

Linguistic Attitudes of Informants From Cities in the Interior of Bahia State in Brazil Through Data Analysis of ALiB

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Abstract: (150-200 words)

In this article, we seek to describe the linguistic perceptions and attitudes of speakers in northeastern Brazil, using unpublished data collected by the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil. It refers specifically to the analysis of the records of 84 speakers distributed among 21 locations in the State of Bahia, through questions 4 and 5 of the metalinguistic questionnaire, which seek to assess the perception that speakers had of people's speech from other locations in the country. The sample consists of the answers of four speakers from each location, evenly distributed between the male and female and between two age groups, I (18 to 30 years old) and II (50 to 65 years old), and restricted to people who had finished elementary school or not. The study is based on reflections on linguistic attitudes (Lambert; Lambert, 1972) and the precepts of variationist sociology (Labov, 2008; López Morales, 1993; Moreno Fernández, 2009). The results indicate a plurality of linguistic behaviors that result in either a positive or negative attitude towards other people's or their own speech.

Keywords:

Sociolinguistics; language attitudes; Bahia; ALiB.

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INTRODUCTION

Currently, dialectological research related to the Portuguese language spoken in Brazil is concerned with the linguistic perceptions and attitudes manifested by informants. To the data collection instrument, questions related to the knowledge that lay speakers - that is, non-linguistic experts - have about the language they speak and about the local varieties or those from other places in the country have been added. This is how the ALiB Project (Linguistic Atlas of Brazil), created in 1996 with the objective of collecting empirical data on spoken Portuguese for the creation of a national atlas, proceeded. Its data bank relies on information systematically collected through in loco interviews, transcriptions and its own methodology, which enables scholars to

[...] describe the linguistic reality of Brazil, with regard to the Portuguese language, focusing primarily on the identification of diatopic differences (phonic, morphosyntactic and lexical-semantic) considered from the perspective of Geolinguistics. (Comitê Nacional do Projeto ALiB, 2001, p. vii)¹

In addition to diatopic differences, the ALiB questionnaire includes six metalinguistic questions inspired by the contributions of social psychologists Lambert and Lambert (1972) and the reflections of Labov (2008), López Morales (1993) and Moreno Fernández (2009) on language attitudes.

This paper is based on the hearing and analysis of an unpublished corpus made available by ALiB, especially of speeches that can be used to consider and evaluate the linguistic perceptions and attitudes of informants from the interior of the state of Bahia. It contemplates, in its analysis, two of the six metalinguistic questions proposed by the National Committee of the Project (2001) 4. In other places in Brazil, do people speak differently from here in (location)? 5. Could you give me an example of how people speak in other places? Based on the data collected, we sought to analyze: how the speaker understands and describes the varieties of the language they know; what are their perceptions of them; what is their level of linguistic and sociolinguistic awareness; what is their ability to accept or reject the differences in the speech of others; and, finally, to point out the varieties of greater and lesser prestige. The following objectives are proposed: (i) to know what the informants, from 21 localities in the interior of the state of Bahia, think about other languages and (ii) to discuss the linguistic and sociolinguistic attitudes of those speakers.

The corpus is composed of answers given by informants investigated in 21 municipalities located in the interior of Bahia, namely: Juazeiro (point no. 81), Jeremoabo (point no. 82), Euclides da Cunha (point no. 83), Barra (point no. 84), Irecê (point no. 85), Jacobina (point no.

¹ All citations have been translated by the authors of this paper.

86), Barreiras (point no. 87), Alagoinhas (point no. 88), Seabra (point no. 89), Itaberaba (point no. 90), Santo Amaro (point no. 91), Santana (point n° 92), Valença (point n° 94), Jequié (point n° 95), Caetitê (point n° 96), Carinhanha (point n° 97), Vitória da Conquista (point n° 98), Ilhéus (point n° 99), Itapetinga (point n° 100), Santa Cruz Cabrália (point n° 101) and Caravelas (point n° 102). In each location, four informants were surveyed.² Of the 84 informants, 42 are female and 42 are male. The maximum education level is Elementary School, and they belong to two age groups: Group I, from 18 to 30 years old, and Group II, from 50 to 65 years old. The data obtained were tabulated with the help of a spreadsheet, which received filters for crossing the extralinguistic variables age and gender.

