



***Galego* as a nickname in the Portuguese of Santa Catarina: findings from ALERS**

A alcunha *galego* no português de Santa Catarina: o que revelam os dados do ALERS

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Resumo: É conhecida a figura dos *galegos* no folclore luso-brasileiro. A língua através de suas diversas expressões reflete a Galícia e seus habitantes na memória coletiva dos luso-brasileiros, mesmo que de maneira opaca. O objetivo deste estudo é descrever o uso da alcunha *galego* no português falado no Estado de Santa Catarina - SC, no sul do Brasil. A perspectiva da onomástica e da geolinguística delineia as bases teóricas dessa investigação. Por meio dos dados levantados e disponibilizados pelo *Atlas Linguístico-Etnográfico da Região Sul do Brasil* – ALERS, foi possível analisar a pergunta “pessoa que tem cabelos loiros e tez clara, dizemos que é?” (Questionário 3.3.3 – ALERS). O

levantamento lexicográfico dessa forma lexical revelou inicialmente uma diversidade de conteúdos semânticos tanto na Península Ibérica quanto na România Nova. O uso de *galego* em SC permeia duas importantes áreas geográficas de assentamento luso: a primeira no litoral, conhecida como zona açoriano-catarinense, marcada pela influência da imigração açoriana e a segunda historicamente descrita como rota de passagem de tropeiros e de influência paulista. Encravadas entre essas duas áreas estão as regiões coloniais, majoritariamente, italiana, alemã e eslava, para onde o uso da forma *galego* foi difundido. A acepção “pessoa de cabelos loiros” foi a de maior frequência. A hipótese é que sua origem seja resultado das diferenças fisionômicas entre as regiões sul e norte de Portugal. A carga semântica também poderia ser reflexo da situação dos *galegos* da Galiza em *status* de minoria e diáspora em Portugal, considerando-se os seus traços físicos como motivação denominativa.

Palavras-chave: *galego*; antroponímia; Santa Catarina/Brasil; léxico; geolinguística.

Abstract: The figure of *galegos* (Galicians) is well-known in Luso-Brazilian folklore. The Portuguese language reflects, although at times opaquely, how Galicia and its inhabitants are collectively perceived by Brazilians. This study aims to describe the use of the nickname *galego* in the Portuguese spoken in the southern Brazilian state of Santa Catarina (SC). Onomastics and geolinguistics will provide the theoretical framework for this study. Through the data surveyed and made available by the *Atlas Linguístico-Etnográfico da Região Sul do Brasil (ALERS)* it was possible to analyze the question, “What do you call a pale-skinned person with blonde hair?” (question 3.3.3 – ALERS). The lexicographical survey of this term initially revealed a diversity of semantic content, both on the Iberian Peninsula and in New Romania. The use of *galego* in SC is spread across two important geographic areas of lusophone settlement: the first is known as Azorian-Catarinense, where immigrants from the Azores settled in this coastal area leaving a profound impact; the second has been historically under São Paulo’s influence, since it served as a passage for cowboys. The use of the term *galego* was finally spread into the colonial regions (mostly of Italian, Slavonic, and German origins), that developed between both regions. The term was mostly applied with the meaning “blonde-haired person”. Our hypothesis is that such a meaning originated from the different physical features of the inhabitants of southern and northern Portugal. The semantic load may also reflect the minority status of Galicians in Portugal, their physical aspect representing what would have triggered such a denomination.

Keywords: *Galician*; anthroponymy; Santa Catarina/Brazil; lexicon; geolinguistics.

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1 Introduction

In the quiet city of Barcelos (Portugal), a crime worried its residents. That is until a young Galician, a *galego*, a stranger in the area, was accused and sentenced to be hanged. Before the hanging, the young man asks to appear before the judge who had sentenced him. When he arrived at the judge's house, the poor *galego* pleaded for his innocence, conjuring that the rooster, which was being cooked in the pan at that moment, would rise and crow at the time of his death, thus proving the injustice that was being done. The rooster, a few minutes before the young man's farewell, stood and its thunderous crowing deafened the ears of unbelievers. The mistaken judge stood up and headed to the location of the hanging to correct his error. Luckily, the *galego* had been saved due to a poorly tied knot on the rope.

As one of Portugal's most popular pieces of folklore, the *Rooster of Barcelos*¹ is only one of the many tales in which the *galego* is an element in Lusitanian imagination. Because of its Portuguese origin, Brazil inherited the presence of *galegos* in its popular expression. However, the *galego* figure is still quite unknown in the Luso-Brazilian imagination. To contribute to its ethnographic description, focusing on this article, we present unpublished data from the *Atlas Linguístico-Etnográfico da Região Sul do Brasil (ALERS)* (Linguistic-Ethnographic Atlas of South Brazil) about the use and knowledge of the nickname *galego* in the linguistic repertoire of Santa Catarina residents.

We begin this text with some notions of anthroponymy and the specific study of nicknames. After, we present the existing bibliographic references about this popular nickname, specifically, in the few records found in linguistic atlases and dictionaries used as reference. Subsequently, we focus on the *corpus*, both quantitative and qualitative, which produced question 19 – Of people with blond hair and fair skin: we say they are – in the *Specific semantic-lexical questionnaire (3.3.3) for Santa Catarina* applied by ALERS (KOCH; ALTENHOFEN; KLASSMANN, 2011, p. 53).

¹ The version narrated in the text is one of the existing versions in literature. It was extracted from the official site of the municipality of Barcelos – Portugal. Available on: <<http://www.cm-barcelos.pt/visitar-barcelos/barcelos/lenda-do-galo>>. Viewed on: Nov. 4 2017.

2 Anthroponymy and the study of nicknames

The term anthroponymy (anthroponomastics) was used by the Portuguese philologist José Leite de Vasconcelos, in 1887, in his *Revista Lusitana*. This branch is a subdivision of onomastics, a science that applies to the study of names, from toponymy, onymy, anthroponymy, among others (KREMER, 2006, p. 720). Based on Nunes and Kremer's (1999, p. 5) definition, the three fundamental anthroponym types are forenames, names of origin, and lexical names. Forenames are related to the first name, names of origin are related to the second name (last name, surname). The latter is more comprehensive and, to a certain extent, identifies the individual in society, constituting the basis of family names. Consequently, lexical names refer to names extracted from the common or general lexicon, including nicknames or epithets. For Polanah (1986, p. 142), a nickname is also classified as a last name, "given that it overlaps the personal name". Both name and surname "are two formulas whose purpose is to assign meaning to the individual in two very different moments of their existence: the name prognosticates;² the nickname diagnoses".

In Brazil, the term "apelido"³ is commonly used, meaning "algunha," in reference to nicknames. Nicknames are created for external motivations, related to people's experiences. According to Brito (1998, p. 846), "a nickname, an alter-name intentionally forged for concrete individuals, is inscribed in a discourse of strictness, given that it portrays such individuals faithfully before the group's eyes, and individualizes them, playing its social role exemplarily." Brito also adds that a nickname is a type of "people's baptism," in which the people are the creators and, somehow, seize the power that legitimates a nickname within a social group.

² Carvalinhos (2007, p. 2) highlights that, in the beginning of times, names had a connotative expression that could easily be decoded. In modern times, names are no longer used as prognoses, because of the semantic stripping they underwent throughout the years. Names inspired mostly by means of mass communication (names of soap opera characters) and others are clearly observed in Brazilian population.

³ Ramos (1990, p. 23) identifies synonyms for this lexical item: alias, nickname, byname, cognomen, epithet, handle, moniker, all of these expressions refer to the same concrete and palpable reality that permeates the linguistic and symbolic universe for thousands of speakers who depend on the oral word as a privileged communication instrument."

For the author, when the epithet is approved by the group, it means it reveals the welcoming that makes the individual acceptable within such a group. Nevertheless, contrary to this author's opinion, this is not always true, considering that certain nicknames have their origin, for instance, in embarrassing situations that end up being accepted by the recipient of the nickname. The author also argues that epithets are a type of "identity card" that assign the role of "verbal caricature artists" to the people.

Ramos (1990), in an anthroponymy study for the Alentejo region, points out that fictitious denominations are more likely and more productive in villages, "privileged spaces for nicknames" (RAMOS, 1990, p. 36), given that "they find, in the rural environment, the ideal grounds for proliferation" (RAMOS, 1990, p. 24). Therefore, small communities, villages, less populated towns, are spaces where people are closer, unlike the big metropolises, where the fast-paced life reduces neighborhood relations, and, consequently, there is less personal relationship and less nicknaming.

Leite de Vasconcelos, in his work *Antroponímia Portuguesa* (1928, p.178), points out that many names may have their origins in nicknames, thus revealing the "spirit of commonality", and divided them into three main types: geographic, ethnic-geographic, and personal. Thus, the author presents the following division: nicknames alluding to the person (age, stages of life...), social status, positions, professions, physical and moral qualities, nicknames related to habits, clothing, magical and religious ideas, as well as geographic ideas. In this context, the author mentions a series of names in Portuguese culture that originated from nicknames, such as those indicating family ties, e.g. Sobrinho (nephew), Neto (grandson), Filho (son), Furtado (illegitimate son), among others. This shows that the anthroponymic designation is strongly connected to society's historical-cultural contexts.

Similar to Leite de Vasconcelos (1928), Ramos (1990, p.57) defined a taxonomy for nicknames and divided them into four large classes: Physical (Peg leg, Baldy, Fatso...), Behavioral (Wintertime communist, Pees-softly...), Geographic references (German, Galician, Villager...), and Professional (Cobbler, Brush Frank, Sacristan...). The categories Astronomical, Gastronomical, Impolite, Ornithological, Political, Winery, and Zoomorphic are also added to the division above (RAMOS, 1990, p. 61-72). These divisions by species and taxonomy

help in understanding the origin of nicknames, as well as their linguistic and sociocultural aspects.

Similarly, ethnic-geographic names are clues for understanding individuals' origins, and, therefore, a people's history. Nunes and Kremer (1999, p. 45) provide an example of use for the nickname *galego*, referring primarily to it as an ethnic-geographic designation, and that, secondly, has been used with an expanded significance, such as that of a "very hardworking man" (more specific aspects of this nickname are provided below). The authors also mention nicknames such as *Pole*, *Japanese*, and *German*, among others, to refer to people whose phenotypical characteristics correspond to those of people with such geographic origins or their descendants.

Therefore, in this work, we propose to examine the question: What is the semantic motivation for the nickname *galego* used in Brazil with its most common meaning, i.e. that of a "white and blond person"? Could this be linked to historical-geographic aspects of Portuguese and Galician people's origins, to the physiognomic/phenotypical aspects (Galicians are blond) or metaphorical (contextual extralinguistic factors in Brazil, favor its use and dissemination)?

3 *Galego* in literature, in geolinguistic and lexicographic records

Galego, from the Latin *gallaecus* (CARDOSO, 1510-1569) / *gallaecu* (PENA *et al.*, 2005, p. 625), comes from the choronym *Callaecia/Gallaecia*, which referred to the territory inhabited by the *callaeci/gallaeci* (CAÑADA, ca. 2003, p. 136).

On the Iberian Peninsula and in Latin America, *galego* is a word used for several denominations. We went through peninsular and Latin American lexicography to understand this lexical item's different uses, which sometimes carry neutral attributes and other times carry negative derogatory loads.⁴

⁴ A study on the derogatory nature of the expression *galego* in literature is proved by Taboada (1955). Among the aspects pointed out, the author lists mass Galician emigration to explain this people's defamation in the neighboring territories and overseas. To this factor, he adds the lack of information and ignorance by the accusers, as well as the strong presence of Jewish people on certain Galician borders.

