s students: Karl Jaberg and Jakob Jud, who later founded their own projects on Italian and Swiss dialects. After completing their work on the *Sprach-und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz* (1960) (*Linguistic and Ethnographic Atlas of Italy and Southern Switzerland*), Jud, together with Paul Sheurmeier, surveyor for the Italian-Swiss atlas, left for the United States to train the team of surveyors for the *Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada* (LANE). In other words, Gilliéron’s methodology was directly used in Romance and English-speaking contexts (Chambers; Trudgill, 1994, p. 41-42) and served as a reference point for future geolinguists, especially those in Italy, Spain, Romania, the United States and England (Kurath, 1972). It is in this sense that, in Brazil, it has become traditional to refer to the ALF as the first linguistic atlas to be completed, even though it was published two decades after the *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs* (SDR).

Another important movement towards the establishment of a diatopic, areal working methodology as a way of describing and organizing variants, and still little mentioned in Brazilian studies, is known as neolinguistics and has its roots in the work of Italian researcher Mateo Bartoli, a student of Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke who later perfected his skills at the French school of Gilliéron, from which he inherited a penchant for studies

⁵ In the original: “Hinter unserm Hause stehen drei schöne Apfelbäumchen mit rothen Aepfelchen. Available at: <https://wolfgang-naeser-marburg.lima-city.de/html/wenker.htm>. Accessed on: July 4, 2023

⁶ A former village that used to belong to Germany but is now part of Poland.

⁷ Woul (1981) points out that there were 37,000 localities in France at the time.

focused on the field of spatial linguistics, specifically Romance languages (De Mauro, 1964).

In addition, the Italian schools were present in the linguistic turmoil of the 19th and 20th centuries, producing many important works and researchers in the context of the formation of the foundations of linguistics, dialectology and geolinguistics.⁸ Graziadio Isaia Ascoli (1829-1907), for example, disseminated works on Italian dialects,⁹ as well as studies on Romance languages; he is considered by Iordan (1962) to be the father of 'Italian dialectology' and is cited by Castilho (1963, p. 105) as being responsible for the creation of dialectal science. He also actively participated in the debate on the unification of Italian languages, dialectal languages, as well as being the author of philological theories, such as the linguistic substrate being responsible for linguistic change, a more historicist inclination, since he was also affiliated with historical-comparative precepts.

The works of Wenker, Gilliéron and Bartoli (1982) consolidated the importance and methodology of geolinguistics, the foundations of which were laid for the projects and execution of other linguistic atlases in European and American contexts. To name a few: in Italy (Jaberg-Jud 1928-1940), Romania (Puscariu-Pop-Petrovici 1938 ff.), Corsica (Bottiglioni 1933-1942), New England (Kurath-Bloch-Lowman 1939-1943), French-speaking Belgium (Remacle-Legros 1953 ff.), German-speaking Switzerland (Hotzenköcherle 1962 ff.) (Castilho, 1963, p. 107; Kurath, 1972).

The effervescence of European dialect studies also reached Brazil in the first half of the 20th century, leading language researchers to call for the creation of a national linguistic atlas, following the example of other countries. This interest in mapping speakers in the form of an atlas, in addition to the linguistic criterion, is also directly related to issues linked to the historical-political-social moment in the country and the world. Social and identity issues associated with language gained prominence and were widely debated in the many conferences that took place in the first half of the century.

For example, Silva Neto (1950), in a conference at the *Ist. Colloquium Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros*, in Washington, indicates the urgency of preparing a *Linguistic-Ethnographic Atlas of Portugal and the Islands* so that Brazilian researchers could fill in gaps about Brazilian Portuguese (Cardoso; Mota, 2012). The urgency highlighted by Silva Neto (1950) marks a moment of duality in the linguistic scenario: on the one hand, there is a search for a language standard, associated with the Portuguese origins, while on the other hand, there is an urgent need to describe the Portuguese language spoken in Brazil, a variety that reflects the country's national identity (Amaral, 2019, p. 419), a context that was reinforced in the years to come.

⁸ To cite a few examples: Graziadio Ascoli, mentioned in this text; Matteo Bartoli, with the work *Introduzione alla neolinguistica: principi, scopi, metodi* (1925); Clemente Merlo, who founded the journal *L'Italia dialettale* (1925); Vittore Pisani, with the work *Geolinguistica e Indo-Europeo* (1940); and, finally, Corrado Grassi, with *Elementi di dialettologia italiana* (1982).

⁹ Ascoli's bibliography includes: *La pasitelegrafia*, Trieste, Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco (1851); *Del nesso ario-semitico. Lettera al professore Adalberto Kuhn di Berlino* (1864); *Del nesso ario-semitico. Lettera seconda al professore Francesco Bopp* (1864); and *Studi ario-semitici*, Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo (1867).

Despite their efforts and the spread of geolinguistic studies in other countries, researchers realized that creating a Brazilian atlas would not be feasible at that time, especially given Brazil's territorial dimensions and the difficulty of moving around the country in the second half of the 20th century. Faced with this profuse context, dialectologists started a regionalization movement to create linguistic atlases by region, a view even defended by Antenor Nascentes, indicated in his *Bases para a Elaboração do Atlas Linguístico do Brasil* (1958), and shared by other dialectologists

Based on these new guidelines, Nelson Rossi¹⁰ *et al.* (1963) completed the first linguistic atlas of a Brazilian state: the *Atlas prévio dos falares baianos* (APFB), which began the development and execution of many other atlases by federal unit or small domain, until finally, in 1996, the *Atlas Linguístico do Brasil Project* (ALiB) was launched, whose general objective is to record, map and analyze the linguistic diversity of Brazilian Portuguese

The historiographical thread that has been traversed so far shows that the theoretical and methodological bases of Geolinguistics as it is known today were nuclearized mainly in Wenker and Gilliéron, but in the Brazilian context, it began with the particularization of dialectal phenomena in fractionated areas, with regional atlases appearing due to the awareness that, at that time, the execution of such a grandiose work would be unfeasible for various reasons, so a movement of 'regionalization' of Geolinguistics began, with the first atlas published in the state of Bahia in 1963.