In order to comprehend the evolution of the state of Bahia, it is essential to have a basic understanding of some geo-socio-historical characteristics of northeastern Brazil, particularly the history of migratory movements during the past 50 years. The understanding of cultural, linguistic, and linguistic mingling that results from such rescue surely influences local speech and attitudes toward both one's own variety and of others. Thus, the informants' perceptions allow us to appreciate their understanding of the language as well as their evaluation of the way other Portuguese speakers speak (based on their linguistic awareness).

THEORETICAL CONSTRUCT

Any individual has the ability to express their thoughts on the use and form of language. Distinguishing accents and recognizing lexical aspects of other people's speech are two examples of how speakers perceive dialectal differences based on metalinguistic observations derived from popular experience and understanding. Evaluations in such cases can take the form of negative or positive linguistic attitudes.

The study of language attitudes is of interdisciplinary interest, attracting the attention of psychologists, sociolinguists, and other scholars. Therefore, as for theoretical basis, works carried out by the social psychologists Lambert and Lambert (1972), the sociolinguists Labov (2008), López Morales (1993), Moreno Fernández (2009), and the linguists García Mouton (2000) and Blanco Canales (2004) have been chosen.

Labov's (2008) publications boosted sociolinguistic studies, supported by the methodology he developed. His aims included the study of linguistic variations within society, considering extralinguistic principles, such as gender, age, social class, and level of education, among others.

When researching the pronunciation of the diphthongs /ay/ (right, white, pride, wine) and /aw/ (house, out, doubt) on Martha's Vineyard Island in the United States, Labov (2008) was interested in knowing which linguistic and extralinguistic variables could intervene in the realization of the centralized form of diphthongs, which was one of the island inhabitants' characteristics at the time. The researcher discovered that the variation of the phonetic phenomenon in question had a social root, because those who wanted to stay on the island preferred the insular variant, while those who wanted to leave preferred the continental variation.

Another study by Labov (2008) investigated the use of postvocalic /R/ in New York City, in interviews with individuals of different socioeconomic classes in three department stores. The author found that, in each of them, the use of /R/ is conditioned on the status of the establishment. In another opportunity, he studied the speech of African-American youngsters from Harlem, a neighborhood in Manhattan, New York City. The results pointed to the overvaluation of Black English Vernacular (BEV) to the detriment of the use of Standard English.

The manifestations of speakers serve as a framework for investigating language attitudes.

² For this study, the answers of 79 informants were considered, because one of the questions was not asked for five informants: 1/Itapetinga, 2/Santo Amaro, 3/Itaberaba, 4/Jacobina and 4/Vitória da Conquista.

Attitudes have been shown to be elements of the speaker's linguistic identity among the range of human behavioral tendencies. Given the importance of the subject, the definition of attitude from the perspective of social psychologists Lambert and Lambert (1972) is as follows:

The organized and coherent way of thinking, feeling, and reacting in relation to people, groups, social issues, or, more generally, to any event that occurs in our surroundings. Its essential components are thoughts and beliefs, feelings (or emotions), and tendencies to react (Lambert; Lambert, 1972, p. 28).

Attitudes, according to the authors, are the organized result of a thought, a feeling, and a reaction. Attitudes can contain social characteristics that the speaker does not always recognize. According to López Morales (1993), attitudes are conative in nature, are motivated by beliefs, and can only be positive or negative.