3.1 In Portuguese lexicography

According to Leite de Vasconcelos, Portugal had, since the 13th century, several documents for Portuguese people whose family name was *Gallecus* or *Galego*, “which were sometimes identified as nicknames” (LEITE DE VASCONCELOS, 1958, p. 30). For the author,

Nowadays the nickname *Galego* is easy to find here, and it is attributed to individuals of this type: Tom, Dick and Harry *Galego*, *Galegos*’ children, which are actual examples I know. I also know, in one of our cities, a merchant whose nickname is Galiza. This illustrates the constant presence of Galicians in Portugal, and such examples nearly dispense with more examples, such as Galicians in the Lisbon Inquisition, in the 16th century; a Galician cutter, in the 17th century. Galicians, in addition to other professions, such as merchant, baker, etc., frequently work as water carriers⁵ and servants, in the cities of Lisbon, Porto and others. (...) All of these Galician people who trade, toil, get married and procreate in Portugal, ensured that the name <<Galego>> came up very frequently in our toponymy (LEITE DE VASCONCELOS, 1958, p. 30-31).

In Portugal, as in many places in Brazil, some fruits, vegetables, cereals, and manufactured products have been, and still are, known by their alleged Galician origin or their relation to Galicians. These are the cases of *limão-galego* (lime) (SARAMAGO *et al.*,⁶ 2012, letter 517), *couve-galega*⁷ (collard greens) (SARAMAGO *et al.*, 2012, letter 539), *feijão galego* (cowpea) (ACL⁸ – CASTELEIRO, 2001, p. 1855), *ginja galega* (sour cherry) (BLUTEAU, 1712-1728), *azeitona galega* (olives) (in Beiras – BARROS, 2010, p. 212), *linhaça galega* (linseed) (BLUTEAU, 1712-1728), *marmelo galego* (quince) (BLUTEAU, 1712-

⁵ Water carriers distributed water when there was no piped water supply in large cities. This job required great physical effort from the carriers, given that they needed to carry water barrels on their backs, regardless of how far the client’s houses were.

⁶ *Atlas Linguístico-Etnográfico dos Açores* (2012).

⁷ Also used in Galicia, as well as *azeitona galega* (olive) (ESTRAVÍS, 1986, p. 1345).

⁸ This acronym, created by us, refers to the *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* (CASTELEIRO, 2001).

1728), , *trigo galego*⁹ (a reddish type of wheat) (EÇÃ, 1944-1945, p. 53), *macela galega* (chamomile) PEREIRA, 1697), *linho galego* (flaxseed) (BLUTEAU, 1712-1728), *cacete galego*¹⁰ (bread) and grape varieties *galego-de-Montemor*¹¹ (Terrantez) and *galego-dourado*¹² (EÇÃ, 1944-1945, p. 53). In the Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro province, *galega* is also a part of the grape bunch¹³ (BARROS, 2006, p. 191).

In Portugal, *galego* is the nickname frequently used by people from Alentejo to refer – in general terms – to northern Portuguese people, especially those who live near Beira (CASTELEIRO, 2001, p. 1855; BARROS; GUERREIRO, 2005, p. 98; SIMÕES, 1984, p. 216). Simões (2016, p. 106) also records the form, with the same meaning, in the Marvão region (East Alentejo). Ramos and Silva (2003, p. 278) recorded the same meaning for the popular use of the name *galego* in 20 Alentejo locations.¹⁴ Leite de Vasconcelos (1958, p. 32) points out that in southern Portugal, people have referred to residents of the Leiria

⁹ Also known as *galego-barbado* (*Triticumvulgare Host.*), a type of soft wheat “of the *ferrugineum* variety, with a fusiform, reddish glabrous hairy ear, and small to medium dark elliptic grains (...). Used in several areas of Beira, Estremadura, Ribatejo, Alentejo and Algarve, producing good flour for bread” (EÇÃ, 1944-1945, p. 53). There is also the soft *galego-rapado wheat* (*Triticumvulgare Host*) of the *millurum* variety “with fusiform, reddish glabrous soft ear, and dark grains (...). It is also known as *mocho-ruivo* and *pelão*, (...) in southern Beira and Alentejo, and at Moncorvo, Vouzela, Miranda-do-Corvo, Tomar and Alenquer.” (EÇÃ, 1944-1945, p. 53).

¹⁰ Type of long, narrow bread sold at stores in Lisbon and throughout Portugal. In Spain, it is known as *barra gallega*.

¹¹ European vine variety (*vitis vinífera Lin.*), “with small lenticular golden round berries; (...). It is a light variety that does not seem to be very widespread” (EÇÃ, 1944-1945, p. 53).

¹² European vine variety (*vitis vinífera Lin.*), “with medium-size, oval-rounded, golden berries; (...). It is the light variety that constitutes the basis of the generous Carcavelos wine” (EÇÃ, 1944-1945, p. 53).

¹³ At Pinelo-Vimioso.

¹⁴ According to the authors, the popular nickname *galego(a)* is the “designation for man and women from the North” (RAMOS; SILVA, 2003, p. 278). In Montemor-o-Novo an individual was called *galego* because his father was from the Minho region. (RAMOS; SILVA, 2003, p. 278). In Odemira there was a *galeco* (a corruption of *galego*), because he was born in the North. Another individual was known as *galego maluco* (crazy Galician), in the Redondo area, because he was from the North and acted crazy (RAMOS; SILVA, 2003, p. 278).

region and upward, using the ironic epithet *Galego*” (emphasis added). In his text, *Gallegos e Ingleses*, published in *Revista Lusitana*, the same linguist reports that “in the Southern part of the kingdom, residents of Northern Mondego are referred to as *gallegos* in a mocking manner” (LEITE DE VASCONCELOS, 1890-1892, p. 72. *Our emphasis*).

Father Monte Carmello wrote about the habit of calling people from the North *galegos* in 1767 “for no reason the Transduriense and Transmontano people are called *galego*” (LEITE DE VASCONCELOS, 1890-1892, p. 72).

Other forms documented in the Alentejo by Ramos and Silva (2003, p. 278) are *galhegas* and *galhecas* (at Ajustrel), both motivated by the individuals’ difficulty in expressing themselves. In Évora, a man was called *galego* due to his excessive stuttering (RAMOS; SILVA, 2003, p. 278).

In Lusitania, it is still a habit to use the word *galega* when referring to good land for sowing – in Beiras – (BARROS, 2010, p. 212), and *galego* for a meal served with no bread on the table (in the Beiras region), the northern wind,¹⁵ also as a derogatory attribute with a rude and course nature (CASTELEIRO, 2001, p. 1855; SIMÕES, 1984, p. 216). This last meaning is most certainly associated with *gallegos* migrating (from Galicia – Spain) to Portugal and their lower social status and stranger condition among the Portuguese.¹⁶ The Galician settlement in Portugal, nevertheless, produced impacts on Portuguese anthroponymy and toponymy.¹⁷

¹⁵ In Marvão (High Alentejo) *galego* refers to “a type of wind that blows from the Marvão towards Valência de Alcântara and that, because it is cool, it helps growing corn during the summer” (SIMÕES, 2016, p.106).

¹⁶ These meanings reveal language uses that often have their origin in territorial battles and disputes. Therefore, “the depreciation of these locations and residents stem from a general cause, because individuals like to stand out from the others, as well as groups like to stand out over other groups” (LEITE DE VASCONCELOS, 1890-1892, p. 70).

¹⁷ Beirante (1992, p.103), in her article *Onomástica galega em duas cidades do Sul de Portugal* (Galician onomastics in two southern Portugal cities) about the *galego* figure in Portuguese toponymy, refers to cases observed in the cities of Évora and Santarém - Alentejo. Examples include the toponyms: *Vale dos Galegos*, *Póvoa dos Galegos*, and *Beco dos Galegos*. Leite de Vasconcelos (1958, p. 31) mentions the following place designations: *Vilarinho de Galegos* (Trás-os-Montes), *Ribeira de Galegos* (Beira Alta), *Quintinha dos Galegos* (Beira Baixa), *Aldeia Galega da Merceana* (Ribatejo).

In this diaspora context, the expression *galego* is used for delivery boys, porters, “a person who works too hard, performs heavy labor, and who is a slave to work” (CASTELEIRO, 2001, p. 1855). This social and historical load on the *galego* figure is, therefore, the bases for the form *galeguice*, an insult that refers to an “attitude, behavior expressing rudeness, impoliteness, absence of good manners” (CASTELEIRO, 2001, p. 1855). Regarding the alleged sordid aspect of the *galegos*, Camões’ writings in *The Lusiad* “tampoco os detuvo, el temor, oh sórdidos gallegos, duro bando” (Nor wonted fear, withheld the base Galician’s sordid spear¹⁸) (TABOADA, 1955, p. 114).

Some examples of the Portuguese popular sayings also express their despise towards their northern neighbors: “cinquenta *galegos* não fazem um homem” (fifty Galicians do not make a man); “duzentos *galegos* não fazem um homem, senão quando comem” (two hundred Galicians do not make a man, unless they are eating); “guarda-te de cão preso e de moço *galego*” (beware of chained dogs and young Galician men); “quem faz festas a *galego*, mais *galego* é” (those who party with Galicians, are even more Galician, or a man is known by the company he keeps) (COSTA, 1999, p. 232). In Trás-os-Montes, at Moimenta-Vinhais, *galego* has the same meaning as the word *belouro*: “human fecal matter expelled at once” (BARROS, 2006, p. 64). At Terra de Miranda, in Miranda do Douro, *galhega* (in Port. *galega*) is the name given to a “rag doll, lifted on top of tall tree at the village, to advertise the Pauliteiros de Miranda celebration” (PIRES, 2004, p. 283). In Miranda do Douro the ‘*parece que pariu la galhega*’ (it seems the *galhega* has given birth) in reference to a considerable crowd of children or young people” (PIRES, 2004, p. 283). João de Eça (1944-1945, p. 53) also records it in the Alto-Douro region “the expression *parece ter parido a galega* (it seems the *galega* has given birth) is used everywhere, when many people are gathered in a given place”.

3.2 In Spanish and Hispanic American lexicography

In Spanish-speaking areas, several uses are detected. In the Castile, Spain area, *gallego* is the name given to the northwestern wind (CASARES, 1942, p. 522). In Aragon (Spain), *gallego* is the qualifier

¹⁸ Translation available in: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/32528/32528-h/32528-h.htm#BOOK_VI>.

for “untrue, coward, of little value” (ASSO, 2002, p. 183). In several locations in Latin America, especially in Argentina, Uruguay, and Cuba, *gallego* is the collective nickname for Spanish people (MORÍNIGO, 1993, p. 276-277; PLAGER, 2008, p. 851-852; CRUZ, 1888-1980, p. 274; HAENSCH; WERNER, 2000, p. 271) or their descendants (AAL,¹⁹ 2008, p. 355-356; CHUCHUY; BOUZO, 1993, p. 289). In Mexico, *galego* is someone from Galicia (Spain) as well as everything else related to this area: “*gaita gallega* (Galician harmonica), *la marina gallega* (Galician marina), *mariscos gallegos* (Galician seafood), *campesinos gallegos* (Galician peasants)” (LARA, 2010, p. 835).

In Argentina, being *gallego* means “exaggerating what is being told” (CHUCHUY; BOUZO, 1993, p. 289), in El Salvador, it refers to someone with a stutter (ROMERO, 2005, p. 184), and, in Uruguay, it refers to someone who “has problems understanding or assimilating knowledge” (MONES, 1993, p. 177). In Uruguay, the word *galleguito* refers to a food truck, especially sausage sandwiches (MONES, 1993, p. 177). In Argentina, the expression *gallegada*, either refers to a group of Spanish people, or it is used offensively to characterize something said or done by a not very bright person (PLAGER, 2008, p. 851). The literature on the subject also makes it clear that *galegos* are associated with cowardice, in popular saying, as Taboada (1955, p. 115) points out: “there will always be a *gallego* to blame.”