The Brazilian dialectal panorama has always been a challenge for language scholars, due to many factors, including the country's very diverse historical and social context, territorial distances, linguistic amalgamations - indigenous languages, quilombolas, riverside languages, in short, a challenging diversity for those who set out to describe the many faces of Portuguese and the other languages present here. In this sense, the study of variation and its methods of analysis needed to be restructured to adapt to the multifaceted reality, with significant contributions to its development, starting with the ALiB Project (1996) and the new directions provided by Pluridimensional, Contactual and Relational Dialectology, coined by Radke and Thun (1996) and Thun (1998).

The ALiB Project, according to Romano (2013), has contributed to the exponential increase in language atlases (state or small domain), as it lays the foundations for questionnaire preparation, informant profiles, guidelines for the composition of the network of points, among many other issues. It also inaugurated a new phase in geolinguistic studies, including, in addition to diatopy, a concern with *inter-individual* aspects, encompassing the diatopic, diastratic, diagenational and diasexual

¹⁰ Specifically with regard to Nelson Rossi, the historicity of this researcher demonstrates his importance for linguistic studies in Brazil. After preparing the APFB, the researcher was invited to discuss Brazilian cultured Portuguese at the IV Symposium of the Inter-American Program on Linguistics and Language Teaching (PILEI) and "he considered that studying only the language of Rio de Janeiro would not give a complete picture of Brazilian cultured Portuguese, and he explained his ideas about Brazilian cultural polycentrism. As a result, he proposed that the project be carried out in five Brazilian cities with at least one million inhabitants" (<https://nurc.fliich.usp.br/o-nurc-brasil-origens>), in other words, Rossi helped lay the foundations for the Urban Cultured Norm Macroproject (NURC).

perspectives, and *intra-individual* aspects, with the diaphasic, contactual/dialingual and diarreferential parameters (Figueiredo, 2014, p. 45; Silva, 2018, p. 53).

The Project in question, in the form of its National Committee, has formed what Lameli (2010, p. 568) calls “chains of strong connections”, understood as a type of tradition linked to the ideological and methodological guidelines of the researchers and the Project: “[...] there are chains of strong (mostly) personal connections that constitute lineages of tradition of which linguists are not always fully aware”¹¹ (Lameli, 2010, p. 568). In other words, researchers linked to the macro-project give rise to other atlas projects and work orientations of the same nature (dissertations, theses), thus generating a chain of theoretical-academic training based on the foundations established by the Project.

Romano (2020) lists the existence of 63 linguistic atlases, including state and small domain ones. Of these, there are: 29 master’s dissertations, 25 doctoral theses, six specialization monographs, one post-doctoral project, one undergraduate course completion work and one represents a scientific initiation project (Romano, 2020, p. 20).

Thus, in the Brazilian context, the profile of language atlases shows the following preferences: i) they are usually developed in thesis and dissertation formats; ii) they fully or partially adopt the ALiB Project questionnaire; iii) they choose to describe areas with a smaller circumscription; iv) they systematically collect phonetic, morphosyntactic and, lately, pragmatic/discursive aspects; v) they are more inclined to map lexical aspects; and vi) they use colors on the dialect map to make it easier for the reader to understand. It is from observing this distinct profile of European atlases that the urgent need arises for a (re)classification of the types of language atlases produced in Brazil in terms of their scope and specificity, as will be detailed in the next topic.

The geolinguistic typology based on Alinei (1994): a (re)classification proposal for Brazilian linguistic atlases

In the Dialectology textbooks¹², there are few didactic references to the classification of language atlases in terms of their objectives and spatial scope; commonly, the works indicate as ‘national atlases’ those circumscribed to a political and territorial area, corresponding to the borders of a country, while the other types of atlases are categorized under the heading “regional”, regardless of their scope. This lack of a more precise definition/categorization may be associated with the very contextual reality of each country, since individual nations have their own administrative organization, the subdivisions of which can be states, provinces, regions or departments, an organizational and structural relationship linked to the history, culture and political system of each

¹¹ In the original: “All together, it will be shown that there are chains of strong (mostly) personal connections which constitute lineages of tradition of which linguists are not always fully aware” (Lameli, 2010, p. 568).

¹² Sever Pop (1950); Chambers and Trudgill (1984 [1980]); Wouk (1981); Iordan (1962); Veny (1986).

territory. In this sense, the absence of a more precise indication and delimitation of the scope of linguistic atlases in manuals and articles on Geolinguistics may indicate a ‘neutrality’ on the part of the researcher when referring to and describing the work of others (linguistic atlases), without necessarily understanding the territorial and administrative context in which the work was conceived and executed.

Alinei (1994) was responsible for consolidating a technical-scientific terminology for classifying linguistic atlases, especially European ones, possibly motivated by the scale of the *Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula* and its extensive network of points (529 locations), covering the three Ibero-Romance peninsular languages: Portuguese, Spanish and Catalan.

In order to carry out an atlas properly speaking, the researcher must follow a few steps to define the reality they intend to investigate and formulate the objectives for this endeavor. Still in the process of defining the project, some questions must be answered about the scope of the work: whether the intention will be to describe the variations in a small locality or whether the atlas will cover a wider area, whether it will include bilingual, plurilingual and border realities in its collection. Finally, the formulation of the research objectives will define the spatial circumscription of the work and its consequent typology. Typology’ is understood here as the ordering of linguistic atlases based on their common and distinctive characteristics, in this case, their area of coverage as a geolinguistic work with a specific purpose.