Language attitudes essentially involve two observable reactions: one for positive evaluation and the other for negative evaluation. Prestige refers to the respect/status that some dialectal varieties and pronunciations achieve, encompassing linguistic characteristics determined as a result of an entirely subjective and (often) occasional reputation. Moreno Fernández (2009) defines prestige as the process of bestowing esteem and respect on individuals or groups who exhibit certain characteristics, resulting in imitation of their behaviors and beliefs. Discredit, on the other hand, manifests itself in negative attitudes such as dislike, devaluation, and prejudice toward a language variety.

The terms dialect, variety, and talk will be used interchangeably in this paper. We follow Trudgill and Campoy's (2007) definition of dialect as a regional or social linguistic variety distinguished from others by specific features of grammar, phonology, and lexicon and may be associated with a different geographical or social pronunciation. The authors use the term variety in the same sense when conceptualizing dialect. According to Trudgill and Campoy (2007), the concept of variation refers to a linguistic unit that stands out for its behavior in social use.³

European researchers have also expressed an interest in studying linguistic beliefs and attitudes. We can think of García Mouton (2000), who dedicated a great part of her work to studying women's speech in order to understand how they speak and what motivates them to speak the way they do. The author discovered that two distinct historical moments must be observed in order to understand the difference between men's and women's speech: the concentration of the population in rural areas and the exodus to cities as social roles change. García Mouton (2000) discovered that societal stereotypes in female speech reflect collective consciousness, which in turn feeds on sayings, proverbs, and stories.

Blanco Canales (2004) conducted a sociolinguistic analysis of speech in Alcalá, a Spanish city with a diverse population. The author employed the false pairs (matched guise) technique, in which the informant is unaware of the purpose of the questions posed to the. She discovered that both positive and negative linguistic attitudes reflect their beliefs. Blanco Canales (2004) concluded that informants are innovative while being resistant to discredited varieties. Understanding the processes of linguistic change, valuation, stereotyping, and how speakers behave in relation to the other's variety and their own variety is a critical contribution to thinking about the spread of belief and attitude concepts.

In order to demonstrate some findings from research on this subject, we highlight the works of Alves (1979) and Cardoso (2015) in Brazil. Alves (1979) looked at the attitudes that residents of the Northeast have toward both their native linguistic types and the variety spoken by speakers who lived in São Paulo. He ties the processes of migration to the growth of industrialization and the resultant movement of laborers from the Northeast to the Southeast in

³ Although we are aware that there is no agreement among specialists on the definitions of dialect, variety, and idiom, these terms will be used interchangeably in this study.

quest of better living conditions. Four social factors were selected by the author as the controls: I) social class: low or high; II) place of origin: Pernambuco or Bahia; III) place of origin: capital or interior; and IV) length of stay in São Paulo: newcomers or residing for two years or longer.

Two hypotheses underpinned this investigation. The first concerns the possible relationship between the low socioeconomic and cultural level of northeasterners and the prevailing attitudes towards the linguistic varieties of São Paulo residents. The second asks whether northeasterners belonging to a high socioeconomic and cultural level living in São Paulo tend to have positive attitudes towards their native language varieties. The results indicate that the people from Pernambuco rate the speech of their countrymen as "good" and "pleasant", which represents appreciation for their variety. The other questions consider that people from Pernambuco from the lowest socioeconomic stratum positively evaluate the speech from São Paulo and tend to reproduce it, masking its variation. The northeasterners' disloyalty is justified by a hybrid speech, verified by the mixed use between their own variety and the variety from São Paulo.

Using informants from Aracaju-SE, Cardoso (2015) conducted a study titled "Linguistic attitudes and subjective judgments of certain Brazilian dialects". The author examines how speakers from the city of Aracaju view their own dialect and demonstrates a link between attitudes and Rio de Janeiro variations by observing how such attitudes vary among speakers of different genders, ages, and educational levels. Cardoso (2015) found evidence in his findings that women have a significant propensity to adhere to linguistic standards. As for the age factor, the data showed that there is a predisposition to characterize speech with more positive attitudes, with the youngest expressing a preference for innovative and more non-standard variants. The predominance of the standard linguistic form was also found in speakers with more education.

