

# *The Inquirer and the Difficulties in Obtaining Answers to the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil (Atlas Linguístico do Brasil): the case of *doido**

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## **Abstract:**

This study relates to the methodology of the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil (Atlas Linguístico do Brasil) (ALiB), which is an interinstitutional research project aiming at describing the Brazilian linguistic reality by means of dialectal records gathered in 250 localities distributed around all the Regions of the country. Due to the increasing expansion of researches of lexical, phonetic-phonological, morphologic and pragmatic nature and many others based on the Project ALiB's database, this article aims at analyzing the methodology of this project. It also proposes: (i) to analyze the answers given by the informants from the capitals of the North and South Regions to the Question 138 of the ALiB's Phonetic-Phonological Questionnaire (QFF) (COMITÊ NACIONAL DO PROJETO ALiB, 2001); (ii) to discuss the difficulties encountered by the inquirers in obtaining the answers; and (iii) to verify the strategies utilized by the interviewer to obtain the desired item. For that purpose, the studies by Pop (1950), Buesa Oliver and Flórez (1954), Aguilera (1992, 1998, 2000), Brandão and Moraes (1998), Pontes and Aguilera (1999), Aguilera, Amâncio and Paes (2003) and Aguilera and Yida (2008) served as a basis. The study indicated that, in both Brazilian Regions and particularly in the South Region, the informants had some difficulty in immediately registering, as a first answer, the form *doido* (madman). It also demonstrated that there is not a way to predict the possibility of the informant, despite knowing the word in question, to use it in a different context other than to say that a person is furious or aggressive. We cannot discard, however, the interviewer's difficulty in reformulating the question in order to make it clearer to the informant, given that each informant has his/her own personal history.

## **Keywords:**

ALiB Project. Question 138 of the ALiB's Phonetic-Phonological Questionnaire. Inquirer's Strategies in the North and South Regions.

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# The Inquirer and the Difficulties in Obtaining Answers to the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil (Atlas Linguístico do Brasil): the case of *doido*

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## INTRODUCTION

Collecting data in a geolinguistic research is a very complex task, which has always concerned the scholars in the area, as this stage implicates in a set of decision making, from the choice of the object and research goals, going through the definition and elaboration of the instruments for data collection, the choice of points that will be investigated, the preparation and performance of the inquirer(s) in the field, among others. The Linguistic Atlas of Brazil (Atlas Linguístico do Brasil) (ALiB), recently released (CARDOSO et al., 2104a, 2014b), has brought to light the first two volumes: the Introduction (Introdução) (vol. I) and Linguistic Maps -1 (Cartas Linguísticas -1) (volume II) with data from the capitals referring to some phonetical phenomena, like the pronunciation of /t/ and /d/ preceding a high front vowel and the /r/ in internal and external syllable coda, among others, in addition to lexical, morphosyntactic and prosodic maps.

The Phonetic-Phonological Questionnaire (QFF) tried to include the biggest possible number of phonetic variation found in the Portuguese spoken in Brazil, among them the possibility of variation of the context /id/, /it/, as in *doido*, *peito* (madman, chest), in the case of fricativization of the occlusive unleashed by the hyperthesis or the expansion of the high vowel to the following syllable, as in the item *doido*>*dodjo*>*doidjo*, obtained through the question 138 of the QFF, and in *peito*>*petcho*>*peitcho* as a result of question 117.

The ALiB formulated 159 questions in order to obtain the phonetic data according to the following methods<sup>1</sup>: (i) *naming question* (name), the simplest one, it is when you show or point to a corresponding object or drawing. In the ALiB's QFF, for example, we have the question 89. *azul* (blue): *What color is this? Show it*; (ii) *completing question* (complementation), using the appropriate intonation so that the informant can complete, as in question 20. *ruim* (bad): *The food can be good or...?* (iii) *talking question* (conversation), for simple designation and consists of the inclusion of the biggest number of semas of the object in question to facilitate its decoding, thus avoiding an induced answer. Also called descriptive, this method

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<sup>1</sup> According to Rector (1983, p. 13) this method was utilized by Orton and Dieth on the elaboration of the Linguistic Atlas of England. The other two modalities of questions are not in the ALiB's QFF: (iv) *converting question* (conversion), utilized in verbal forms; and (v) *reverse question* (reversal), also known as identification test or answer suggestion (suggestion, THUN, 1998).

is utilized to obtain simple designations, as in question 138 of the ALiB's Phonetic Phonological Questionnaire (COMITÊ NACIONAL DO PROJETO ALiB, 2001), which was formulated this way: *Doido. How do you call a person who sometimes gets angry, aggressive, and even needs to be committed to a mental institution?* The goal of question 138 is a diatopic verification of the pronunciation of the final segment *-/do/* or */djo/-* the latter was verified in the Northeast<sup>2</sup> regions of Brazil in previous dialectal studies.