Alinei (1994) indicates that there are four categories for linguistic atlases, depending on the objectives of the work and the methodological focus of the dialectal work: i) continental linguistic atlases, ii) language groups, iii) national and iv) regional (Alinei, 1994, p. 21). For didactic purposes, we have chosen to present the atlas from the largest to the smallest.

The ‘continental linguistic atlases’ are responsible for covering one or more of the Earth’s six continents and including in their collection the various languages that make up this complex and multicultural landscape. Given the breadth of this type of work, they are usually designed as inter-institutional projects, as they require the participation of many researchers from different research centers to cover the entire network and as many languages as possible. The only macro-atlas of this magnitude published to date is the *Atlas Linguarum Europae* (ALE)¹³, with a dense network of points made up of 2,631 localities, covering 22 language groups from six language families (Altaic, Basque, Indo-European, Caucasian, Semitic and Uralic).¹⁴

¹³ Cardoso (2002, p. 4), based on the words of Contini (1994, p. 98), points out that ALE was “[...] the birth of the biggest geolinguistics project ever undertaken”. In the original: “[...] la naissance du plus gran projet de géolinguistique jamais entrepris”.

¹⁴ The surveys in 54 locations in the Portuguese area were carried out by the *Dialectology Study Group* of the Linguistics Center of the University of Lisbon. Available at: <https://www.clul.ulisboa.pt/projeto/ale-atlas-linguarum-europae>. Accessed on: July 21, 2023.

ALE is the first continental linguistic atlas, whose borders are neither political nor linguistic, **but merely geographical**. The choice of continent stems from the fact that the linguistic situation in Europe is complex [...] The heterogeneous material was collected in 2631 locations, from Iceland to the Ural Mountains. ALE members belong to 47 national committees, to which 4 committees for minority languages have been added (Atlas Linguarum Europae¹⁵ [s.a] [s.p], emphasis added).

Within the groups indicated, 90 languages were included, leading this atlas to exceed the ‘continental’ classification and to fall jointly into the ‘language group’ category (Silva, Romano, 2022, p. 19), as it includes 22 language groups in its collection, making it the largest atlas ever produced. From the macro-view provided by the ALE on language families and groups, another substantial importance arises: the need to describe in greater detail the dynamics of the language groups that were highlighted in the continental atlas (Cardoso, 2002), the objective of the next group of atlases.

According to the typology indicated by Alinei (1994), linguistic atlases are classified as: ii) group of languages; these are those that include in their collection and cartographic surface the set of languages with a common ancestry, established based on phylogenetic classification. On a more Cartesian level, the allusion to the term *group* could lead to a somewhat dubious interpretation of what the context of this atlas would be, especially if we consider the theoretical precepts of the Historical-Comparative school and the differences established by this strand regarding the differentiation between ‘family’ and ‘group’.

A broader context for what these language groups can be found in Dubois *et al.* (1973, p. 266, emphasis added), when they state that the “[...] term *group* applies indifferently to a group of families, to a family, to a group of branches of the same family, to a group of languages of the same branch”. From this perception, it can be inferred that the context described by Alinei (1994) does not specify the scale and level of linguistic kinship, commonly linked to the concepts of *families* as larger sets of languages and *groups* as subdivisions within families.

An important example of geolinguistic work included in the ‘language groups’ category is the *Atlas Linguistique Roman* (ALiR), the purpose of which was to carry out a comparative analysis of the languages that make up the Romance family, based on the material obtained from national/regional linguistic atlases that have been published or are in progress. The network of 1,036 points includes the following languages: Portuguese, Galician, Spanish, Catalan, French, Walloon, Swiss, Italian, Romanian and Moldavian (Contini; Tuailon, 1996). According to information from the Portuguese Committee (2019), this atlas uses motivational interpretation, through interpretative analysis of data from linguistic atlases that have already been published.¹⁶

¹⁵ Available at: <http://www.lingv.ro/ALE.html>. Accessed on: August 4, 2023.

¹⁶ Information available at: <https://www.clul.ulisboa.pt/projeto/alir-atlas-linguistique-roman>. Accessed on: Aug. 3, 2023.

Another example of an atlas project considered to be a language group is the *Atlas Lingüístico de Hispanoamérica* (ALiH), designed by Manuel Alvar (1984), with the aim of collecting data in the Spanish domains spread across Europe and the Americas. The questionnaire designed by the author has 1,415 phonetic, lexical and morphosyntactic questions. According to Moreno Fernández (2005, p. 16), publications began with the volume dedicated to the South of the United States (2000), followed by the Dominican Republic, the three volumes for Venezuela, Paraguay and, according to him, those for Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay and Chile are currently being published.

The project described by Alvar in 1984 indicates approximately 600 survey locations, spread over 21 countries, but the author points out that this quantitative could be altered depending on the team in charge of the regional collections. The countries with the number of interview points indicated by the author are: Brazil (100), Argentina (75), Mexico (75), Colombia (50), Venezuela (50), Chile (30), Bolivia (25), Cuba (20), Ecuador (20), Peru (50), Uruguay (10), Paraguay (10), Puerto Rico (10), United States (10), Santo Domingo (10), Honduras (5), Guatemala (5), Nicaragua (5), El Salvador (5) and Costa Rica (5) (Alvar, 1984, p. 64).

Although there isn't much information about the progress of the next volumes or their publication (the last information found is from 2005), the *Linguistic Atlas of Hispanoamerica* (ALiH) includes varieties of the same language, Spanish, spread over 21 countries, which also gives the project a continental dimension.