However, in order to enter the field of dialects, Brazil needed to conduct a more in-depth study of spoken Portuguese. The Linguistic Atlas of Brazil (ALiB) Project was created in 1996, a national and inter-institutional project, which provides the corpus for this article. The data collection instrument uses a questionnaire prepared by the National Committee of the Project, with questions covering phonetic-phonological, prosodic and semantic-lexical aspects, including pragmatics, metalinguistic questions, topics for directed discourse and a text for reading. In short, the project is aimed at describing the linguistic reality of the Portuguese spoken in Brazil. Its corpus, rigorously collected, is composed of 1,100 informants from 250 localities, men and women distributed in two age groups (Group I - from 18 to 30; Group II - from 50 to 65). The project is still in progress.

In order to discuss the language attitudes of speakers from the interior of Bahia, we rely on a brief contextualization of the research site from geo-socio-historical aspects of the state and the internal migratory movements that occurred in the country.

GEO-SOCIO-HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF BAHIA

This section, based on Costa's (2007) thesis on the migration of Northeasterners to the Southeast and their return to Bahia between 1991 and 2000, provides information on geo-socio-historical aspects of the state of Bahia, which helped in the analysis and understanding of the results.

The state of Bahia, in Northeastern Brazil, is bordered by the states of Sergipe, Alagoas, Pernambuco, Piauí, Tocantins, Goiás, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo, and the Atlantic Ocean to the East. With roughly 15 million residents, it is the fourth-most populous state in Brazil (IBGE, 2012). Its population, is primarily urban and mixed, due to the process of miscegenation between indigenous, white and black people. It stands out in agriculture and industrial activities, and it has a broad logistical system and diverse economy.

The Portuguese conquest of Brazil in 1500 marked the beginning of the settlement of its land and the first contact between local indigenous cultures and European culture. Salvador served as the first capital of the country from 1549 – the year of its founding – to 1763. With more than 10,000 inhabitants in the city of Salvador in 1580, the Spanish invasion made Bahia the third-largest Spanish colony in Brazil (IBGE, 2012). Another invasion occurred in 1624, this time by the Dutch, as they had the resources to battle Spain.

The rubber cycle and the terrible drought that afflicted the area at the end of the 19th century spurred a migration of northeasterners to the North region. It is also interesting to note that, in the 1970s, migrants from the Northeast and South moved into the Southeast region, which at the time was the only industrial hub in Brazil (Becker; Sindelar, 2017, p. 56).

Brazil had significant internal demographic displacement, due to by a number of political, economic, and commercial factors. The most significant internal migration was observed between the 1960s and 1980s, when massive numbers of people relocated from the rural areas, which had been ravaged by droughts, a lack of agricultural alternatives, and social programs, to the cities. The rural exodus, particularly the migration of people from the Northeast to the Southeast, was facilitated by the rapid progress of agricultural technology, which replaced manual work in farming.

It's crucial to emphasize the opposite trend, or the migration back to Bahia, when many people did so after migrating. Beginning in the 1980s, this took place all over the Northeast, and the local economy improved as a result.

This peculiarity of the Brazilian return migration is a sign that the initial migration, for most of the returnees, was successful, since during their trajectory, the return migrant acquired better education, therefore returning more apt to the labor market in their homeland. In this case, they return with better living conditions, being able to prosper in their place of origin (Costa, 2007, p. 58).

Better living conditions allied to factors that contributed to the reestablishment of the northeasterner in his homeland, such as the high unemployment rate in the São Paulo metropolitan region, the growth of the tourism sector in the Northeast, and a larger number of companies established in that region ensured a successful return (Costa, 2007).