In Costa Rica, the expression refers to a type of dragonfly (QUESADA PACHEDO, 1991, p. 117) and a type of gecko (MORÍNIGO, 1993, p. 276) “that lives on river banks and swims quickly” (CRUZ, 1888-1980, p. 274). The latter also occurs in Nicaragua (DLE-RAE²⁰). In Cuba and Puerto Rico, it refers to a waterbird (CRUZ, 1888-1980, p. 274; HAENSCH; WERNER, 2000, p.271), in Cuba, to a type of fish²¹ (NEVES, 1973, p.272), and in Mexico, it means laziness and looseness (CRUZ, 1888-1980, p.274). In Cuba the expression ‘*gallego, -a, por los pies*’ (*gallego, -a, feet*) is used to refer to someone who dances badly (HAENSCH and WERNER, 2000, p.271) and, in Bolivia, *gallega* is the

¹⁹ Academia Argentina de Letras – *Diccionario del habla de los argentinos* (2008).

²⁰ *Diccionario de la lengua española* – Real Academia Española (online version).

²¹ “Fish from the gender *Caranx*. Also known as *jurel* or *jurelete*” (NEVES, 1973, p. 272, emphasis added).

person who “cleans out or wins everything from this game opponents” (REYES; REYES TABORGA, 1982, p. 211).

3.3 In Luso-Brazilian lexicography

In the contexts of Portuguese immigration to Brazil, there are records of using the name *galego*, to refer to the Portuguese²² as a group apart from Brazilians,²³ and to establish regional differences (Portugal north x south) among the Portuguese in the diaspora context (CÂMARA, 2012; FERRAZ, 2014).

Records found in Brazilian regional dictionaries and linguistic atlases used as reference provide the following meanings:

01. *Blond or red-haired person:*

“blond or red-haired individual. (general use)”, *Vocabulário de termos populares e gíria da Paraíba* (CLEROT, 1959, p. 53).

“any blond person, especially foreigners”. *Dicionário da Ilha: falar e falares da Ilha de Santa Catarina* (GUIMARÃES DA SILVA, 1994, p. 62).

“blond woman or man, of Portuguese origin. Corresponds to Pole, used in Paraná, and Italian, used in Espírito Santo.” *Dicionário sociolinguístico paranaense* (FILIPAK, 2002, p. 188).

02. *A person with red hair or reddish complexion (Atlas Linguístico de Sergipe – ALS – FERREIRA et al., 1987, carta 86).*

Comments: “He is quite reddish, the color of fire flames” (point 58); “red, with white hair” (point 60).

²² In addition to the word *galego*, the literature records the use of the words *emboaba* and *labrego* to refer to the Portuguese immigrant/settler in colonial Brazil. Some of the derogatory forms used for the Portuguese include: *abacaxi*, *bicudo*, *boaba* or *boava*, *emboada* or *emboava*, *candango*, *caneludo*, *chumbinho*, *cotruco*, *cupé*, *cutruca*, *jaleco*, *japona*, *labrego*, *marabuto*, *marinheiro*, *maroto*, *marreta*, *mascate*, *matruco*, *mondongo*, *novato*, *parrudo*, *pé-de-chumbo*, *portuga*, *puça*, *sapatão*, *talaveira* (HOLANDA FERREIRA, 1986, p. 829).

²³ In this case, the nickname was used in an anti-Lusitanian context: “*galego*, pé de chumbo, / calcanhar de frigideira / Quem te deu a liberdade / De casar com brasileira?” (FERRAZ, 2014, p. 31).

03. *Foreigner:*

According to Borba (2002, p. 755), the epithet is used for foreigners, “especially for the Portuguese nationality.” In Goiás this is the denomination for any foreigner (ORTÊNCIO, 1983, p. 200). In the *Dicionário de termos populares registrados no Ceará*, *galego* means “foreign individual, not only Portuguese, but also Syrian, Jewish, etc.” (SERAINÉ, 1958, p. 121). Cabral (1972, p. 432) also states that, “denomination given, in southern Ceará, not only to Portuguese people, but to any foreigner”. In Oliveira’s *Dicionário gaúcho* (2003, p. 136) the term *galegada* is the denomination for the Portuguese colony.

04. *Expression for extraordinary events:*

“pop. use Cor., derogatory. ‘Aqui não morreu *galego*’ (No *galego* died here) – nothing out of the ordinary happened here.” *Dicionário de termos populares registrados no Ceará* (SERAINÉ, 1958, p. 122). Antenor Nascentes (1966) also states this. Cabral records the expression ‘morreu *galego*?’ (has a *galego* died?) being a “question asked by someone upset due to a crowd of curious people” (CABRAL, 1972, p. 432).

Câmara Cascudo (1971, p. 113), in the chapter *Presença galega no folclore brasileiro*, (The presence of *Galegos* in Brazilian Folklore) reports on the use of the popular expression “morreu o *galego*” (a *galego* has died) in the Rio Grande do Norte backlands to refer to cloudy, dry days outside the wintertime, when the sun does not come out. The expression has a similar meaning as the expression “*parece que pariu a galhega*” (it seems the *galega* has given birth), recorded in Miranda do Douro, Portugal (PIRES, 2004, p. 283).

05. *Qualified for an abstract noun:* crass, profound (BORBA, 2002, p. 775).

06. *Attractive woman:* beautiful *galega* (ALTENHOFEN; KLASSMANN, 2011, p. 933, ALERS, QSL637, point 144 – Araruna, PR).

07. *Nickname for legalists:*

‘*galego*’ was the epithet given to the legalists, who opposed the ragamuffins during the Farroupilha Revolution in Rio Grande do Sul in 1835. “The same as *absolutista, camelo, caramuru, restaurador corcunda*” (NUNES; NUNES, 1993, p. 202). The same meaning is found in Oliveira (2003, p. 137)

Tavares de Barros, Löff Machado and Philippsen (2017) analyze the use of such an epithet in the names of political candidates during the 2016 municipal elections in Brazil. The corpus consists of data obtained from the Tribunal Superior Eleitoral brasileiro (TSE) (Brazilian Superior Electoral Court), in public domain.²⁴

The collected *galego(a)* forms have different anthroponymy natures. Some of them are related to the person’s profession, work environment, or workplace: This is the case of *galego mototáxi* (Itambé, BA), *galego da farmácia* (Serrinha, BA), *galego borracheiro* (Vitória da Conquista, BA), *galego do pão* (Penedo, AL), *galego da padaria* (São Paulo do Potengi, RN), *galego do leite* (Campina Grande, PB), *galega da verdura* (Porto Real do Colégio, AL), *galega manicure* (Bodocó, PE), *galega do cartório* (Bodocó, PE), *galega do posto* (Simões Filho, BA), *Gil, galega da xeróx* (Arcoverde, PE), *Nilzete, a galega da feira* (Santo Amaro, BA), *galega do porco* (São Cristóvão, SE), *galego da patrula* (Cariri do Tocantins, TO), *galego da ambulância* (Porto Ferreira, SP), *Teodolindo, galego do chup-chup*²⁵ (Timóteo, MG), *galego da relojoaria* (Januária, MG), *galego da auto ascola* (Santo Antônio do Descoberto, GO), *galego da melancia* (Aragoiânia, GO), *galego mecânico* (Coelho Neto, MA), *galego do peixe* (Sousa, PB), *galego da Lan House* (Água Branca, PB), *galego da castanha* (Serra Branca, PB), *galego da lanchonete* (Icó, CE), *Jotinha, galego da funerária* (Bom Jardim, PE), *Zé, galego da rodoviária* (Palmares, PE), *galego dos correios* (Jaboatão dos Guararapes, PE), *galego do mercado* (Aracajú, SE), *galego da bicicletaria* (Estância, SE), *galego da polpa* (Mutuípe, BA), *galego do cuscuz* (Feira de Santana, BA).

²⁴ Available on: <<http://divulga.tse.jus.br/oficial/index.html>>. Viewed on: Oct. 15 2017.

²⁵ *Chup-chup* (a snow cone) refers to a frozen snack, either milk or fruit juice based. Other regional names in Brasil include *geladinho, gelinho, dindin, sacolé*, among others.

The family ties and association with the most important family clans seem to be one of the motivations for constituting anthroponymic forms. This tradition is typical of small villages, where the elders (parents, grandparents, etc.) usually play the role of referents. This does not include the scenarios where the husband or wife are used as a reference for making up the spouse's nickname.

In Ramos and Silva (2003) this type of nickname is categorized as a referential nickname, considering that it “associates an identification of a subject to a family member’s name or nickname, or reference object, situation, and event (RAMOS; SILVA, 2003, p. 20)

This is the case, therefore of *Meirinha do galego* (São Félix do Coribe, BA), *Fabricio de João de galego* (Jaborandi, BA), *galego Zé da Gina* (Jaguari, BA), *Eliene de galego* (Jitaúna, BA), *galego de Santino* (Rio do Antônio, BA), *Ailda de galego* (Andaraí, BA), *Guilherme de galego* (Nossa Senhora de Lourdes, SE), *galego de Zequinha* (Gararu, SE), *galego de Zeca* (Tacaimbó, PE), *galego de Antônio de Roque* (Jataúba, PE), *galego de Zé Santana* (Nazaré da Mata, PE), *galego de Toinho* (Palmeirina, PE), *galego de Ivo* (Vitória de Santo Antão, PE), *galego de Manoel de Heleno* (Ibimirim, PE), *galego de Zé Rocha* (Chã Grande, PE), *galego de Mané Gildo* (Águas Belas, PE), *Neide de galego* (Tuparetama, PE), *Maria de galego* (Baraúna, RN), *galego de Zé Regis* (Serrinha, RN), *galego de Tiano* (São Tomé, RN), *galego de Venilza* (São Gonçalo do Oeste, RN), *Laercio de galego dos Motores* (João Câmara, RN), *galego de Seu Assis* (Extremoz, RN), *galego de Chiquinho* (Santo Antônio, RN), *galego de Justino* (Campo Grande, RN), *Luis de Zé galego* (Orós, CE), *galego de Gerso* (Itatuba, PB), *Neidinha de Zé galego* (Alagoinha, PB), *galego de Ademar* (Assunção, PB), *galego de Aristides* (Alcantil, PB), *galego de Lô* (Teixeira, PB), *Lô de galego* (Teixeira, PB), *Ci do galego da areia* (Mamanguape, PB), *Sandro de galego da Loto* (Lagoa de Dentro, PB), *galego de Lourdes* (Araçagi, PB), *galego do Miguelzinho* (Alto Alegre do Pindaré, MA), *galego do Edmar* (Itaipava do Grajaú, MA), *galego do Valdomiro* (Cachoeira Dourada, MG), *Marquinho de Zé galego* (Buenópolis, MG), *Zezinho do galego* (Pedregulho, SP), *Fabiana do galego* (Quatis, RJ), *Ailton do galego* (Ivatuba, PR), *galego de Lorim*²⁶ (Cariri do Tocantins, TO), *Valmor do galego* (Rio Crespo,

²⁶ *Lorim* may be a variation of *lourinho* (meaning blond) morpheme alternation that is documented in several areas of spoken Brazilian Portuguese.