The next classification provided by Alinei (1994) concerns atlases that cover the political-territorial boundaries of a country, the so-called 'national linguistic atlases'. The aim of these atlases is to collect, analyze and provide a more general overview of the dialectal context of that nation and, for this reason, their network of points is more sparse, as well as their linguistic questionnaire is broader, in order to take into account the many dialectal nuances of a plurivarietal territory, even if it is of the same language modality (Cardoso, 2002; Silva; Romano, 2022, p. 20).

For example, the National Committee of the *Linguistic Atlas of Brazil* Project (ALiB) established the number of 250 collection points, based on a questionnaire with 435 questions, an adequate number for the scope of a Brazilian atlas, given that the territory is extremely large. In addition, Brazil is a remarkably diverse country in terms of language and culture, and it is practically impossible to include all these nuances in a single national atlas. Still in this sense, this geolinguistic work is more comprehensive in nature, precisely so that other works can scrutinize the dialectal realities dealt with more sparsely in national atlases, a task carried out by state or small domain geolinguistic works (Silva; Romano, 2022), according to the classification that will be presented.

The coexistence of several atlases of the same geographical area does not imply the exclusion or diminished importance of any one of them. On the contrary, each work complements the others, functioning as a 'magnifying glass' that expands dialectal realities, making them more detailed. Each of the works is designed to examine important contexts in depth, sometimes not identified by atlases with a more rarefied network of points (Alinei, 1994; Cardoso, 2002). As an example of the aspects

mentioned, there are three linguistic atlases covering the western territory of the Iberian Peninsula, encompassing Portugal and Galicia¹⁷ : *Atlas Linguarum Europae* (ALE), the *Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula* (ALPI), and the *Linguistic-Ethnographic Atlas of Portugal and Galicia* (ALEPG). The first, for example, covers 2,631 localities, the second 529 and the third 212. Each of these atlases has specific objectives, depending on its scope. Table 1 illustrates the approximate territorial extent covered by these atlases; b) the population; and c) the number of interview points in each atlas.

Table1 – Correlation between the distribution of points and the territorial extension/population of the territories

Linguistic atlases	a) Approximate territorial extent	b)Approximate population (millions)	c) number of survey points	Correlation between a and c
<i>Atlas Linguarum Europae</i> (ALE)	10,530,000 km²	746	2631	4,002 km²
<i>Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula</i> (ALPI)	583,254 km²	60	529	1,102 km²
<i>Linguistic-Ethnographic Atlas of Portugal and Galicia</i> (ALEPG)	89,500 km²	20	212	422 km²

Source: elaborated by the authors

Using the formula provided by Giraldo (1987, p. 91)¹⁸ , the territorial extension, divided by the number of interview points, provides the correlation between the area covered by the atlases and the number of interview points covered by the work. Table 1 shows that the first and most comprehensive, the continental ALE, has the largest network of points, consistent with the territorial extent investigated. However, the correlation between the area and the network of points shows that there is an equidistance of 4,000 km between one collection point and another. In the ALPI, an intermediate atlas, the ratio is one location surveyed every 1,102 km. And finally, the least comprehensive atlas, ALEPG, has a more robust density, with one survey point every 422 km. In other words, the simultaneity of geolinguistic work in the same area details the dialectal realities, in this case, of Portugal and Galicia, leading researchers to a more efficient particularization of the variational surface.

The last categorization of atlases proposed by Alinei (1994) encompasses works under the label of ‘regional linguistic atlases’ and this classification would include all atlases considered smaller than the ‘national’ ones. As mentioned, it can be deduced

¹⁷ Territories that share many historical, social and linguistic similarities.
¹⁸ There is also a correlation between the area covered and the number of points in Lameli (2010).

that the author used this nomenclature in view of the political-administrative reality of each country, especially in the European context (state, region, districts, domains, etc.), which would make a more restrictive title impossible. Although this classification is considered appropriate to the European context of the time and the spatial and administrative delimitations of the countries, it does not meet the specificities of Brazil or the current stage of consolidation of Geolinguistics.

Cardoso (2002) points out that the emergence of smaller atlases resulted from the realization that national atlases, given their methodological characteristics, failed to record important linguistic heritage restricted to small areas, which could only be observed through a linguistic atlas focusing on smaller spaces. As a result of this movement with a centripetal tendency, i.e. a detailed look aimed at internalizing dialectal particularities, the ‘regional atlases’ named by Alinei (1994).

Alvar (1973) points out that it was Karl Jaberg (1955) who pioneered the existence of basically two types of atlases: ‘large domain’ and ‘small domain’ atlases, an attribution granted in view of the growing number of linguistic atlases in the European context. Alvar (1973, p. 113; 117-118), in agreement with Jaberg’s bipartition, defends the existence of ‘national atlases’ and ‘regional atlases’, the former being responsible for dialect coverage in complete national linguistic domains, while the regional atlases cover smaller realities.

Veny (1986, p. 76) cites examples of ‘regional atlases’, but without identifying what is meant by “regional”. On the website of the *Research Center for Romance Linguistics* at the University of Oxford, there is a list of published Romance language atlases and they are grouped into ‘general’ and “regional” (University of Oxford, 2016, n.p.). In other words, given the European context, the typological definition of atlases is basically restricted to the two types. As for the objectives of both atlases, Castañer’s (1991, p. 328, our translation¹⁹) comments are timely:

A national atlas should look for the most common lexicon, but cannot go as far as the specialized one; on an even more general level, plurilingual atlases should be included, which allow a term to be related to its counterparts in other languages. The regional atlas, on the other hand, offers a denser grid and must delve into the specific lexicon, as well as providing in-depth knowledge of the area being studied.