The first interviews done by the ALiB team demonstrated the difficulty in readily obtaining the answer to question 138 – *doido* and instigated the interviewers to formulate some strategies to obtain the wanted item. Therefore, aware of the complexity of each stage in the geolinguistic work, mainly regarding the QFF's questions, which require a single answer, this article's object of study is the interviewer's behavior when facing the difficulties in obtaining an answer. We also propose: i) to describe and analyze the answers given by the informants from six capital cities in the North Region (Macapá/002, Boa Vista/003, Manaus/006, Belém/012, Rio Branco/020 and Porto Velho/021) and in the South Region (Curitiba/220, Florianópolis/230 and Porto Alegre/245), to the question 138 of the ALiB's Phonetic Phonological Questionnaire (QFF) (COMITÊ..., 2001); (ii) to discuss the difficulties encountered by the inquirers in obtaining the answers; and (iii) to verify the strategies used by the interviewer to obtain the desired item.

## METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES AND THE DIALECTOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Among many challenges within the dialectological research, the choice of inquirer(s) for the execution of the research *in loco* is not a consensual decision among the specialists. For the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (ALF), published between 1902-1910, for example, Gilliéron had the help of only one inquirer, Edmond Edmont, who “had great skills for capturing the phonetic variations of sounds and for transcribing it with awesome accuracy” according to the author.

The coordinating team for the *Atlas Linguístico e Etnográfico da Colômbia* (Linguistic and Ethnographic Atlas of Colombia), on the other hand, in dealing with the preparation of the investigators, explain:

Aunque reconocemos las ventajas del explorador único, desde el primer momento nos vimos obligados a abandonar este loable principio: era imposible materialmente que un solo encuestador pudiera recorrer en poco tiempo el vasto territorio de Colombia, so pena de que la instantaneidad o sincronismo de la cosecha, factor éste de enorme importancia cuando se estudia a fondo un territorio, fallase. A pesar de todos sus inconvenientes, se penso que las encuestas del ALEC serían realizadas por un equipo de

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<sup>2</sup> Some studies have also registered the palatalized form with the hyperthesis of the high vowel among the elderly speakers in Florianópolis.

recolectores, cuyo número se fijó en seis, más dos auxiliares para cubrir cualquier vacío producido por enfermedad, retiro voluntario o forzoso, etc (BUESA OLIVER; FLÓREZ, 1954, p. 149).

Besides the importance of the inquirer in the execution of direct researches of any nature, and mainly in geolinguistics, the choice of the instrument for data collection is another challenge. When analyzing the methodology of the first dialectological studies in France, Pop (1950, p. 42) explains that Father Rousselot considered the conversation with parents and friends to be the best way to register the vernacular, but, in order to obtain rarer language facts, it would be necessary to provoke, “but a more subtle art is necessary, a well exercised diplomacy to obtain the sought forms without violence”. Sociolinguistics, almost half century later, would also defend the importance of the personal experience narrative in order to register the vernacular. In the same way, Geolinguistics in Brazil has been discussing ways of approaching the informant and the procedures adopted by the interviewers in obtaining, in the most spontaneous manner, the adequate answers to each question according to the objective of each one of them.

Once the collection method is defined and a structured questionnaire is chosen, the researcher faces another dilemma: how to select the items which will compose this instrument? Obviously the dialectologist would like to include the biggest possible number of lexical items and embrace all semantic fields of a language or culture. In light of this impossibility, it is necessary to review the research goals and select with a lot of criteria what would compose the Questionnaire or not. Once this task is finished and the profile of the interviewer or group of interviewers is defined, as well as its preparation, the researcher will focus on the way of applying the questionnaire in order to obtain a reliable sample.

Regarding the ways of applying the Questionnaire for the Linguistic and Ethnographic Atlas of Colombia, Buesa Oliver and Flórez (1954, p. 164) clarify:

Procuramos plantear cada pregunta siempre del mismo modo en todas las localidades, ya que si se cambia aquélla, también se altera la respuesta. Con el fin de que ésta sea más espontánea y auténtica, y el informador no esté influido por el explorador, hacemos las preguntas en unos casos con métodos indirectos: gestos, rodeos o perífrasis, etc. Para determinados aspectos léxicos, utilizamos con éxito álbumes de fotografías y dibujos como medio de hacer reconocer los objetos, aunque algunas de sus partes sólo estarán completas cuando se termine la encuesta preliminar. No siempre podemos registrar las respuestas indirectamente; entonces, antes que dejarlas en blanco, las obtenemos presionando directamente al individuo. En todos los casos, se anota, al lado de cada respuesta, un signo auxiliar indicador del procedimiento usado para provocarla y del modo de reaccionar cada informante; gracias a estos signos (vid. pág. 179), el lingüista, cuando examine los resultados, estará en condiciones de comparar y explicar correctamente cada respuesta. Intentamos copiar la primera contestación que nos da el sujeto; si, por cualquier causa, nos vemos obligados a que la repita, mencionamos este detalle.