RO), *galega de Nilza* (Ribeira do Pombal, BA), *Léo de galega* (Abaré, BA), *galega de Ismar* (Luís Gomes, RN), *galega de Ulissinho* (Parelhas, RN), *galega de João da Água* (Patos, PB), *José Carlos da galega* (São Vicente, SP), *Tuita de galegão* (Nova Floresta, PB), *Mara de galeguinho* (Central, BA), *Alex Filho de galeguinho* (Escada, PE), *galeguinho de André* (Paulistana, PI), *Francisco de galeguinho* (Lastro, PB), *galeguinho de Silvio Bezerra* (Currais Novos, RN).

An example from Itu, São Paulo, stood out in the form of *galego alemão* (German *galego*) (Itu, SP). It could be assumed that the candidate is known in the region by both nicknames (parallel anthroponymy), given that both are used in this context to refer to people with foreign appearance.

Results obtained from this corpus revealed that the Northeast region displays the higher percentage of this nickname's usage, followed by the Southeast and South regions.²⁷ The state of Paraíba stands out, as it has the highest absolute frequency rate of the variant. Except for the state of Goiás, only a few sparse cases were identified in the Midwestern and Northern regions.

Maps 1 and 2, in addition to exhibiting the areas where this lexical item occurs and the heterogeneous nature of the nicknames,²⁸ highlight the main interest points of dialectology and related areas: viewing several language variation phenomena. This is the case of use or absence of definite articles before names. Constructions that establish the family relationships, such as the compound nicknames *Maria de galego* (Maria, *the wife of the *galego*) or *galeguinho de João* (*galeguinho*, *the son of João). In this type of nominal phrase, the preposition *de* (of) is either inflected (*da/do* – of the) or not (*de* – of).

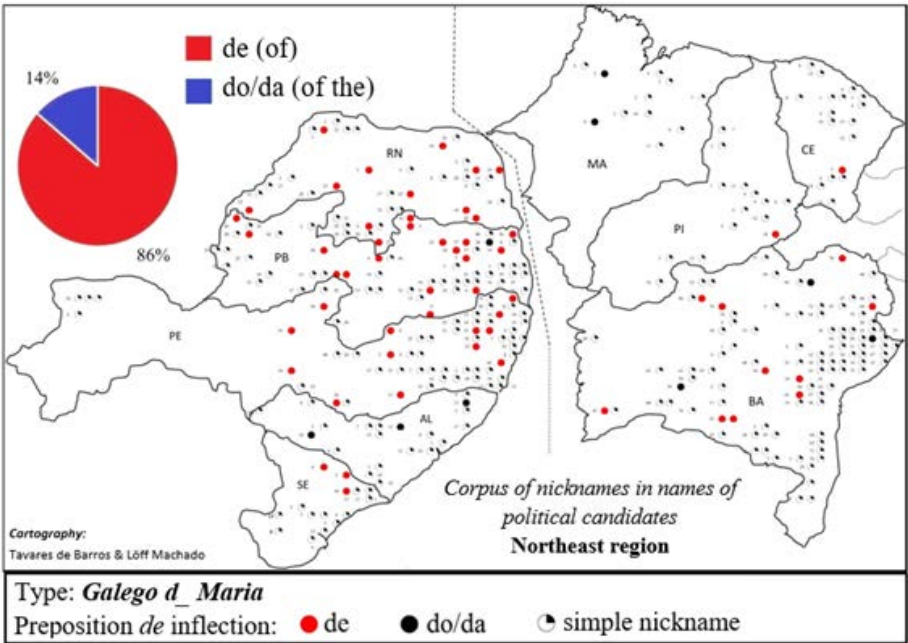
Maps 1 and 2 exhibit, in the Northeast, as well as in the rest of the country, the occurrence of inflection (*da/do*) using the red hatched

²⁷ These data are subsidized by studies such as the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics' (IBGE) (2008 *apud* PETRUCCELLI, 2013) on the Brazilian population's self-classification based on their own phenotype. Among those who classify themselves as 'white', 2.7% spontaneously classified themselves as *galegos* in the data referring to Paraíba (cf. PETRUCCELLI, 2013, p. 41).

²⁸ "Collecting and analyzing the naming from such a wide geographic area is, precisely, an ambitious project. In fact, the attempt to cover a 'cultural area', supposedly uniform, results in a deep heterogeneity, profusely rich with different local distinguishing shades" (RAMOS; SILVA, 2003, p. 5).

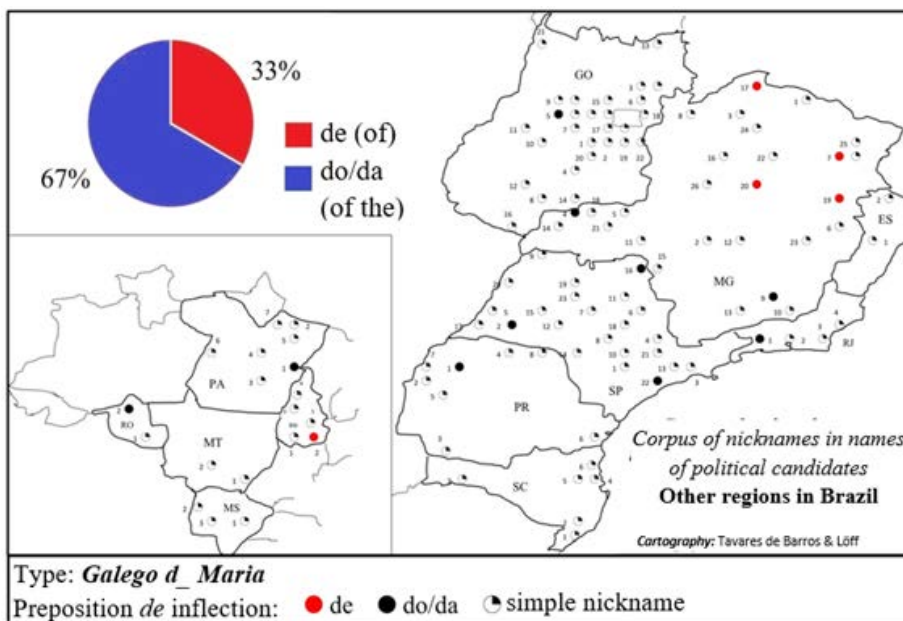
symbol, as well as its absence (de) using the black hatched symbol. The type presented, *galego d_ Maria*, is only one example of compound nickname that may vary in gender. In this type²⁹ *galego d_* lies the abstraction of a series of forms, to which the variant *galega d_* or *d_ galega*, *galego d_* or *d_ d_ galega*, *galegão d_* or *d_ d_ galegão* and *galeguinho d_* or *d_ d_ galeguinho* belong. Simple nicknames (*galega*, *galego*, *galegão* or *galeguinho*) were represented in the map with a partially filled in circle.

MAP 1 – Preposition *de* inflection in compound nicknames



Source: Prepared by the authors. Cartographic basis: IBGE (2010).

²⁹ In this study, *type* is understood as a reference to the umbrella form for the variants for the nickname *galego* (*galega*, *galego*, *galeguinho*, and *galegão*).

MAP 2 – Preposition *de* inflection in compound nicknames

Source: Prepared by the authors. Cartographic basis: IBGE (2010).

4 ALERS: historical and methodological aspects

The Linguistic Ethnographic Atlas for the Southern Region of Brazil (*Atlas Linguístico Etnográfico da Região Sul* – ALERS), the first one in Brazil to include three Brazilian states, was based methodologically on traditional Dialectology, focusing on diatopic variation, typically interviewing one informant per point, preferably men, with low educational levels, natives from the area, and with rural origins.

The method employed by ALERS is different from the most modern Dialectology trend: multidimensional and relational. This trend expands its interest zone by including other dimensions. We refer to the following dimensions: diastratic, by recording the speech of young and old people; diasexual, by interviewing men and women; diatopic-kinetic, by interviewing stable and moving informants; diareferential, by treating and controlling the status of linguistic forms, collecting metalinguistic comments; among other dimensions and their parameters.

Although men were the main ALERS informants, many times during the interview, the wife (daughter, wife, mother, or grandmother) is invited to share her opinion or knowledge. However, this difference in linguistic repertoire between men and women was not a methodological criterion (i.e., analysis dimension) addressed in the atlas.

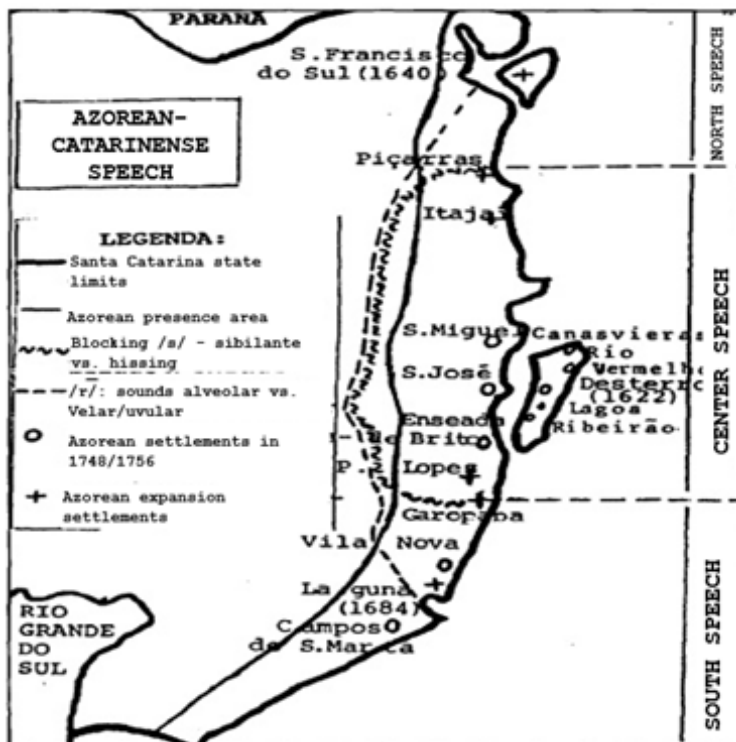
ALERS interviews in Santa Catarina took place between 1989 and 1991. The main interviewers in this state were Prof. Osvaldo Antônio Furlan and Prof. Hilda Gomes Vieira. The network of points in Santa Catarina consists of 80 locations, totaling 80 interviews, one on each point. Question 19 – ‘Of people who have blond hair and light skin we say they are?’ – in the *Questionário semântico-lexical específico (3.3.3) de Santa Catarina* (Santa Catarina specific semantic-lexical questionnaire (3.3.3) applied by ALERS (2011b, p. 53) belongs to an unpublished set of data that were not included in volume 2, *ALERS – Cartas Semântico-Lexicais* (ALERS – Semantic-Lexical Letters) published in 2011 (ALTENHOFEN; KLASSMANN, 2011).

5 Brief considerations about the influence of settlers in the catarinense speech

To understand the uses of the nickname in the areas identified by the ALERS data, a brief explanation for some aspects related to these regions speech and its possible influences: coastal area, with a strong Azorean presence, stretching to the ethnic - German, Italian and Slavic - settlement; and the mountain area, with Luso-Brazilian, with heritage from merchant troops from Rio Grande do Sul and São Paulo.

Furlan (1995, p. 165), in studies about the Azorean-catarinense speech, points out that, between the 17th and the 19th centuries, groups of Azoreans were scattered in several points in Brazil. Encouraged by the Portuguese Crown, many immigrants came to Brazil between 1748 and 1756, and 6,071 islanders come to Santa Catarina coast. This area's population thus increased, considering that it consisted of 4,197 residents, since the mid-17th century, originally from São Vicente (São Paulo). The following is a map that illustrates this occupancy:

MAP 3 – Azorean-catarinense speech



Source: Furlan (1998a, p. 24).