For the Brazilian context, a “national atlas” can be considered to aim for systematic collection in large areas, prioritizing the most widely representative features of the language. On the other hand, the so-called “regional” atlases focus on relatively smaller geographical areas, where the network of collection points is denser, allowing for the

¹⁹ In the original: “A national atlas should look for the most common lexicon, but it cannot reach the specialized one; on an even more general level, there should be plurilingual atlases, which make it possible to relate a term to those that correspond in other languages. A regional atlas, on the other hand, offers a denser picture and must delve into the specific lexicon, as well as allowing in-depth knowledge of the area being studied” (Castañer, 1991, p. 328).

identification of local singularities (Silva; Romano, 2022). Furthermore, it is important for the questionnaires in both atlases to be in dialogue, “because it is just as interesting for the small atlas not to lose contact with the research of the large domains, as it is for the large atlas and, in general, for linguistics, to be able to examine the problems of the large domains at the regional and local level [...]” (Jaberg, 1954-1955, p. 69 *apud* Contini; Tuaillon, 1996, p. 231).²⁰

Typological classification of Brazilian linguistic atlases

Still on the subject of the ‘national’ and “regional” atlas labels indicated by Alinei (1994), in the Brazilian context this understanding is hampered, since there are two positions for the word “regional”: (a) in the local sense, circumscribed to a small reality and (b) territory whose extension is determined by an administrative or economic unit, either by the similarity of relief, climate, vegetation, or by the common origin of the peoples who inhabit it (Houaiss, 2001), the Brazilian political-administrative definition that divides the country into five macro-regions - North, Northeast, Midwest, Southeast and South. Each of these is made up of federal states. For example, the Northern Region covers an area of approximately 3,870,000 km², comprising seven states – Acre, Amapá, Amazonas, Pará, Rondônia, Roraima and Tocantins – and each of the states that make up the regional macro-area could easily be equated to the size of a European country.

The areal hierarchization of linguistic atlases proposed by Alinei (1994) is considered appropriate in the context of Eurocentric states and is more general in nature, precisely to cover different proposals for atlases that cover multiple dialectal surfaces. However, for the reality of Brazilian geolinguistic studies in full development, especially after 1996, with the creation of the ALiB Project and the conception of solid theoretical-methodological bases, it seems appropriate to formulate a (re)classification of atlases considering the Brazilian administrative division and the socio-dialectal specificities of this macro space. Nonetheless, what can be observed in the world’s geolinguistic tradition is that there is an increasingly evident split between Brazilian geolinguistics and the atlas models produced in Europe, a disintegration resulting from Brazil’s socio-contextual specificities and the need for dialectal studies to provide photographs of this very diverse political, social and linguistic reality.

Thus, using Alinei’s (1994) proposal as a basis, the range of linguistic atlases was expanded to eight, namely: i) continental; ii) language groups; iii) national; iv) regional; v) state; vi) small domain/local; vii) contact/border; and viii) historical-linguistic routes (i and ii being currently applied to the European context and iii to viii to the Brazilian

²⁰ In the original: “The large atlas should record what is common to large linguistic areas, the regional atlas what is special to small areas. However, this does not prevent us from designing a prudent organization between the questionnaires of the two classes of atlas; because it is just as important for the small atlas not to lose contact with the research of the large domains, as it is for the large atlas, and in general for linguistics, to be able to examine the problems of the large domains in the regional and local sphere [...]” (Jaberg, 1954-1955, p. 69 *apud* Contini; Tuaillon, 1996, p. 231).

context)²¹. To the Italian author’s first proposal, the political-administrative specificities of Brazil were added, especially in relation to the terminology “regional”. The proposal can be summarized in the typological framework for atlases, shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2 – Typological classification proposal for language atlases in the Brazilian context



Source: elaborated by the authors

Based on the typological proposal, continental atlases and atlases of language groups currently apply to the European context, since there are no atlases of this type in South America. Next, under the label of ‘national atlases’, the Brazilian representative is the *Linguistic Atlas of Brazil*, a project responsible for geolinguistically covering the country’s political-territorial boundaries. The first three volumes published deal with the data collected in the state capitals, whose cartography offers a macro-view of the country’s dialectal behavior, in a broad way, which is the objective of a ‘national linguistic atlas’.

²¹ Based on the growing number of works aimed at describing the Brazilian Sign Language (Libras), there have been discussions about making linguistic atlases involving this language. Their purpose is to map and document the linguistic and cultural variations of Libras used by the deaf community in Brazil, which involve the use of spoken words, written words or words expressed in a visual-gestural-spatial way. In this sense, in the future these atlases may fall into a new category, ‘sign language atlases’. Possibly, the cartography of these geolinguistic works will find greater support in technologies that allow an interface between the dialectal map, the diatopic, and the visual-gestural form of the variants, using the QR code, for example. A relevant proposal for sign atlas was presented by Costa, Mota and Razky (2023), specifically with phraseologisms arising from the question: What do you call a person who ‘talks too much’, in Brazilian Sign Language (Libras). Also under development and associated with the PDPG - Affirmative Policies, is the macro-project “Deaf Epistemology and Diversity: valuing Libras, Literature and Deaf Culture”. Within this context, there is the initiative to create the *Linguistic Atlas of Libras* (Ludwig; Silva; Romano; Carneiro, 2023), which will launch, among other objectives, a specific cartography proposal for Libras.

Following the typological proposal, ‘regional atlases’ are those that cover a complete administrative region, as considered by the IBGE. The *Atlas Linguístico-Etnográfico da Região Sul* - ALERS (Koch; Klassmann; Altenhofen, 2002) is the only Brazilian representative of this type of atlas, covering the three states of the Southern Region: Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul.

The ‘state atlases’ cover one of the 27 federal units. Commonly, the network of points in these works, like continental atlases and language group atlases, are sparser in order to cover a wider area and reveal as many phonetic, lexical, morphosyntactic and discursive nuances as possible. Romano (2020, p. 16) described the existence of 14 state linguistic atlases and another eight in progress. The author points out that, at the same time as these works are being carried out, there has been an increase in the number of smaller atlases, usually developed in the form of dissertations or theses, often linked to members of the ALiB Scientific Committee.