Brandão and Moraes (1998, p. 107) explain that when Pickford criticized the first results of the Linguistic Atlas of New England (LANE), he claims that LANE's questionnaires could have been more productive if, besides their extension, the bad text of some of its questions and the way it was applied were reviewed. These two deficiencies (bad text, and the way the questions were applied) can be observed in any Questionnaire for dialectological research and were cause for concern for the directing team of the Atlas Linguístico do Brasil, so while building the instrument for data collection, the following measures were taken: (i) not formulating an exceedingly long questionnaire so it wouldn't tire out the informant, thus avoiding a high number of abstention or inadequate answers; (ii) applying the instrument of data collection to a great number of speakers from the most diverse Brazilian regions, under the form of a pilot-project, in order to verify the productivity, clarity, objectivity and viability of each question, as well as the informants' reaction and the inquirer's posture coming up against the most complex questions.

In the final version of the Questionnaires, the members of the National Committee sought to test the intelligibility of each element of the sentence with the informants from different regions, since the same lexical item does not always have the same meaning in all regions of the country. To illustrate, we registered that the act of picking a fruit, for example, can be expressed differently depending on the fruit, region, or level of education of the speaker: picking, dropping, cutting, among others, invalidating the others. In Rio de Janeiro, for example, a car driver cuts off another vehicle by overtaking it, but in Paraná he 'prunes' it. These subtleties, obviously, will only be incorporated by the interviewer after many consultations with regional dictionaries, dialectical works and many field surveys (AGUILERA, 2000).

Aguilera (2000, p. 184) states that several reformulations of the ALiB Questionnaires were necessary until they reached definitive form. Moreover, UEL Publishing House published three editions: the one of 1998 and the one of 1999, in restricted circulation; and that of 2001, for use by the entire academic community. Each version was applied, both by experienced and novice researchers, to locations in several states and their results were extensively discussed in two workshops (Salvador, 1999 and Londrina, 2000), so that each question, only after reviewed and remade, became part of the 2001 version (COMITÉ..., 2001).

For the final version of the Questionnaires (COMITÉ..., 2001), the researchers suggested the reordering of the questions, grouping them, as far as possible, by semantic field to facilitate to the informant the association of ideas, avoiding the abrupt passage from one theme to another.

In addition to understanding that the success of an interview does not depend only on an adequate instrument of data collection, but, given the impossibility of indicating only one researcher to move to the 250 points and proceed to the 1100 interviews, as Gilliéron did, in 639 localities, for the Atlas Linguistique de la France, the National Committee established that the team of field researchers should not be very numerous in order to

obtain a sample as homogeneous as possible. Regarding the decisions of the ALiB on the subject, Silva and Aguilera (2009, p. 366) state:

According to the minutes of the first meetings of the Committee, it was decided that each regional would have only two inquirers. Little by little, it was concluded that the large number of points allocated to each regional and the absence of global funding made such a measure unfeasible. Thus, already in the minutes of the meeting of October 6, 1999, it was suggested that the total number of inquirers, duly prepared, should not exceed 20, which was later extended to 30 researchers throughout Brazil.

The leadership of ALiB has always insisted on the fact that the researcher had complete mastery of the questionnaires and the objectives of each question before going to the field. In the same way, the interviewer should be aware that the Phonetic-Phonological Questionnaire required from the informant only the answer from the caput of the question to determine the performance of each variable (register of /s/ in internal coda, in *fósforo, casca, escolar, rasgar*, and /r/ in coda, as in *gordura, fervendo, borboleta, tarde*, for example), unlike the Semantic-Lexical Questionnaire that envisaged multiple lexical variants according to the variables of place of origin, sex, age group or degree of education of the informant. It is also important to note that often the failure of a survey, or the poor performance of the surveys, may be related to the inquirer's inability, the way of approaching the informant, the way he stands before him, his tone of voice and his reaction to the silence and misconceptions of the informant.