Some linguists devoted themselves to understanding the influence of the Azores in the Portuguese language of some areas in Brazil, especially Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. However, according to Furlan (1995, p. 165), none of the authors mentioned have attempted to define with better criteria what is understood as “Azorean influence.” Furlan’s studies have taken into account more elaborate criteria ranging from field research to the consideration and comparison between Azorean and Portuguese data, under diachronic, diatopic and diastric perspectives.

The author defends the hypothesis that the current Azorean-Catarinense speech is a chain of several factors, among which: (i) the welding of several ethnic groups coming, during the 17th century, from São Vicente, and, during the 18th century, from the Azores and Madeira, and other smaller groups originally from continental Portugal as well as

other Brazilian areas; (ii) the natural evolution of this welding resulted in a koiné, at this point, the isolation contributed to its maintenance (ethnolinguistic groups formed mostly by people from São Paulo, the Azores, and others); (iii) influence from other Brazilian speeches up to the 1970's, by maritime or port contact with other regions.

Furlan (1995, p. 168) also points to an aspect prior to the arrival of the Azorean in Brazil, namely, the make-up of the Azores island territory. According to the author, the Portuguese were present as settlers in the Azores, especially Algarve and Alentejo. The author also points out the presence of the Flemish in the central area (Terceira, São Jorge, Pico, Faial), and that 90% of those who immigrated to Santa Catarina³⁰ come from this area, whose speech pattern is similar to today's continental speech.

Based on the linguistic aspects analyzed in his study, the author reaches the conclusion that some characteristics that could earlier be considered as being specific of the Azorean-catarinense speech, are actually found in other varieties of Brazilian Portuguese, very distant from this point. The reinforcement of Portuguese types of speech stands out, such as the predominance of the pronoun "tu" and the use of second person singular verbs, stemming from the conservativeness traced back to continental Portugal.

Some phonic aspects are highlighted by the author as also existing in other areas in Brazil, but some of them cannot be clearly determined, such as the palatalization of the /s/ in syllabic coda (1748 Azores' speech) that may also have the same origin as other types of speech, such as those from Rio de Janeiro, Lisbon, etc.

At the lexical level, the possibilities of Azorean influence are more productive; however, "they trace back, with some exceptions, to continental Portugal, and the Azorean influence in SC took place by invigorating the lexicon inherited from such an influence"³¹ (FURLAN, 1998b, p. 35). Therefore, it is clear that the Portuguese influence is

³⁰ Settlement in Santa Catarina took place in the coastal area, along the strip that stretches from Laguna to the Camboriú River, coming from the following points: São Miguel, Terceira, Faial, Graciosa, Pico, São Jorge, and Madeira.

³¹ The author presents the analysis of three lexical items based on ALERS data that cannot be traced to continental Portugal: *chimarrita* (*dança de roda*) (*dance round*), *gueixa* (*potranca*) (*mare*) and *bernúncia* (*bicho-papão*) (*boogie man*), as examples originating in Azorean lexicon that took on other meanings in Brazil.

predominant all over Brazil and that the Azorean group is an addition that is present in this Santa Catarina region.

Altenhofen (2002, p. 122), when dealing with a set of hypothesis about the delimitation of linguistic areas, that portray the diatopic variation of the Portuguese language spoken in southern Brazil, also points towards the activity of merchant troops. This activity enabled the “contact between people from São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul in two opposite migration flows, and the role of São Paulo merchant troop routes in the cattle trade,” was a possible influence in some areas in southern Brazil. In addition to them, other determinants were listed by Koch (2000, p. 59):

- the presence of Azoreans, invited to go to specific areas, such as east Santa Catarina;
- the existence of political borders (historically oscillating) with Spanish-speaking countries, at the south, and the Portuguese-Spanish contact originating from this condition;
- the existence of significant bilingual areas, originating from the settlement, in the (previous) forest zones, by non-Luso immigrants starting in the 19th century.

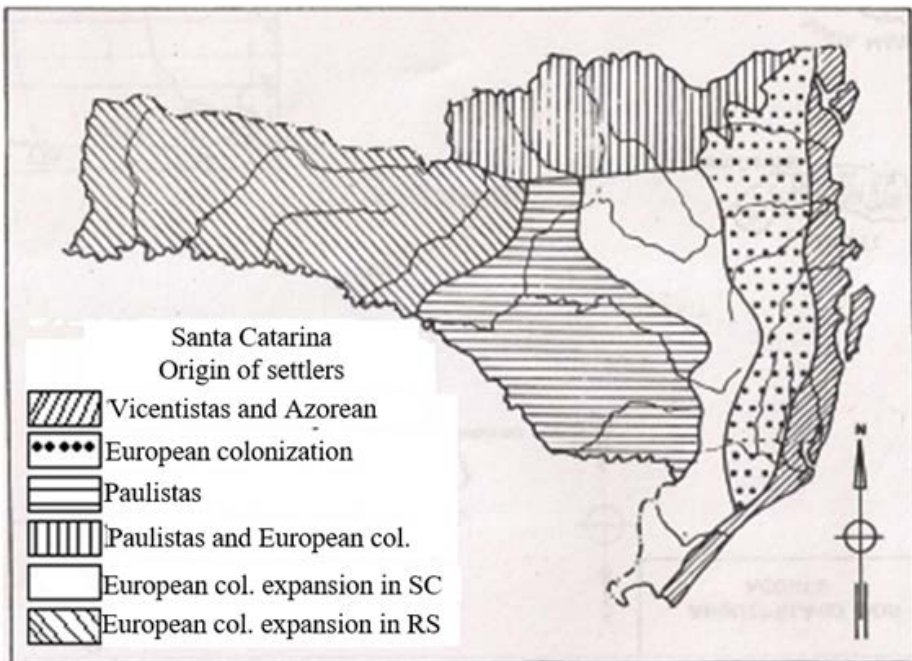
Altenhofen (2002, p. 122) adds to these factors the relevance of internal migrations in the so-called newer areas, starting in the 19th century (topodynamic consideration of variation and change). Nevertheless, the role played by merchant troop routes that also crossed the state of Santa Catarina is also considered here, based on the contract between people from São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul prior to the arrival of German (1824) and Italian (1875) immigrants to Rio Grande do Sul.

This contact gave origin to commercial routes that followed a path established by Lusitanians in earlier settlements, while driving cattle and transporting goods, and another path through fields, forests, and river margins.³² By analyzing geolinguistic photographs and ALERS data, Altenhofen (2002, p. 129) checks the hypotheses that some isoglosses of

³² Dal Corno (2010) describes that the merchant troop activities “may encompass both cattle driving along the coastal plains up to the plateau pastures for fattening, and the driving of cattle, horses, and mules from Rio Grande do Sul to the Sorocaba fair, in the state of São Paulo, through different routes throughout the years.” (p. 2).

rural Portuguese language from Rio Grande do Sul followed, partially, these older paths. Thus, one of the paths that leads to the fields in Lages, Santa Catarina, is the result of a bifurcation whose origin lies in Rio Grande and Pelotas.

MAP 4 – Origin of Santa Catarina settlers



Source: Furlan (1998b, p. 50).

To represent the reality of this diatopic condition, at the lexical level, Altenhofen (2002, p. 130) mentions the use of the Lusitanized Germanism *chimia* (from dialectal German *Schmier*) to designate “paste made of fruit to be spread on bread.” For the author (ALTENHOFEN, 2002), *chimia* is the predominant variant in Rio Grande do Sul, and its competitor, the Lusitanism *geleia* (*jam*), is found in Luso-Brazilian settlement merchant troop routes.

Other groups make up the Santa Catarina speech and permeate these two aforementioned areas, for which the use of the form *galego* was widespread. The presence of German, Italian and Slavic settlers, as major groups, needs to be acknowledged. Germans first settled in the

state in the São Pedro de Alcântara colony (1829). They were followed by the Italians (1836), in the Nova Itália colony, and by the Slavic settlers, especially Polish (1869), who settled in the Príncipe Dom Pedro colony. Consequently, for these ethnic groups, other settlement phases and colony formation took place throughout the years, and immigrants took over new geographic spaces to make up the territorial scenario in Santa Catarina.

6 Galego and its realization in the state of Santa Catarina

With the assistance of the *Google Maps* digital platform, it was easy to find examples of the use of the popular nickname *galego* and its variants (*galega* and *galegão*) in the Santa Catarina linguistic scenario.

FIGURE 1 – *Galego* in Santa Catarina's linguistic scenario

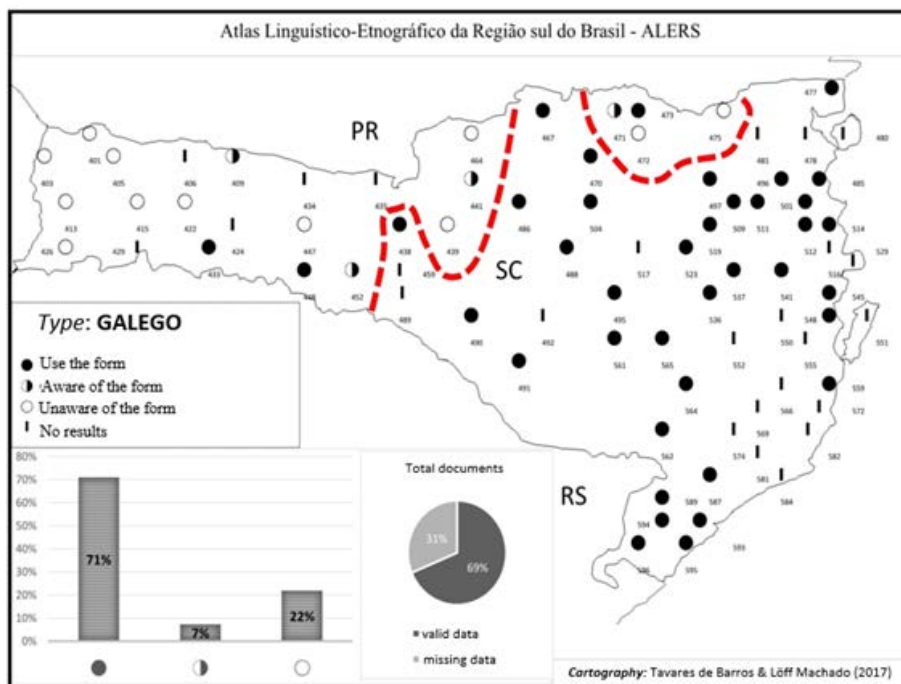


1 – Rua das Flores, Palhoça, SC; 2 – Rua Antônio de Oliveira, Joinville, SC; 3 – Rua Francisco Vahldieck, Blumenau, SC; 4 – Estr. Geral da Prainha, Imaruí, SC; 5 – Rua Santos Saraiva, Florianópolis, SC.

Source: Data extracted from the *Google Maps* platform (<<https://maps.google.br>>)

The use of the nickname with commercial purposes is, in part, a resource that recipients (named by the local population) use to name their establishments and obtain their professional success. Its frequent presence in the linguistic scenario also reveals its current use nature in local popular speech.

In Santa Catarina, the nickname *galego* is known from the coastal area, identified by Furlan (1986), Altenhofen (2002), and Silva Neto (1958), throughout the Azorean influence area, stretching from the Italian, German and Slavic colonization valleys, and stretching up to the upper mountain region, known by its Luso-Brazilian settlement (São Paulo settlers and Bandeirante pioneers) originating in merchant troop routes. Map 5, which presents this diatopic use of *galego*, the red dotted line represents an isogloss that defines the separation between a compact zone of active knowledge of the form (solid symbol) and a zone that oscillates between passive knowledge (partially filled in symbol) and full ignorance of the nickname (empty symbol). This ignorance is more evident in the west of Santa Catarina, an area of Rio Grande settlement, where the ethnic majority consists of German, Italian and Slavic settlers.