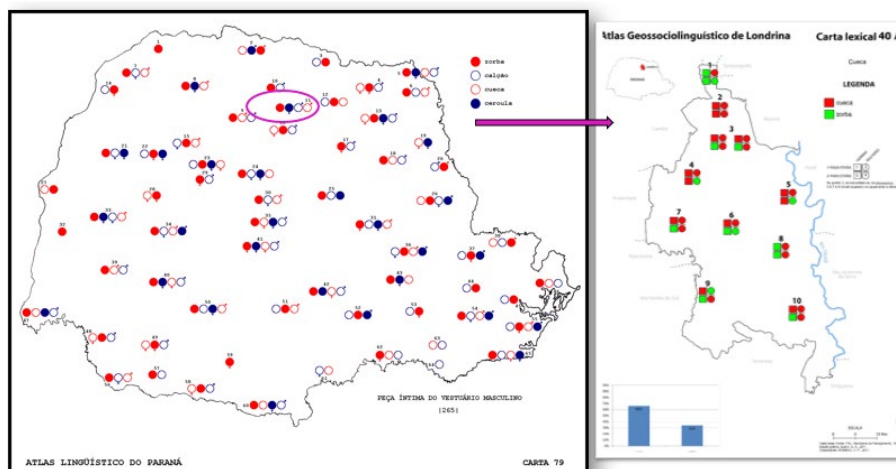
On the other hand, ‘small domain atlases’ aim to specifically map smaller areas, making it possible to collect, analyze and describe dialectal nuances confined to certain territories. Using a nomenclature from optics and photometry, these linguistic atlases function as a kind of ‘zooming’, serving to enlarge and improve the visualization of details not provided by larger linguistic atlases. To this end, they usually have a denser network of points, with less equidistance between the collection points; the linguistic questionnaire is also adapted to the local reality.

For example, the national *Linguistic Atlas of Brazil* included two locations in the state of Tocantins (northern region): Natividade and Pedro Afonso, totaling eight informants. The state work *Atlas Linguístico Topodinâmico e Topoestático do Tocantins* – ALiTTETO (Silva, 2018) expanded the network of points to 12 points, adding up to 96 informants, since its objective is more specific and detailed than a national atlas like ALiB; ALiTTETO’s questionnaire was based on ALiB’s, as was the profile of the informants, so that the state work dialogues with the national one. In the future, an atlas with a small domain in one of the points of Tocantins territory (town, community) will possibly be restricted to a less amplified area and have a denser network than the one used in ALiTTETO.

The aforementioned situation can also be exemplified by the *Atlas Linguístico do Paraná* – ALPR (Aguilera, 1994), a statewide work that investigated 65 locations, contrasting with the *Atlas Geossociolinguístico de Londrina* - AGeLo (Romano, 2010), dedicated to the specific geolinguistic analysis of the city in Paraná (small domain atlas) and undertaken almost two decades after the first (Figure 3).

Both charts present the forms collected for men’s underwear in which point 11, Londrina, mentions four forms in the ALPR: *zorba*, *ceroula*, *calção* and *cueca*, while in the atlas de pequeno domínio da cidade de Londrina (AGeLo) there are only two: *cueca* and *zorba*. In addition to the diatopic aspect, the detailing present in the small domain atlas also shows a dialectal change, with the *ceroula* and *calção* variants not being recorded, and the presence of *zorba* being more marked among men in the second age group.

Figure 3 – Example of the ALPR state atlas and AGeLo small domain atlas chart

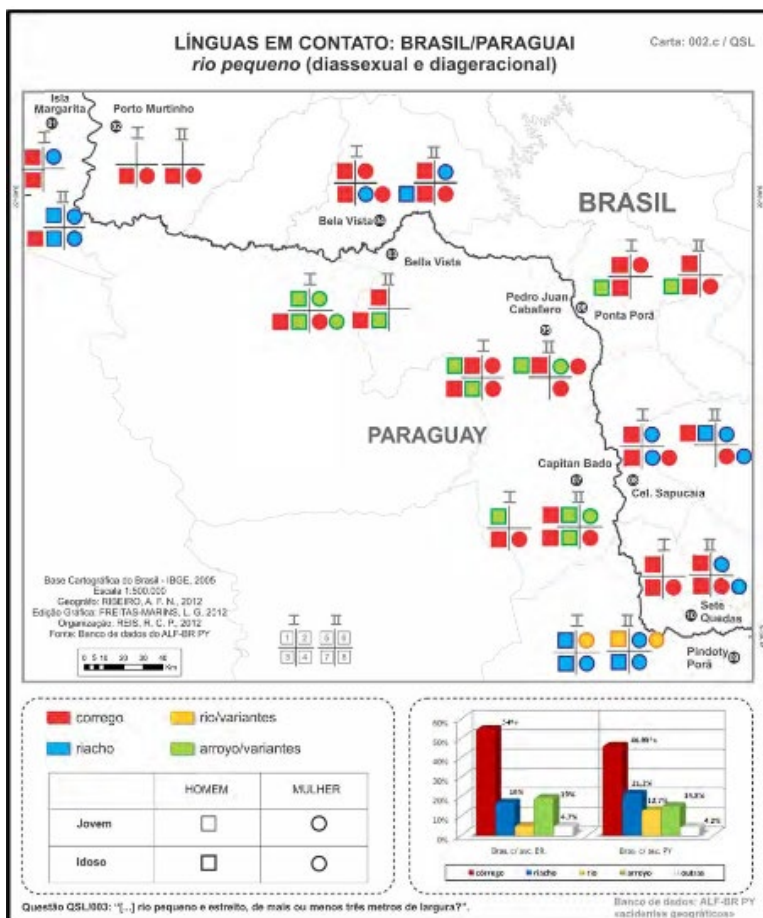


Source: Adapted from Aguilera (1994); Romano (2010)