For almost two decades, we have been questioning an interviewer's posture and as forms of application of questionnaires aimed at geolinguistic research. In one of her first articles on the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil, Aguilera (2000, pp. 184-185), dealing with the number of questions in the data collection instruments in dialectal research, states that "the most important is not the number of questions to be proposed, but that the success of a dialectical research, and more specifically geolinguistic, depends on the unambiguous formulation of the questions. "

Analyzing the difficulties of obtaining answers in 18% of the questions, during the first interviews of the Pilot Project, Pontes and Aguilera (1999, p. 238-244) clarify that these difficulties could be of different natures: (i) search for the denomination of referents of rural life, such as *restolho, forquilha, canga, cangalha, balaio*. We remind that the ALiB proposes an urban atlas, that is, the informants should be residents of the city and not the countryside. Therefore, these questions, because they were not known to the speaker's world, were unanswered or inadequately answered; (ii) very long questions, making it difficult to immediately grasp the objective of the question, and (iii) questions formulated through semas that could lead to ambiguity, among others.

## DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE ANSWERS GIVEN TO QUESTION 138 OF QFF - DOIDO - IN THE CAPITALS OF THE NORTHERN REGION

Because it is a phonetic-phonological question, question 138 of the QFF is intended to obtain answers that illustrate the palatalization or not, as for example: [ˈdoido], [doˈdjo] and [ˈdoidjo]. When the questioner asks the question, “What is the name of a person who sometimes gets angry, aggressive, and even needs to be committed to a mental hospital?” expects the answer to be just “doido or doida” so that he can perform the phonetic-phonological analysis of this item and proceed to its spatial distribution in the corresponding map.

In the six capitals of the Northern Region, up to four reformulations of the question were required to obtain the *doido(a)* lexical item, since many informants immediately recorded a series of parasyonyms before referring to the desired variant. In total, 112 responses were computed from the first to the 5th answers, among which, the most frequent were: *doido(a)*, with 48 responses and *louco(a)*, with 29. In addition, with a lower number of occurrences, we obtained: *débil mental*, with four answers; and *doente mental*, *maluco* and *pirado(a)*, with three each; *raiva*, *nervoso(a)*, *perturbado* and *tantã*, with two each and 14 unique occurrences: *abestado*, *abestalhado*, *bileléu*, *brava*, *descompensado*, *descontrolado*, *desequilibrado*, *doidice*, *esquizofrênico*, *estressado*, *ignorante*, *lelé*, *psicótico* and *variada*.

In the first answer, *louco(a)* (crazy), with 20 registers, surpassed the variant *doido(a)*, with 18 occurrences. In the reformulation or insistence on the question, 21 occurrences of the variant were obtained, totaling 41 answers among the 48 informants. The remaining seven were elicited as 3rd answer (four occurrences), as 4th answer (two occurrences). The last record was extracted from two excerpts from the interview with the informant 4<sup>3</sup> from Boa Vista who could not find the expected answer during the application of the QFF, despite the insistence of the interviewer. The first occurrence happened in the answer to Question 80 of the QFF that asks: To make money, what do I have to do? The informant takes the opportunity to report her struggle to create the three children by herself:

The girls in school, I sent them to Belem. The folks: ‘Ah! go and send your daughters to Belem, they will die of hunger, they will only party, will be this and that.’ I say to myself: ‘I do not follow anyone’s head. I will do what my heart asks. ‘I sent the girls. They were crazy, since they were little, I had one that wanted to be a doctor.

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<sup>3</sup> Informants are identified by numerals from 1 to 8 as follows: from 1 to 4 - informants at the primary school level; from 5 to 8, at university level; the odd-numbered ones are the men (1, 3, 5 and 7) and the even number are women (2, 4, 6 and 8).

The second record was extracted from the Informant's Personal Report, which states:

And I lay down on my aunt's bed, until it was afternoon, it was like four in the afternoon. Then I, my aunt in the kitchen: 'Leci, come here, don't cry!' 'What's the matter?' She would offer me something, then another. Sometimes she would offer me something, I was *doida* wanting it, but I wouldn't take it, I was just crying there (laughter).

These spontaneous answers demonstrate that the *doido* item is part of the active vocabulary of the Boa Vista informant, but that the formulation of the question did not lead her to associate the semas of the question with her knowledge of the world. In fact, in the first excerpt, the *doida* form means dreamy (*sonhadora*), bold (*arrojada*); in the second, eager (*ávida*), desirous (*desejosa*), unrelated to the *individual who becomes furious, aggressive, and even needs to be committed to a mental hospital*. Her only answer to question 138 was feeble-minded (*débil mental*).