MAP 5 – Status degrees of the lexical unit *galego* in the SC ALERS data

Source: Prepared by Tavares de Barros and Löff Machado, with technical comments³³

³³ Galego is documented in 69% of valid data in a total of 100% (corresponding to 80 inquiry points) Map 05 displays a compact area of data without results. These are points close to the coast, including the capital, Florianópolis. This gap is to the non-execution of questionnaire ALERS SC 3.3.3 in these locations. **Questionable data cases:** The inquirer does not wait for the informant's answer and comments that the informant did not know the lexical item (415, Maravilha). We do not hear the informant stating that he knows the form, although the inquired comments that the interviewee knows it (433, Chapecó). The inquirer does not wait for the informant's answer, although he reports that the informant knew the lexical item (467, Canoinhas). The only existing data is the inquirer's report after the interview. This report states that the informant knows the form (501, Luís Alves). The inquirer does not wait for the informant's answer, although he reports that the informant knew the form (514, Itajaí).

7 Informants' metalinguistic comments

The diareferencial dimension, among other functions, is considered by contemporary Dialectology to be a tool for measuring a form's status, both in its use in the diatopic and diastratic fields and in the dialingual field, that is, varieties of a single language in contact, such as the Portuguese with Azorean/merchant troop substrate versus the Portuguese with German/Italian/Polish substrate, or different languages, such as Portuguese and German. In the latter, metalinguistic comments are designed to observe the expansion of the use and knowledge of the form *galego* beyond the areas where the majority is Luso-Brazilian.

In ALERS interviews, the general formulation started with the semasiological approach, which meant the questions, in most cases, were, "*What do you think galego means?*" or "*He is a galego, go with the galego' what does it mean?*" Because these questions involved an ethnographic interest, they were applied in the entire state of Santa Catarina, even in areas where Luso-Brazilians were the minority.

The ALERS inquiry trends to be similar to the French (traditional) dialectology model, that is, with no touch-ups. The informant had little opportunity to make comments about the inquired linguistic element, which somehow affected the diareferential dimension productivity in the corpus. This influence of the French method is recalled in the introduction to vol. 2 of ALERS – *Cartas Semântico-lexicais (Semantic-lexical letters)* (ALTENHFEN; KLASSMANN, 2011, p. 25).

The application of a long questionnaire and the informants' restlessness are, in part, facts that decrease the willingness to make long comments. Despite the obstacles and the strict control by the interviewers, informants, at times, were able to circumvent the inquirer's stern attitude and talk about their impressions of a linguistic element, going beyond a mere 'yes, that's it'.

The qualitative data regarding question 19 (Questionnaire 3.3.3 ALERS), were gathered in a table, organized by point (P), city, symbol (sym.)³⁴ recorded in map 5, followed by metalinguistic comments. We chose not to transliterate all dialectal marks of phonetic nature present in the analyzed corpus, as our interest is mainly in the semantic variation of the lexical form.

³⁴ Considering that the solid symbol represents cases of active use of the form *galego* and the partially filled in symbol represents passive knowledge. The symbol source of the multidimensional and relational cartography method was used (THUN, 2010).

TABLE 1 – Metalinguistic comments

Point	City	Sym.	Metalinguistic comment
409	Abelardo Luz	●	Inq. Is a blond person called <i>galego</i> here? Info. (woman) I've heard this! Inq. Have you? Is a blond person called <i>galego</i> here? Info. (man) Yes!
438	Treze Tílias	●	Inq. What does <i>galego</i> mean to you, as in 'that man is a <i>galego</i> ', what does it mean? Info. A blond man, isn't it? Inq. Blond hair? Info. Blond hair! Inq. Is the expression used here? Info. Yes it is, <i>galego</i> !
441	Caçador	●	Inq. When someone says, <i>he is a galego</i> , what do you understand? Info. (woman) <i>Galego</i> is a small person, right? Inq. Small, right? Info. (woman) Nooo! <i>Galego</i> is a blond man! Inq. But, do people know what <i>galego</i> means? Info. (woman) Yes, <i>galego</i> . No, this word is not used very frequently. Inq. Have you heard it around here? Info. (woman) Yes, I have.
448	Concórdia	●	Info. 'Oh, there goes a beautiful <i>galega</i> '! Inq. Is a <i>galega</i> a blond woman? Info. Yes, blond woman, yes, yes, many boys say this.
452	Peritiba	●	Inq. If they say, 'he is a <i>galego</i> ', what do you understand? Info. <i>Galego</i> ? I know what <i>galega</i> means. Inq. What is a <i>galega</i> ? Info. <i>Galega</i> is like a blond-brunette. She has dark skin, but blond hair. Inq. But do people here use this word? Info. 01. Very little. Info. 02. Very little!
470	Monte Castelo	●	Inq. <i>Galego</i> , what does <i>galego</i> mean? Info. <i>Galego</i> is a blond man, that is a <i>galego</i> !

471	Papanduva	●	<p>Inq. <i>Galego</i>, what is a <i>galego</i>? Info. <i>Galego</i> because he is blond! Inq. White? Info. Yes. Inq. Blond, does it mean <i>galego</i>? Info. Yes. Inq. Is she <i>galega</i>? Info. Yes, but I don't use this word.</p>
473	Mafra	●	<p>Inq. <i>Galego</i>? Info. <i>Galego</i> must be a ... I mean ... someone who comes from abroad, right, maybe <i>galego</i>, right? Inq. What do you understand by the word <i>galego</i>? Info. <i>Galego</i> is a race, right, a race of people. Inq. Is she <i>galega</i>? Info. Yes. Inq. Why is she <i>galega</i>? Info. <i>Galego</i> comes from down there, from the mountains, right? (laughter). Inq. Is a German a <i>galego</i>? Info. There is also a <i>galego</i> lime. (laughter) [misunderstanding by the informant].</p>
477	Guaruva	●	<p>Inq. What about <i>galego</i>, what does <i>galego</i> mean? Info. <i>Galego</i> is a fair person, like a German or a Pole.</p>
485	Barra Velha	●	<p>Inq. What does <i>galego</i> mean to you? Info. A fair person! Inq. Fair hair? Info. Yes! Inq. Or does the person have fair skin as well? Info. Yes, fair skin, that's it.</p>
486	Lebon Régis	●	<p>Inq. 'He is a <i>galego</i>', what do you understand around here when someone says this? Info. He is blond. Inq. Blond? Info. Yes, blond! Inq. But, do people use this expression here? Info. Yes, yes!</p>

488	Curitibanos	●	<p>Inq. If someone says ‘that boy, that <i>galego</i>, please call that <i>galego</i> over there!’, what do you understand by <i>galego</i>?</p> <p>Info. Very fair person.</p> <p>Inq. Very fair?</p> <p>Info. Yes!</p> <p>Inq. Blond hair?</p> <p>Info. Yes!</p>
490	Anita Garibaldi	●	<p>Inq. ‘He is a <i>galego</i>’, what does it mean, ‘<i>he is a galego</i>’?</p> <p>Info. He is a blond person.</p>
491	Campo Belo do Sul	●	<p>Inq. If someone says, ‘he is a <i>galego</i>’, what does it mean?</p> <p>Info. He is blond!</p>
495	Otacílio Costa	●	<p>Inq. If I say, ‘he is a <i>galego</i>’! What do you understand by <i>galego</i>?</p> <p>Info. By <i>galego</i> I understand ‘a German’!</p>
496	Massaranduba	●	<p>Inq. ‘<i>He is a galego</i>’, I’ve been told he is a blond, right?</p> <p>Info. Yes!</p>
497	Benedito Novo	●	<p>Inq. <i>Galego</i>, ‘he is a <i>galego</i>’, what does it mean?</p> <p>Info. <i>Galego</i> would be a German, a blond person.</p>
504	Rio do Campo	●	<p>Inq. What about <i>galego</i>, ‘he is a <i>galego</i>, go with that <i>galego</i>’. What does that mean for you here?</p> <p>Info. A fair person!</p> <p>Inq. A fair person?</p> <p>Info. Yes.</p>
509	Rodeio	●	<p>Inq. <i>Galego</i>, ‘he is <i>galego</i>’, what do you understand if someone is ‘<i>galego</i>’?</p> <p>Info. If he is ‘<i>galego</i>’, he is a descendent of Germans.</p> <p>Inq. Blond?</p> <p>Info. Blond, and he is ‘<i>galego</i>’, but he is German.</p>
511	Blumenau	●	<p>Inq. ‘He is <i>galego</i>’, what do you understand, ‘go talk to the <i>galego</i>!’, what do you understand?</p> <p>Info. <i>Galego</i>? He is blond!</p>

512	Gaspar	●	Inq. What is a <i>galego</i> to you? Info. A <i>galego</i> is a type of German, like this, right? Inq. Blond? Info. Yes, blond.
519	Ibirama	●	Inq. He is a <i>galego</i> , what does this mean? Info. He is blond! Inq. Blond! Yes.
523	Rio do Sul	●	Inq. What do you call a man who has blond hair and fair skin? Info. <i>Galego</i> !
536	Ituporanga	●	Inq. He is a <i>galego</i> , you said he is blond, right? Yes or no? Info. Yes!
537	Presidente Nereu	●	Inq. He is a <i>galego</i> , what does it mean, that he is blond, right? Info. Yes, blond hair!
541	Nova Trento	●	Inq. <i>Galego</i> , he is <i>galego</i> , what does <i>galego</i> mean to you? Info.01. He is <i>galego</i> , white, blond! Info.02. Blond!
545	Governador Celso Ramos	●	Inq. <i>Galego</i> , “go with that <i>galego</i> ”, what does it mean? Info. <i>Galego</i> is a... a German, right?
548	Antônio Carlos	●	Inq. What do you understand by, “he is <i>galego</i> ”, what does it mean? Info. 01. Here, he is a German... he is a German. Info. 02. Blond, red hair!
559	Paulo Lopes	●	Inq. “He is <i>galego</i> ”, what does that mean, “he is <i>galego</i> ”? Info. 01. He has red hair! Info. 02. Red hair!
561	Lages	●	Inq. What if someone here says, “oh, he is <i>galego</i> , tell the <i>galego</i> to warn (...)”. What do you understand? Info. It’s red hair, right? A white man, right? Inq. Do people here use the word <i>galego</i> ? Info. Yes, a very white, very blond guy. Inq. Very blond? Info. Yes!

562	São Joaquim	●	Inq. And the <i>galego</i> , “go call the <i>galego</i> !”, what does it mean? Info. 01. A very white man! Inq. White or... or... Info. 02. Blond! Blond! Inq. Blond! Info. 02. Blond! Info. 01. Yes, right!
564	Urubici	●	Inq. And “he is a <i>galego</i> ”, what do you understand? Info. 01. <i>Galego</i> is a very white man, right? Very white person! Inq. Blond? Info. 02. Blond, yes! Of course!
565	Bom Retiro	●	Inq. He is <i>galego</i> , what does it mean “he is <i>galego</i> ”? Info. Yes, of course, right? He’s German!
587	Criciúma	●	Inq. <i>Galego</i> ? Info. <i>Galego</i> is someone who has fair, blond, fair hair.
589	Timbé do Sul	●	Inq. And <i>galego</i> , “go talk to the <i>galego</i> ”, what does it mean here? Info. He has light hair, blond, right?
593	Araranguá	●	Inq. And for you, what does <i>galego</i> mean? Info. <i>Galego</i> is a fair person, for us, a fair person, blond hair. Inq. A person who has blond hair is a <i>galego</i> ? Info. Blond. He is fair, he is a <i>galego</i> . This is what it means to us here.
594	Jacinto Machado	●	Inq. <i>Galego</i> means red-haired, right, blond? Info. Yes! Yes!
595	Sombrio	●	Inq. And what does <i>galego</i> mean here? Is he a <i>galego</i> ? The word <i>galego</i> ? Info. 01. It’s a very blond person. Info. 02. Blond!
596	Praia Grande	●	Inq. What do you understand by “he is <i>galego</i> ”? Info. <i>Galego</i> is someone fair-skinned, a blond person, right?