The ‘contact/border’ atlases, in turn, directly contemplate the propositions imbued in the theoretical-methodological line of Pluridimensional, Contactual and Relational Geolinguistics, since they aim to collect and analyze contrasts between different language modalities, because as Thun (2010, p. 4) points out: “It seems hardly possible to analyze the actual linguistic situation in any country in Latin America (and other regions of the world) without taking language contact into account.”. This typology includes, for example, the *Atlas Linguístico-Contactual da Fronteira entre Brasil/Paraguai* (ALF – BR PY) (Reis, 2013), which is considered to be both border and contact, as it works with interview points in Brazilian and Paraguayan territory and, at the same time, collects and describes varieties linked to basically three languages: Portuguese, Spanish and Guaraní (Figure 4).

The cartography of the ALF BR PY highlights the distribution of the network of border points in the two countries. Specifically, this chart describes the variants for a small river, about two meters wide, whose variants are distributed in Portuguese (*córrego*, *riacho*, *rio*) and Spanish (*arroyo*). It is important to note that on the Paraguayan side there is the presence of the *córrego* form, possibly caused by dialectal contact with Brazil.

Figure 4 – Example of a chart from the contact/frontier atlas ALF – PR PY



Source: Reis (2006)

This category also includes the *Atlas geossociolinguístico quilombola do Nordeste do Pará* - AGUINPA (Dias, 2017), the *Atlas Linguístico Quilombola do Moxotó e Ipanema de Pernambuco* - ALQUIMPE (Sá, 2018) and the *Atlas Linguístico do Português em Áreas Indígenas* (ALiPAI) (Costa; Guedes; Razky, 2020). In the latter, the aim was to map the Portuguese language in contact with the languages spoken in four Indigenous Lands in Maranhão and Pará, seeking to ascertain the situation of bilingualism caused by contact between the two languages.

Furthermore, it should be added that ‘contact/border’ work has been a trend in the production of atlases, especially in the Northern Region, where there are different inter-varietal contacts: Portuguese with indigenous languages, Portuguese with modalities

originating from inter-regional migration, Portuguese with border languages (Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname and French Guiana) and modalities spoken in traditional, indigenous or quilombola communities (Silva; Romano, 2022, p. 12).

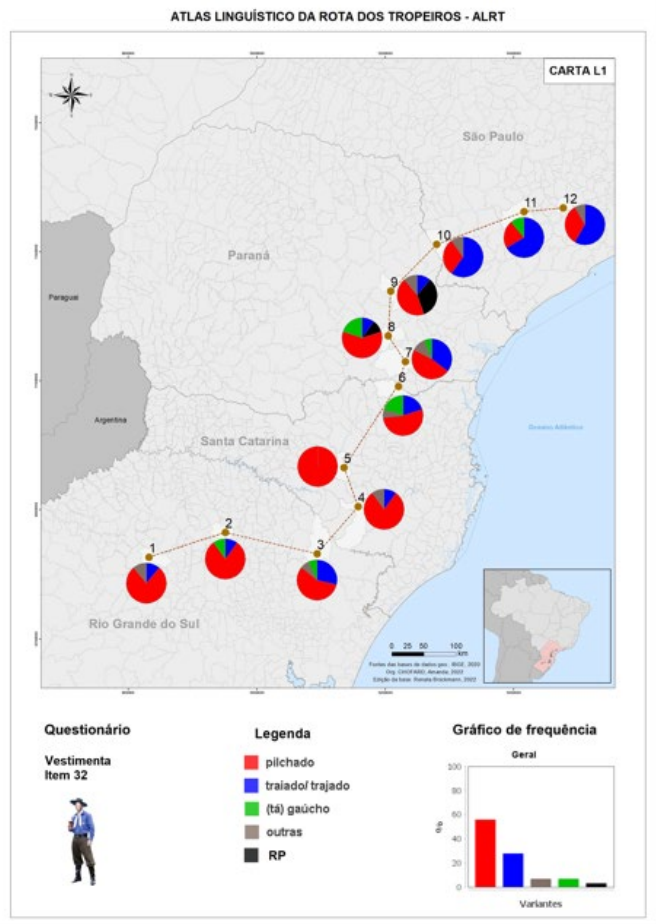
As you can see, the classifications proposed here consider the main criterion of the ‘area covered by the atlases’, i.e. the area in which the work is carried out, according to Brazil’s political-territorial criteria: national, regional, state and local. In addition to these atlases, another type of atlas that is not necessarily delimited by the territorial criterion is considered appropriate and salutary: that of ‘historical-linguistic routes’.

Atlases of historical-linguistic routes look at ancient trails, paths or zones that acted as important commercial, social or linguistic intermediaries in their time; they also refer to those concentrations or groupings of people that form around areas where some activity takes place. This type of atlas looks for the diatopia combined with the diachronic aspect of the language, since they offer a comprehensive view of the interactions between linguistic factors and historical events, contributing to an understanding of the routes along which the language has developed, spread and transformed over time.

The work of Cuba (2015), who undertook a linguistic atlas of the area that Nascentes (1953) once defined as lacking dialectal characteristics, can be included in the classification of atlases of historical-linguistic routes. The *Atlas Linguístico Topodinâmico do Território Incaracterístico* covered 11 locations, distributed among four federal states: Rondônia; Mato Grosso; Tocantins and Goiás – Pilar de Goiás. The *Atlas Linguístico Pluridimensional do Português Paulista: níveis semântico-lexical e fonético-fonológico do vernáculo da região do Médio Tietê* (Figueiredo Junior, 2018) is also an example of a constant production in this category. In it, a geolinguistic study was carried out in the inland region of São Paulo identified by Amadeu Amaral, in *Dialeto Caipira* (1920). In other words, the current study undertook an atlas of an area identified in past times as having a rural dialect, with a view to identifying the dialectal aspects of what is now known as Caipira Portuguese, an approach that incorporates the overlapping dialectal layers encompassed in more than 100 years of the region’s social and linguistic history.