The state of São Paulo corresponds to the highest percentages of Bahia's migration destinations, representing, between 1991 and 2000, the place chosen by more than half of those migrants. A great part of the people from Bahia who left for São Paulo in previous years returned to their homeland (Costa, 2007). Other events, such as public policy projects that encouraged rubber production in the Amazon and the construction of Brasília, were also responsible for migratory movements in the country.

After this brief contextualization of some aspects of Bahia, we move on to the results in order to understand the attitudes of the informants towards other varieties of the language.

RESULTS ANALYSIS

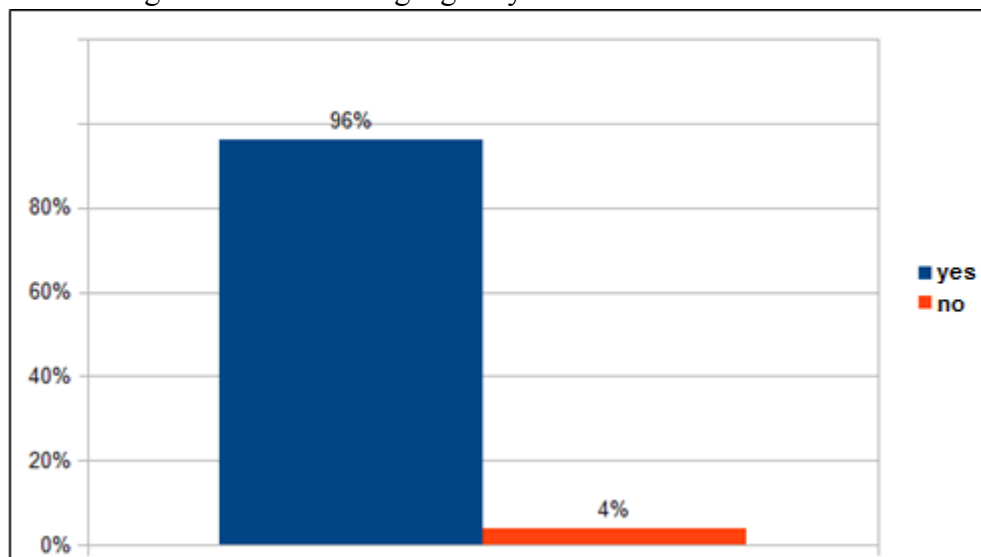
In this section, we proceed to a descriptive analysis of the results of the interviews with 79 informants from the interior of Bahia.

The analysis of language attitudes is based on the answers given to metalinguistic questions 4 (In other places in Brazil, do people speak differently from here?) and 5 (Could you give me an example of how people speak in other places?), analyzing how local or foreign dialects are

communicated along with evaluations of these perceptions.

Graph 1 was created using the data collected from Question 4 to show the percentage of speakers who answered affirmatively or negatively. According to the data, the majority of informants acknowledge that there are varieties other than their own that are used in other areas.

Graph 1 – Question 4 - In other places in Brazil, do people speak differently from here?
Acknowledgement of other languages by informants from the interior of Bahia



Source: Elaborated by the authors with data from ALiB Project.

According to Graph 1, the majority (96%) of informants perceive different ways of speaking in other parts of Brazil, while only 4% deny it.

Positive responses are frequently associated with the historical factors presented synthetically in the previous section. Internal migrations are processes in which people from Bahia played an active and prominent role, both in terms of city growth and the country's socioeconomic changes. This reflection can be seen in the informants' perceptions of other languages. The reports highlight contact between speakers of other dialects which happened due to tourism, work, family, or even the media existing at the time, such as radio and television.

First impressions about perceptions are verified by the high incidence of answers regarding the accent. Caldas Aulete defines accent as "tone or inflection particular to each individual, each province or each nation" (Sotaque..., 1964). In this case, accent refers mainly to prosody and is probably understood that way by the informants, as illustrated by the statements recorded in excerpts 1 and 2:

(1) INQ. – The accent changes a lot, doesn't it??