Source: Data from ALERS, question 19, questionnaire 3.3.3.

For a better understanding of the frequency of each semantic content for the nickname *galego*, we added, in table 2, the quantification of diarefrential data. This table consists of three columns, the first with a brief description of the semantic load, the second provides the total number of occurrences, organized in descending order, and the third provides the inquiry point in ALERS (SC) where the comment was recorded.

TABLE 2 – Quantification of metalinguistic comments

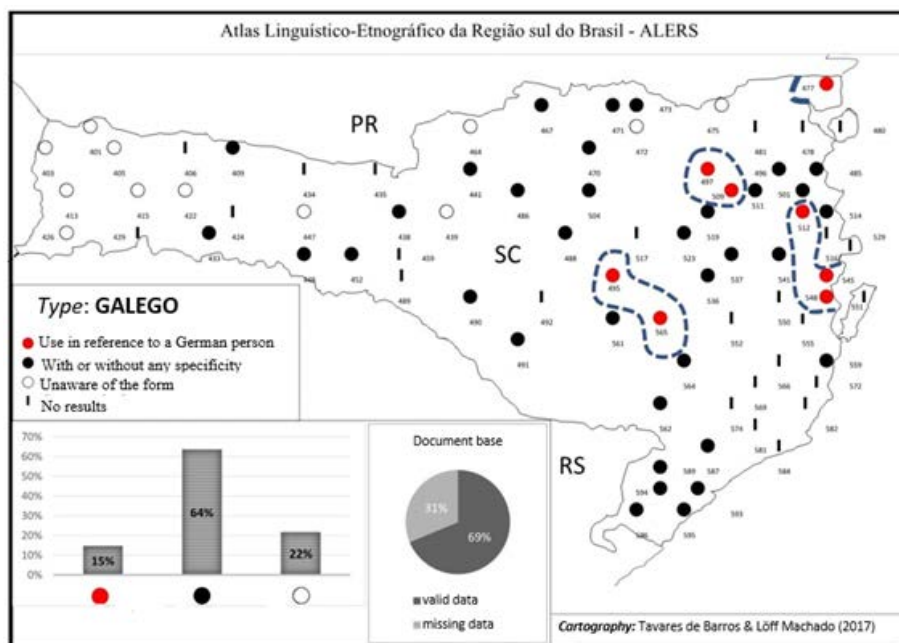
Metalinguistic comment	Σ	Point – ALERS/Santa Catarina
Someone with blond hair.	30	409, 438, 441, 448, 470, 471, 486, 488, 490, 491, 496, 497, 509, 511, 512, 519, 523, 536, 537, 541, 548, 561, 562, 564, 587, 589, 593, 594, 595, 596.
Someone who has (very) fair, white skin.	13	471, 477, 485, 488, 504, 523, 541, 561, 562, 564, 565, 593, 596.
<i>Galego</i> is someone of German origin.	08	477, 495, 497, 509, 512, 545, 548, 565.
Someone with red hair.	04	548, 559, 561, 594.
A fair-haired person.	04	438, 485, 587, 589.
The word is (frequently) used here.	04	438, 486, 561, 593.
The word is not used too frequently here.	02	441, 452.
<i>Galego</i> is someone of Polish origin.	01	477.
A small person.	01	441.
<i>Galego</i> is a “type of people’s race”.	01	473.
I know the word <i>galega</i> , who is a brunette, with dark skin, but blond hair.	01	452.
I know, but I don’t use this word.	01	471.
<i>Galego</i> is a foreigner, an outsider.	01	473.
<i>Galego</i> is someone who comes from down there, from the mountains.	01	473.
<i>Galego</i> is a type of lime.	01	473.

Source: Data from ALERS, question 19, questionnaire 3.3.3.

Although it is the first meaning in most major Portuguese language dictionaries, none of the ALERS informants from Santa Catarina stated that they use or know the form *galego* as referring to someone who is born or who lives in Galicia, Spain.

The expression *galego* was used 30 times to refer to blond-haired people, and this is the most frequent meaning. *Galego* was used 13 times to refer to white-skinned or light-complexion people. *Galego* was used 4 times to mean light red hair. In 08 points of the ALERS (SC) *galego* is the nickname used for a German, that is, a person of German origin. For 01 point, *galego* is the nickname for Polish people (popularly, the *Pole*³⁵).

MAP 6 – Use of the word *galego* to refer to people of German origin



Source: Prepared by F.H. Tavares de Barros and L. Löff Machado.

As mentioned above, in 08 points of the ALERS (SC), *galego* is the nickname for German, that is, a person of German origin. German

³⁵ See the discussion about this nickname in Tavares de Barros, Löff Machado and Philippsen (2017).

descendants, because they are a very significant group in the state of Santa Catarina, frequently have at least one of the meanings related to the physiognomy: blond or red hair, (very) fair complexion, and skin. As shown in map 6, the use of the form for German neighbor is recorded from points in Santa Catarina of the Portuguese on the coast (477, 545 and 548), to countryside points and close to being in contact with the German colony (497, 509, 512, 495, 565).

8 Why are *galegos* in Brazil blond and white? Etymology hypotheses

Light hair, skin and eyes are specific characteristics of Caucasian populations. For most Caucasians, hair may “be flaxen, golden, or various shades of red; the eyes blue, gray, hazel, or an indeterminate blue- or gray-green” (BEALS; HOIJER, 1965, p. 212). Caucasian populations from northwest Europe (Nordic populations) have high percentages of tall, light-haired, blue-eyed people, with light complexions, if compared to other varieties of this racial type (BEALS; HOIJER, 1965, p. 216).

It is not unusual to hear from Spanish or Portuguese people the idea that *galegos*, and the northern Iberian Peninsula populations in general, have lighter skin. This cliché stands out even in speculations about the etymology of the name Galicia. As an example, as early as the 8th century, Isidore of Seville³⁶ (Saint Isidore, c560-636) proposed the hypothesis that *Galiza* (Lat. *Gallaecia*) originated from the Greek expression *gala* (Eng. milk), a denomination motivated, apparently, by the fact that *galegos* have light skin, that is “white in body and the *galleci* even more so than the rest of the Hispanic” (CAÑADA, ca. 2003, p. 140). Spanish lexicographer (15th century) Alfonso de Palencia (1490) also stated that: “*galeci*, del blancor se dizen segund que los galos, por que son más blancos que las otras gentes delas Españas” (NIETO JIMÉNEZ; ALVAR EZQUERRA, 2007, p. 5012).

Considering that the use of *galego* in Santa Catarina takes place mainly in Azorean and Luso-Brazilian colonization zones, understanding the physiognomy description of the Portuguese in historiography, anthropological studies, and human geography. This is especially true if

³⁶ Isidore of Seville was a Spanish bishop (600-636) known by his work *Etymologiae*, an erudite work collected in 20 books with an immense number of etymons (VIARO, 2011, p. 35).

one considers that in Portuguese lexicography the use of *galego* among southern Portuguese (especially the alentejanos) to refer to northern Portuguese.³⁷ According to the renowned Portuguese geographer, Orlando Ribeiro:

The Portuguese population, as most of the Western European peoples, consists of three elements: the *Mediterranean*, widely preponderant in the entire country, characterized by the dark complexion features - skin, hair, eyes - medium to low height, elongated skull, medium-sized our narrow face, constituting the most common Portuguese type; the *Alpine* differs from the previous type especially because of the shortest skull and wider face, and its influence is noticed in southern Portugal; the *Nordic*, with light eyes, skin and hair and tall stature. Although it is widespread the latter has a strong influence in Entre Douro and Minho, where it occurs in significant excessive numbers (if compared to the rest of the country) of blue eyes, blond hair, pinkish complexions and taller statures. (RIBEIRO, 1987, p. 17).

According to the interpretation of German geographer Hermann Lautensach, Portuguese anthropologists usually classify the Lusitanian “racial types” into 4 categories. Three of them (types 01, 02, and 04) share more Mediterranean characteristics (type 01), medium height (type 04) and small (type 01), dark complexion (types 02 and 04), and too dark haired at times (type 04). Racial type 01, known as the Mediterranean, consists of the majority of the current Portuguese population, given that both Roman domination and the Moorish invasion introduced this type of blood” (LAUTENSACH, 1989, p. 712). Darker complexion Portuguese people, with “prominent chins, curved aquiline noses, and large almond-shaped eyes” (LAUTENSACH, 1989, p. 712), for Lautensach, are in the Algarve region (southern Portugal), among anglers and on the northwestern coast. Only type 03 consists of tall, fair-reddish complexion, light eyes and blond- or red-haired people.

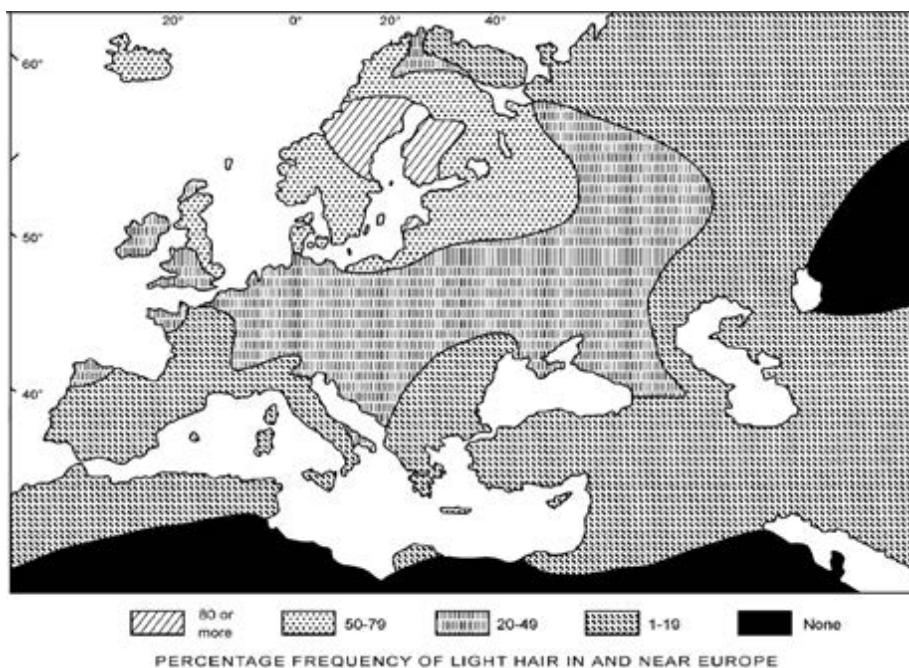
Type 03 is classified by Lautensach (1989, p. 713) as originating from the Nordic substrate.³⁸ Nordic blood, the author argues, “was

³⁷ A considerable part of northern Portugal formed the older Galicia territories.

³⁸ The concept of ‘Nordic’ used in Portuguese anthropology refers to the peoples originating from the areas beyond the northern Iberian Peninsula (the Celts, the Suevi, etc.), and not particularly that of Scandinavian countries.

not introduced, only the Suevi and the Visigoth; it existed previously, considering that Nordic type skeletons were found in graves at Cascais, from the Luso-Roman era”. For Lautensach (1989, p. 713), saying that “the Celts brought the Nordic blood to Portugal for the first time”. The author states that those people with strong Nordic characteristics are mixed with dark complexion in several locations in Portugal. However, according to these researchers’ observations, there is a higher frequency at the Minho region (northern Portugal), both in the Minho coast and in the valleys, listing, as examples, Melgaço and Monção regions. For Lautensach (1989, p. 713), the most common physiognomy among the Portuguese is the mixed type, which inherits the reddish complexion and the structure, at least medium height from the Nordic features, and the remaining features from the Mediterranean origin.