Due to the numerous possibilities of filling the answer with parasyonyms of *doido*, we observed in the data selection that some informants (002/5, 002/7, 003/7, 006/2, 006/6, 012/1, 012 / 5, 020/7, 021/2, 021/8)<sup>4</sup>, the majority with university level, elicited from three to five answers. This observation had already been made by Aguilera and Yida (2008), when the authors analyzed the responses and non-responses of informants from Brazilian capitals. Years later (2014), Aguilera reinforces the idea of the difficulty of obtaining some items by reiterating that

The form sought is not the only one that can fill the description formulated in the question, as in question 100 for *Companheiro* (companion), which can lead to *amigo, colega, parceiro*; or in question 138 for *Doido*, a response that can be filled by innumerable variants: *louco, maluco, biruta, pinel, ruim da cabeça, estressado, nervoso,, totoca*. (AGUILERA, 2014, p. 95).

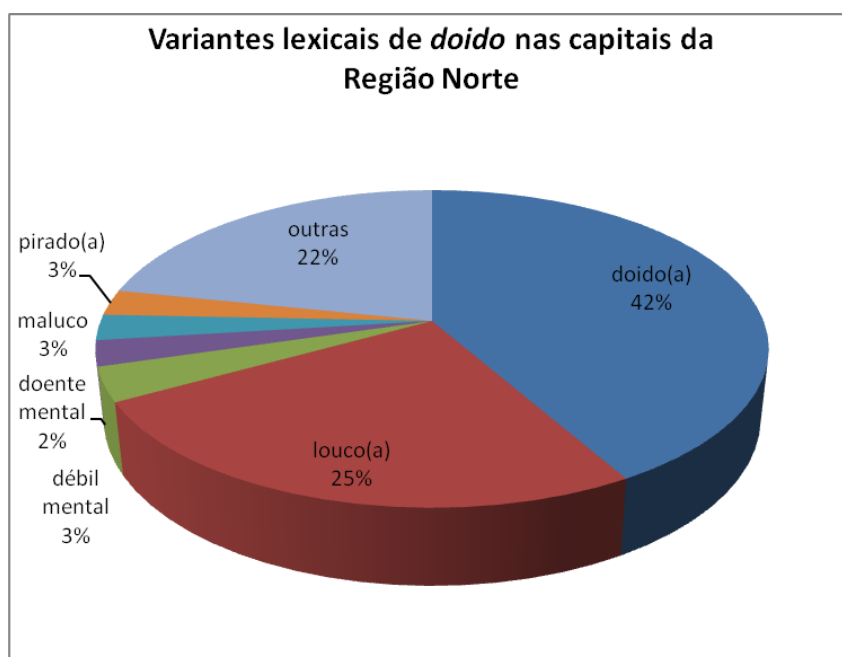
By combining the 112 occurrences distributed among the 24 variants collected, we produced Graph 1, which shows the two most productive lexical variants (*doido, louco*) and the others with indices below 4%, and in *outras* cases with unique occurrences.

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<sup>4</sup> We remind that each locality of the network of points of the ALiB is identified by a number. In the North Region, we have: 002 - Macapá, 003 - Boa Vista, 006 - Manaus, 012 - Belém, 020 - Rio Branco, 021 - Porto Velho; in the South Region: 220 - Curitiba, 230 - Florianópolis and 245 - Porto Alegre.



**Graph 1:** Percentages of the answers given to question 138 of the QFF in the capitals of the North Region



Source: ALiB Project Database.

#### DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE ANSWERS GIVEN TO QUESTION 138 OF THE QFF - *DOIDO* – IN THE CAPITALS OF THE SOUTHERN REGION

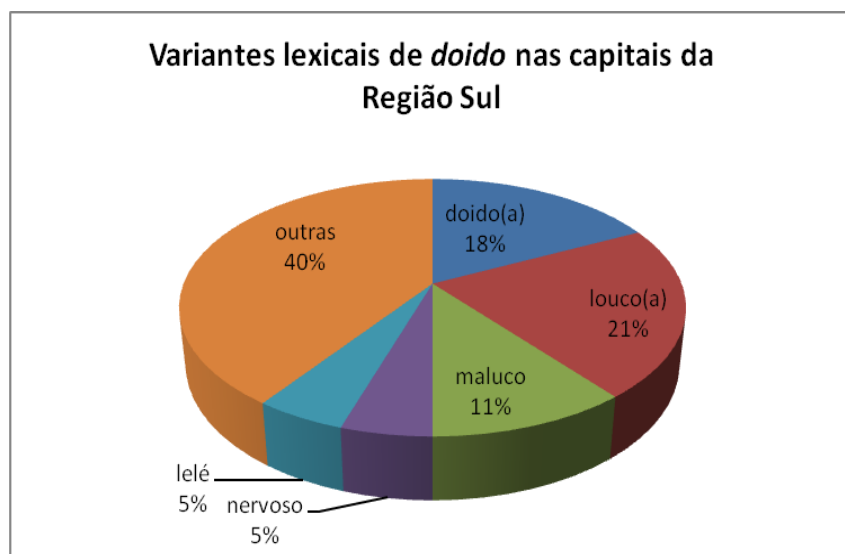
Based on data from the three capitals of the Southern Region (Florianópolis, Porto Alegre and Curitiba), we computed 100 responses ranging from the first to the 8th responses. The data show the following distribution of variants in the capitals of this region: 22 occurrences for *louco* (a); 18 for *doído*(a), 11 for *maluco*(a); with less occurrence: *nervoso*(a) and *lelé* with five registers each; *desequilibrada*, *descontrolado*(a), *raivoso*(a) e *pirado*(a) with three each; *brabo*(a), *biruta*, *doente*/ *doente dos nervos* e *incontrolado*, with two each and 19 unique occurrences: *agitado*, *agressiva*, *desesperada*, *destrambelhado*, *desvairado*, *drogado*, *furioso*, *histérico*, *insano*, *irado*, *irritado*, *lesado*, *noiado*, *paranoia*, *paranoico*, *raiva*, *retardado*, *ruim* e *tantã*.