An additional example to the classification of ‘atlases of historical-linguistic routes’ was, like the other two works mentioned above, outlined in a doctoral thesis: the *Atlas Linguístico da Rota dos Tropeiros* (ALRT) (Chofard, 2023), which was motivated by a historical-economic event, whose survey area represents the old trade route, which began in the 18th century, between the city of Cruz Alta, in Rio Grande do Sul, and Sorocaba, in São Paulo, corresponding to the Caminho da Vacaria dos Pinhais. Based on a multidimensional profile of the informants and the analysis of the data, the author indicates the coexistence of various linguistic levels, revealing the presence of [+RS] and [+SP] variants, resulting in an intervarectal contact between the South Rio Grande do Sul and São Paulo varieties in the linguistic area examined.

Figure 5 – Example of a chart from the ALRT historical-linguistic route atlas



Source: Chofard (2023)

From the cartography outlined by Chofard (2023), it is clear that the layout of the network of points overlaps one of the old Rota dos Tropeiros, which began at point 01, in the city of Cruz Alta-RS, and goes as far as the city of Sorocaba-SP, in São Paulo, at point 12. In addition, Chart L01 shows the variants for the typical costume, which includes leather pants or bombachas (wide pants), boots, scarf and hat, highlighting the ethnographic character that the questionnaires in this type of atlas can have.

Final considerations

After presenting and describing the eight categories of linguistic atlases, a few considerations are in order. This proposal was initially based on the fact that geolinguistics in Brazil has been treading its own path, especially since the second half of the 20th century, with the first state atlas (1963), providing the basis for the development of subsequent atlases, and culminating in the creation of the ALiB Project (1996), which defined guidelines for the preparation of atlases in the national territory. In this sense, and after a few decades, there has been a considerable profusion of linguistic atlases in Brazil covering different domains and with different perspectives, commonly described only as ‘regional atlases’, a very broad and non-specific definition in the Brazilian scenario.

It should be added that all language atlases, regardless of their scope, have their own unique importance, since they are interconnected and interdependent, working on many fronts to describe Brazilian dialectal veins. It should be reiterated that the proposal outlined for a typological (re)classification of linguistic atlases into eight types aims to provide Brazilian geolinguists with a nomenclature that reflects the country’s geolinguistic context. To this end, the proposal by Alinei (1994) was expanded to include eight types of language atlas: continental, language groups, national, regional, state, small domain/local, contact/border and historical-linguistic routes.

Of these, it is worth noting that the first seven have as their perspective the Brazilian political and spatial scope, according to the official nomenclature (IBGE), which underlies the understanding of the national, regional and local context. Next, the ‘atlases of historical-linguistic routes’ aim to describe the linguistic nuances of ancient routes, commercial and social circumscriptions that can or do present distinct aspects in dialectal terms: routes from past centuries, dialectal areas indicated by linguists, trading posts, mining sites, in short, atlases that aim to ascertain the behavior of the language in its diatopic and diachronic use.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the intention outlined in this context was to present a proposal more in line with the methods and procedures for preparing linguistic atlases in the country, also considering the directions of Geolinguistics on Brazilian soil, with a view to demonstrating the importance of these works that act in an interconnected and systemic way, in favor of a common goal: the description of linguistic diversity in its many and diverse spaces.

SILVA, Greize Alves da; ROMANO, Valter Pereira. Tipologia dos Atlas Linguísticos: proposta de (re)categorização para o contexto brasileiro. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v. 69, 2025.

- RESUMO: A vasta extensão geoespacial do território brasileiro, combinada com a pluralidade linguística e social, impõe desafios à criação de atlas linguísticos, apresentando uma diversidade complexa para aqueles que buscam descrever as múltiplas facetas do português e das demais

línguas, por meio da Geolinguística. Após 1996, ano de lançamento do Projeto Atlas Linguístico do Brasil (ALiB), observa-se um crescimento robusto na feitura de atlas, desenvolvidos como teses ou dissertações, possibilitado a partir de uma base sólida de trabalho geolinguístico. Ademais, é notável também que a Geolinguística no Brasil tem tomado contornos de área de interesse, e não mais como um método auxiliar da Dialectologia. A partir desses apontamentos e do crescimento da produção de atlas linguísticos com diferentes perspectivas, o objetivo deste estudo é propor uma (re)classificação tipológica que amplia a proposta de Alinei (1994), voltada aos atlas europeus, de quatro para oito categorias: continentais, grupos de línguas, nacionais, regionais, estaduais, de pequeno domínio/locais, contatuais/fronteiriços e de rotas histórico-linguísticas, de acordo com o escopo e finalidade dessas obras. Para essa tarefa, utilizou-se, metodologicamente, levantamento bibliográfico com objetivo crítico-descritivo, analisando obras geolinguísticas canônicas e contemporâneas, com destaque para produções da família românica.

- PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Geolinguística; Atlas Linguísticos; (Re)classificação dos atlas linguísticos brasileiros.

Author Contributions (according to CRediT taxonomy):

Greize Alves da Silva: Data Curation; Formal Analysis; Investigation; Methodology; Visualization; Writing – Original Draft.

Valter Pereira Romano: Conceptualization; Supervision; Validation; Writing – Review & Editing.

Data Availability Statement

All datasets supporting the findings of this study have been published within the article itself.

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Received on Juin 26, 2024

Approved on January 6, 2025

Editor responsible: Gisele C ssia de Sousa