MAP 7 – Percentage and frequency of light color hair in Europe

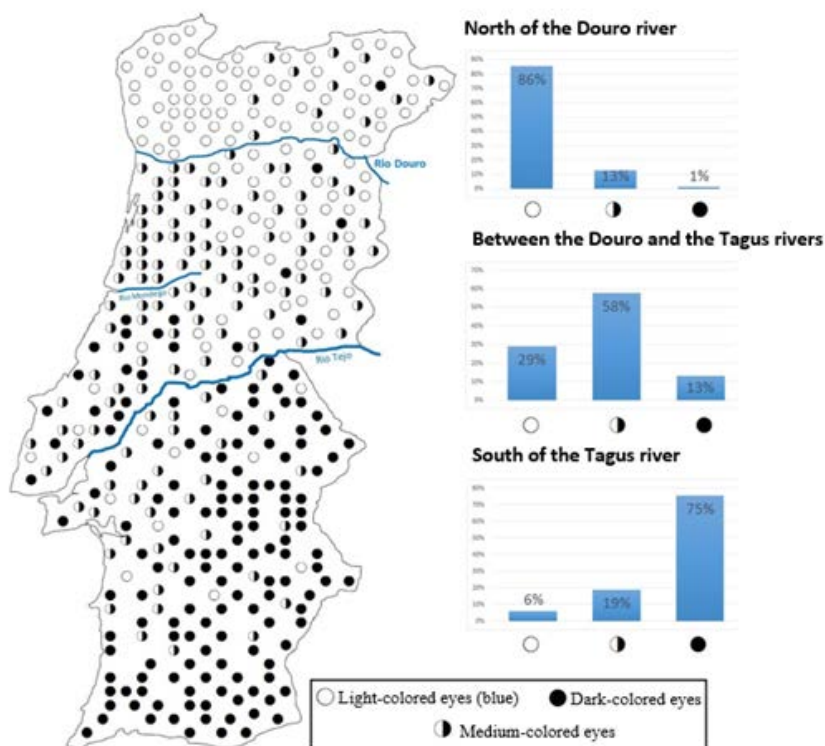


Source: Beals and Hoijer (1965, p. 214).

More specifically, regarding the *galego* lexical item, as seen before, Brazilian lexicography usually points out two meanings with the highest frequency rates. The first meaning is that of *galego* to refer to Portuguese people, and the second meaning is that of *galego* used in reference to blond-haired and fair-skinned people. The latter, however, is not fit to describe the first, if we take into account what Ribeiro (1987) and Lautensach (1989) proposed, that is, Portuguese people have contrasting features. Despite the common sense existing in Brazil that all Europeans are white and, at times, blond, these physical features do not always portray the physiognomic reality of Portuguese immigrants and their descendants. There already was a diversity of skin tones, heights, eye colors, and hair colors among the Lusitanians prior to the immigration wave to Brazil.

However, we are not able to state whether the internal perception existed within the immigrating group and, therefore, originated this semantic content – blond and fair-skinned person – prior to their settlement in Brazil. Although this idea constitutes a hypothesis, we can only state that understanding it has its origins in the perception of different skin and hair colors among Luso-Brazilians and Portuguese is a superficial interpretation of the facts.

MAP 8 – Eye color distribution in Portugal



Source: Adapted (replica) from Amorim Girão (1960, p. 236).

Portuguese lexicography, it should be noted, does not provide any indications of the second meaning, and that leads us to support this hypothesis. Added to this interpretation is the fact that blond hair is a minority feature, inherited from Nordic peoples, in the entire Iberian Peninsula, not only in Portugal. Furthermore, the naming of minorities by majorities is a well-known intrinsic aspect of the nicknaming process. Thus, being blond and having light skin and eyes are minority features within the Iberian context, and, hypothetically, may be associated with a geographic area. Map 7 presented by anthropologists Beals and Hoijer (1965, p. 214), based on Frederick Hulse's field notes, indicate that the old Galicia region had the highest percentage of people with fair hair in the Iberian Peninsula. Galicia is represented on the map as having 20% to

49% of people with such features, in contrast with the remaining portion of the Peninsula, represented as being in the lowest bracket, between 1% and 19%. The European region with the highest light hair occurrence rate is Scandinavia.

As previously discussed, light-eye pigmentation, especially those tending to be blue, is a feature of the Nordic substrate. Map 8, presented by the renowned Portuguese cartographer, Amorim Girão (1960, p. 236), based on the 11,601 annotations made by anthropologist Eusébio Tamagnini, exhibits a clear division in the eye color distribution in Portugal. Northern Portugal has a more Nordic phenotype (lighter color), while southern Portugal has a more Mediterranean phenotype (darker color). Between the rivers Tagus and Douro there is a transition geographic zone, which displays an average color trend. It should be noted that north and east of the Mondego River, a preponderance of medium-colored and light-colored eyes might be observed.

Therefore, would the *galegos*³⁹ be the lightest people on the Iberian Peninsula?⁴⁰ Anthropology and human geography studies apparently indicate so,

Therefore, the semantic content issue - a blond and fair-skinned person - may find its roots in an earlier state of the Portuguese language, thus prior to the Portuguese immigration waves to Brazil. Would this be, therefore, a case of semantic archaism, considering that, in Portugal, as far as it is known, the word *galego* is not known to have this meaning. The absence of records in Portuguese lexicography, however, means that more detailed studies must be conducted in order to confirm such hypothesis.

Map 9 displays the realization of the meanings “blond-haired person” and “red/reddish-haired person”. We chose to extract both meanings from the map by using the same red hatched symbol, considering that both hair shades are, at times, mistaken and treated as similar. This is the case of the metalinguistic comments in points 548, 561, and 594. The black hatched symbol is used both for answers that

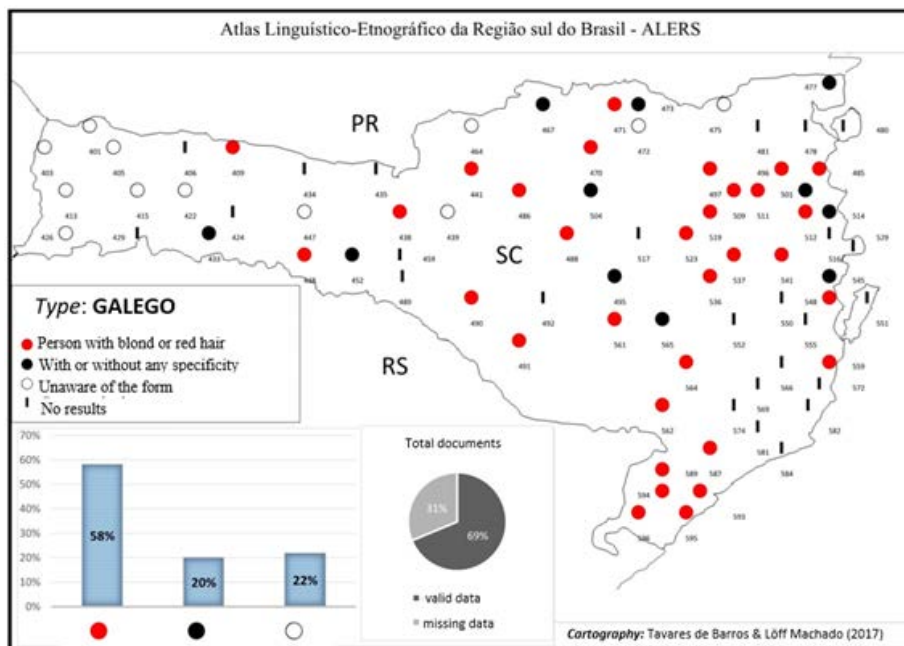
³⁹ If this nickname is viewed as capable of encompassing all peoples located above the Alentejo (northern Portugal and present-day Galicia);

⁴⁰ Another aspect to be taken into account is how Portuguese and Brazilian people classify people as being blond or dark-colored, and the degrees of such perception. Nevertheless, we did not find any studies in this sense.

did not provide a semantic specificity, and for those whose semantic content was different. Similar to maps 5 and 6, the empty symbol mean informants did not know the form, and the vertical trace means there are no results for the inquiry point.

As shown in map 9, in Santa Catarina, the semantic load - blond or red-haired person - is present in the entire area where the form *galego* occurs. Therefore, it does not constitute a specific isogloss within the diatopia of its use and knowledge. This meaning corresponds to 58% of the cases recorded for such a lexical item, that is, the highest occurrence rate. Therefore, the most frequent semantic content is also found in areas to which the form was spread.

MAP 9 – Use of the word *galego* to refer to blond or red haired people



Source: Prepared by Tavares de Barros and Löff Machado.

Final considerations

As revealed by ALERS data, the use of the nickname *galego* appears to be a characteristic lexical element in the Portuguese colony and Luso-Brazilian regions in Santa Catarina. Its use expanded from the Azorean region to the Santa Catarina German-, Italian- and Slavic-colonized countryside, and from the Luso-Brazilian area (on the merchant troop routes) to the countryside where the Lusitanian element is a minority in the linguistic substrate.

The use of *galego* to nickname German descendants was one of the most commonly documented meanings (8 occurrences). Here, this nicknaming may be associated with the Portuguese experiences with their former neighbors in the Iberian Peninsula, the Galicians, or *galegos*. Because Galicians are, at times, blond, this perception may lead to the generalization that “all blond people are *galegos*”. In the new overseas context, blond people, geographically closer, are mostly the German-Brazilian neighbors. Therefore, the use of *galego* to refer to Germans may trace back to a collective memory crystallized in the Lusitanian use of the nickname.

Considering that Azoreans have, in their settlement origins (since 1400), different groups coming from continental Portugal, there is a certain degree of probability that the anthroponym *galego* used in Santa Catarina originated in this linguistic transfer.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the hypothesis that the semantic content “blond and fair-skinned person” has originated in the relations between southern and northern Portugal, precisely because there is a significant physiognomic difference caused by the substrates of earlier settlers, cannot be discarded. In Portugal, “blondish” and “reddish” aspects are only identified by the denomination *galego* if they are characteristics of some fruit and plants, such as *galego-barbado* and *galego-rapado* (or *mocho-ruivo*) wheat and the grape varieties *galego-dourado* and *galego-de-Montemor* (EÇÃ, 1944-1945, p. 53). Future investigations may determine whether this is a case of semantic *relict* associated with “blond and fair-skinned person” in Santa Catarina.

⁴¹ Among the Portuguese people settled during the immigration wave to Brazil to the Santa Catarina coast, there were not only Azorean, but also immigrant from Madeira and continental Portugal.

Because the nickname *galego* is historically used in southern Portugal in mockery (LEITE DE VASCONCELOS, 1890-1892, p. 72) to refer to northern Portuguese, skin, hair, and eye color could have motivated the use of this epithet, when such features gave rise to laughter and mockery.

Galicia and the Galicians are very fruitful elements in Iberian and New Romanian anthroponymy and toponymy. Despite its many records found in lexicography, the mysteries the epithet *galego* hides in Lusophony are noticeable. ALERS data only reveal part of this multiplicity of semantic loads produced by the denomination. The present study was a contribution to Historical philology, Dialectology, and Onomastics, to allow them to understand better the folkloric figure of the *galego* in Luso-Brazilian ethnographic expression and in Portuguese culture in Brazil.

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