The results of the first answer, as well as in the North region, highlight the use of the *louco*(a) variant greater than the *doído*(a) item. This lexical item, contrary to what happened in the northern capitals, was not recorded as the first answer, but only from the second. The predominance in the South Region is by *louco*(a) with 22 occurrences as the first response. In the insistence or reformulation of the question we obtained a significant variety of parasyonyms. Of the 18 records for the *doído*(a), we observed that six were obtained as 2nd answer, four as 3rd and 4th, two as 5th and one as 6th and 7th responses. In the 3rd and 4th answers, the informants added the adjective *varrido* to the noun: *doído*(a) *varrido*(a).

The inquirers used the recapture feature at the end of the interview in six of the 24 surveys of the capitals of the Southern Region: in Curitiba, with the informants 01, 02 and 04 and in Florianópolis, with the informants 01, 03 and 04. Out of these retakes, there were two cases of non-responses: informant 1 (young man, elementary school) and informant 4 (woman of the age group II, elementary school) in Florianópolis, who presented the *nervosa*, *maluco*, *louco*, *destrambelhado* and *lelé* variants. The informant 8 from Curitiba (woman of age group II, with higher education) recorded, in each reformulation: *louca*, *desequilibrada*, *nervosa* and *desesperada*, without the elicitation of *doido(a)*. In Porto Alegre, in two situations the inquirer suggested the answer to the informants (04 and 08) by means of the first syllable of the lexical item that, for this reason, were not computed in the *corpus* as valid answers.

In order to visualize the results obtained in the South region, we elaborated Graph 2, in which we computed the data of the 32 presented variants, with salience for the most productive ones (*louco*, *doido*, *maluco* and *lelé*) and amalgamating, under the rubric *outras*, the unique occurrences or with low productivity.

**Graph 2:** Percentages of the answers given to question 138 of the QFF in the capitals of the South Region.



Source: ALiB Project Database.

#### DIFFICULTIES OF ELICITING THE ANSWER TO QUESTION 138 OF THE QFF – DOIDO – AND THE STRATEGIES USED TO OBTAIN IT

In both Brazilian regions, especially in the Southern Region, we found the difficulty of most informants to immediately record, as a first response, the form *doido*. It cannot be said that the question is not well formulated to obtain the desired variant, since it is constructed with the help of the semas: *pessoa*, *agressiva*, *violenta*, *hospício* that correspond to the concept sought. It is a condition that can occur in any environment, without being restricted to the

rural area, for example; nor is it a long question that could lead to the dispersion of the objective of the question. A plausible explanation is the possibility that this state of mind can be designated by various names with the same truth value, and for this reason it can compete with a very large number of variants without departing from the concept sought. This assertion is evidenced by the high number of parasyonyms obtained. One can also consider that the listed semas do not correspond to the concept internalized by the speaker, as occurred with the informant 4 of Boa Vista, as we have explained.

Question 138 has raised, as we have seen, more than three dozen lexical items ranging from scientific names to psychic illnesses, such as *doente mental, esquizofrênico, estressado, histérico e psicótico*, such as colloquial names, sometimes euphemistic, such as *agitado, bravo, descompensado, descontrolado, desequilibrado, desesperado, doente, furioso, insano, irritado, maluco, perturbado e variado* (by *desvairado*) and joking names, or popular slang, such as *abestado, abestalhado, bilelén, biruta, destrambelhado, lelé e tantã*, in addition to refer to cases of psychotic outbreaks caused by illicit drugs, such as *noiado, drogado* and even repeating the item that appears in the question, as *agressivo*. Some forms seem to deviate from the purpose of the question, such as *doidice, raiva, débil mental* and *ignorante*. The first two, because they are nouns when an adjective was expected and the other two because they did not contain in their meaning the semas of the question.