INF. – *The accent, right?* From a certain place? Let's say, the people from Brejo, right? They have a *speech accent*, don't they? There's one way of saying it, and there's another one in the city, isn't there? (Inf. 3/ Barra)

(2) INQ. – How so?

INF. – I don't know. I think they speak differently because the northeastern accent is very different, as Regina Casé says, it is *really northeastern*. (Inf. 1/ Jeremoabo)

In excerpt 1, there is a comparison between the people from Brejo and the city, each one with their own way of speaking, "speech accent". In excerpt 2, the informant highlights the accent with northeastern characteristics, a marked speech, as stated by the TV host, "really northeastern",

denoting a regional identity. Trudgill and Campoy (2007) understand that the accent refers to the way a speaker pronounces, and it is practically impossible to speak a language without revealing one's regional origin or social background.

Other informants refer to aspects of speech as the result of their intrinsic knowledge and their linguistic awareness, as shown in excerpts 3, 4, 5 and 6:

(3) INQ. – The people who go to São Paulo, right?
INF. – Yes, They get to Salvador, always saying things with a different voice, right? Always different. (Inf. 2/Jeremoabo)

(4) INF. –No, there's people who speak like this, I don't know, a *fine talking*, something like that. (Inf. 2/Euclides da Cunha)

(5) INF. – The way of speaking is... *The way to express yourself*.
(Inf. 3/Euclides da Cunha).

(6) INF. – Some people speak with a drawl, you know? They speak *more slowly*, others speak *faster*.
(Inf. 1/Barra)

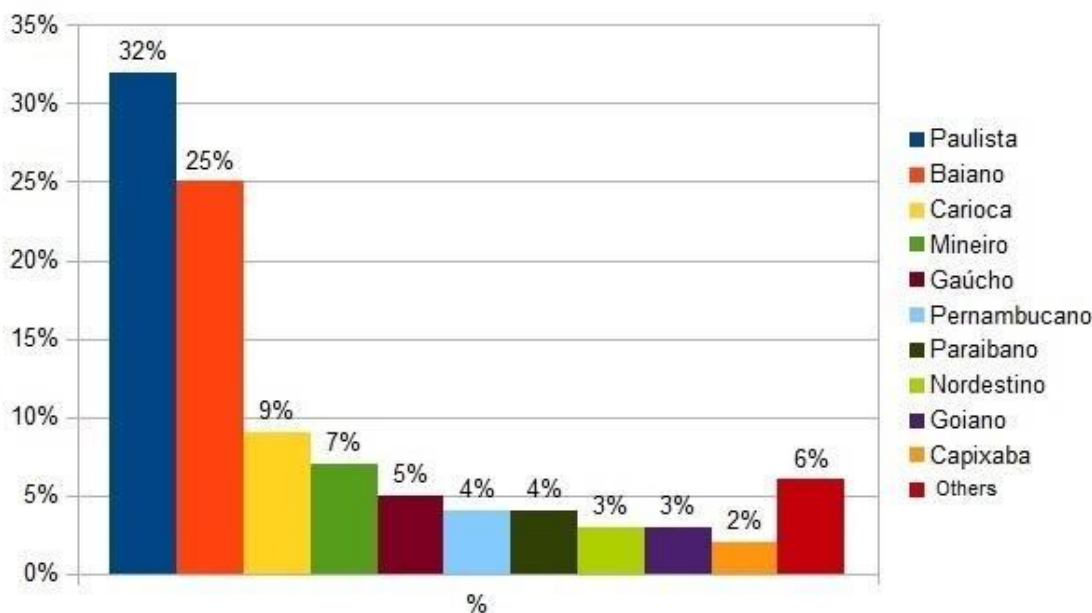
In short, the voice, rhythm, pitch, pace, method of speaking, and manner of expression all contribute to how speakers perceive an accent.