The contest of numerous forms with the same truth value is supported by lexicographic works, such as the dictionaries Houaiss (2009) and Caldas Aulete (1958). In the *doido* entry it says: “That or one who acts insanely, presenting signs of madness; *louco, maluco*” (HOUAISS, 2009) or “the one who lost his reason, lack of judgment, *louco, alienated*” (AULETE, 1958). Thus, this semantic proximity of lexical items may have contributed to the convergence of very close frequency rates to the *doido* and *louco* forms.

As we have already mentioned, the inquirer must be prepared to face the obstacles that may arise during the field research, insisting or reformulating the question, using analogies, dangerous or everyday situations, among other strategies, until the appropriate response is obtained.

By analyzing the strategies used in both regions and by different inquirers to obtain the desired item, we find that, in summary, after the inadequate response, the interviewer: (i) inquires about ‘another name’ for that person; (ii) suggests a situation in which one exposes one’s life to danger; (iii) uses the sema ‘hospital’.

#### Dialogue 1

INQ.- What is the name of a person who becomes furious, aggressive, and even needs to be committed to a mental hospital?

INF.- Louco.

INQ.- What other name could we give him/her, other than ... loco? We say ah he got?

INF.- Abestado ... abestalhado (laughter).

- INQ.- Sometimes the person is going to do something that is dangerous like that, we say you're not ... to do that. What can we say, you're not ...?
- INF.- Medroso.
- INQ.- It's the same as louco. I can say louco, abestado, what else?
- INF.- Atrevido, no.
- INQ.- The one who has, we talk like this: ah, this is a hospital of ...
- INF.- Doido.
- INQ.- Uh-ah (laughs).

(Informant 5 - Rio Branco).

In the first dialogue, the inquirer starts the question exactly as the Questionnaire suggests, however, the informant brings various contributions, such as louco, abestado, abestalhado until he gets the answer doido when the interviewer refers to a particular type of hospital. At least three reformulations were necessary to achieve the objective of the question. The analogy with mental hospital and crazy person is only perceived by the informant when the questioner rephrases the question giving greater emphasis to the hospital item. Thus, the informant completes the phrase with the expected response.

#### Dialogue 2

- INQ.- What is the name of a person who becomes furious, aggressive, and even needs to be committed to a mental hospital?
- INF.- Loca, perturbada, desequilibrada...
- INQ.- Do you have any other names?
- INF.- Doida.

(Informant 4 - Manaus)

Yet, in dialog 2, the informant brings several sequential information (louca, perturbada, desequilibrada), but without referring to doido. The informant completes his reasoning when the questioner asks if there is any more name for that patient.

#### Dialogue 3

- INQ.- What is the name of a person who becomes furious, aggressive, and even needs to be committed to a mental hospital?
- INF.- Louca.
- INQ.- What other name can I give, louca?
- INF.- Descontrolada, descompensada
- INQ.- But what if the person is going to do something dangerous, we say, 'Are you ... to do this?'
- INF.- Louca, doido

(Informant 8 - Porto Velho).

Dialogue 3 has the same characteristics as Dialogues 1 and 2: the informant also contributes with other variants, considered as parasyonyms and the item is mentioned when the inquirer inserts the situation of danger.

#### Dialogue 4

INQ.- What is the name of a person who becomes furious, aggressive, and even needs to be committed to a mental hospital?

INF.- Louco.

INQ.- That, or ...

INF.- Doente mental..

INQ.- What else can I say?

INF.- Lelé.

INQ.- What else?

INF.- Pirado, doido. (Informant 5 – Macapá)

In Dialogue 4, the only strategy was to sequentially ask for the synonyms for each of the forms obtained: louco, doente mental, lelé, pirado, and then the inquirer reinforces the questioning to obtain the expected variant.

In many cases, in the face of the informant's forgetfulness, after some attempts to obtain the item in question, the inquirer is instructed not to insist too much in order to avoid constraining or tiring the informant, but leave unanswered questions for the end of the interview. In these circumstances, it is very important to have an auxiliary who will write down the unanswered questions and which will be resumed after the entire investigation has been completed. Using the resume feature, the interviewer gives one more chance for the informant to try to remember the forgotten answers.

Some interviewers, for question 138, resorted to popular songs that contain the doido item, such as Mamonas Assassinas (you make me doidjão), or the opening song of the humorous television series, "Os normais" (você é doida demais, doida, doida, muito doida.....). The reference to the music of the Mamonas Assassinas does not seem adequate because it already suggests a recurrent form in the speech of the Northeast, but not in the other regions of the country.

The dialogues below illustrate some resumes and their results:

#### Dialogue 5

INQ.- The answer to this question is missing: What is the name of a person who becomes furious, aggressive, and even needs to be committed...

INF.- Braba.

INQ.- But it does not have a different name, right?

CIR.- Loca.

INF.- She's louca, maluca, raivosa. It's loca.

- INQ.- Yes, that one you had already spoken. I wanted another word. For example...
- INF.- Furiosa, irada.
- INQ.- You are like this.
- INF.- Irada, irada.
- CIR.- Maluca.
- INQ.- No. No, but let's see, let me see. Ah, for example. You are, went there, worked a lot, you are sweaty, you want to take a shower, you say: oh, I am what, for a shower?
- INF.- I'm doido for a shower (laughter).
- INQ.- Yes. Is this doido used here, too?
- INF.- We use it, use it, doido, malu (? = maluco) oh, the most common use here is for the person, doido: 'oh, you doido', doido, doido, doido.
- INQ.- Then that's fine. (Informant 3 - Florianópolis).

#### Dialogue 6

- INQ.- What is the name of a person who becomes furious, aggressive, and even needs to be committed to a mental hospital?
- INF.- Loca.
- INQ.- Or ...?
- INF.- Nervosa.
- INQ.- Or what? The other time you had trouble with this word too.
- INF.- Incontrolada.
- INQ.- That.
- INF.- Desequilibrada.
- INQ.- But, it's simpler still. We say like that, for example, an addict, right? When he takes the drug, he gets very ...?
- INF.- Very loco.
- INQ.- Or, very ..?
- INF.- Noiado? I do not know.
- INQ.- There is another word.
- INF.- Retardado?
- INQ.- laughter) We'll ask you later. (Informant 1 - Curitiba).

#### Regarding the Resumption:

- INF.- Ah, yes, there is, you want to see: 'You are ... You are ...' (using the opening song of the humorous show 'Os Normais')
- INF.- Doida?

## Dialogue 7

INQ.- When a person sometimes gets aggressive and needs to be committed to a mental hospital... she?

INF.- Louca.

INQ.- Louca, what other name do you have?

INF.- Louca, she gets ... paranoia (laughter).

INQ.- There is not, I do not know if you know, that song by Mamonas Assassinas: 'You drive me ...'

INF.- Doida, doida. (Informant 2 - Curitiba).

## FINALIZING OUR REFLECTION

In dealing with the difficulties in obtaining certain lexical items as answers to the ALiB QFF, we followed in this text the warnings of Buesa Oliver and Flórez (1954) for the Linguistic and Ethnographic Atlas of Colombia: (i) always ask the question the same way to all informants from all localities, noting that if the question changes, the expected response (in the case of QFF) is likely to change. In the application of the ALiB QFF, this principle was respected by all the interviewers who started the questioning following the proposal of the QFF proposal; (ii) use indirect methods: gestures, sentence re-elaborations, analogies, photos, drawings, that is, directly pressing the informant.

We believe that most inquirers have used various resources to activate the informer's memory for the synonyms or parasynonyms that can designate the person in that state of mind, even coming to that pressure, mentioned by Rousselot in the form of a "very subtle art, a diplomacy well exercised, to obtain, without violence, the forms sought".

Directing the results to the analysis of the strategies carried out by the inquirers of the North and South capitals, we observed that: (i) in most cases, there was insistence and the reformulation of the question, besides resuming it at the end of the interview, until obtaining the variant, a fact that explains the significant number of parasynonyms; (ii) inquirers have used strategies that relate semas that can lead to the *doido(a)* answer, such as knowledge of the world, bringing examples of songs that include the lexicon in their composition, situations of danger that normally lead to the expression "*você tá doido*" or everyday contexts like "*estou doido para tomar um banho*" or "*doido de vontade de comer algo*"; (iii) the variant can be considered a taboo or not in the active vocabulary of the informant. For example, there were no abstentions in the North Region, while in the South Region six informants, although encouraged by various strategies, did not pronounce the desired variant.

This study also showed that there is no way to predict the possibility that the informant, despite knowing the name in question, use it in a context other than to name a person angry or aggressive. It cannot be ruled out, however, the interviewer's difficulty, at the time of the interview, to rephrase the question so as to make it clearer to the informant, given that each informant is unique and has a unique history. Anyway, we hope that these reflections will be useful to all those who venture into field research where surprises are the rule, not the exception.

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