Social psychology and sociolinguistics both concur that some evaluations can convey either negative or positive traits, as well as linguistic attitudes depending on social and individual views. Additionally mentioned as examples of different dialects are phonological, lexical, and morphosyntactic features.

We concur with Moreno Fernández's (2009) interpretation of the language attitudes he referred to as reflecting psychological attitudes. Languages are appreciated and valued in accordance with the status or social traits of their users if they have a social purpose.

We elaborated Graph 2 with the percentage indices of the major dialects mentioned by the informants, who characterized them in their speeches as they responded to question 5, in an effort to outline the dialects overview. When trying to explain the dialectal differences, it was sometimes the only response that was obtained.

Chart 2 – Dialects most remembered by informants from the interior from Bahia state.⁴



Source: Elaborated by the authors with data from the ALiB Project.

Graph 2 illustrates the dialects mentioned by the Bahian informants. The data shows that the most recalled dialect was from São Paulo (32%), followed by the accent found in the state of Bahia (29%), Rio de Janeiro (9%), Minas Gerais (7%), Rio Grande do Sul (5%), Pernambuco (4%), Paraíba (4%), the Northeast region (3%), the state of Goiás (3%), and Espírito Santo (2%). The category "others" includes those that were mentioned just once, such as from the states of Alagoas, Sergipe, Maranhão, Brasília, Paraná, Ceará, and gypsy.

The data show that the dialect from São Paulo (32%) is the most remembered, with a "paulistinha" (Inf. 1/ Euclides da Cunha), "sing-song" and "drawl" accent. In addition to the prosodic characteristics noted, there are notes, in relation to that speech that include phonetic and lexical differences and the use of slang.

The most present phonetic variable is do /R/, especially the [ɹ] tep, observed in excerpt 7:

7) INQ. – How do the people from São Paulo speak?
 INF. – It’s kinda weird talk [...] They don’t talk like us, their talking is different...
 INQ. – Do they say “porta”
 INF. – It is porta 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️
 INQ. – It is porta 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ , isn’t it?
 INF. – Carne. 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️ 🗣️
 (Inf. 4/Barra)

Besides phonetic aspects, some lexical differences stand out, as in excerpt 8:

(8) INF. - In São Paulo, São Paulo indeed, some things there have a name that... When I went to live with that cousin of mine [...] sometimes she said “ Bring that thing to me”, then I didn’t know what it was, and I asked ‘What is that?’ For example, quiboa (=Qboa), right? Bleach, used to wash clothes, it’s called Candida, “Bring me the Candida”, then I was like “What does Candida mean?”, to what she replied: “Girl, you call quiboa (=Qboa), you see? But its name is Candida. Then I would go and grab it for her...”

⁴ Baiano refers to the dialects found in the state of Bahia; Carioca to Rio de Janeiro; Mineiro to Minas Gerais; Gaúcho to the state of Rio Grande do Sul; Pernambucano to the state of Pernambuco; Paraibano to Paraíba; Nordestino to the Northeastern region; Goiano to the state of Goiás; Capixaba to the state of Espírito Santo.

(Inf. 2/Juazeiro)

The two terms, Qboa and Candida, represent a case of a figure of speech, metonymy, in which the brands replace the product – in this case, they refer to bleach.

Other perceptions concern the slang from São Paulo, as shown in excerpts 9 and 10:

(9) INQ. – What is the speaking of the people from São Paulo like? Can you copy it?
INF. – I don't know, some say, "*bro (mano) this, bro (mano) that.*"
(Inf. 1/Seabra)

(10) INQ. – What did you hear in São Paulo that drew your attention?
INF. – They say: *Dude (meu), this; dude (meu), what's up?* That's the way people from São Paulo speak. (Inf. 1/Vitória da Conquista)

The slangs *mano (bro)* and *meu (dude)* are used as vocatives in a slang context, mostly by young men, preferably on informal occasions, indicating closeness or intimacy between the speakers.

In addition to recognizing slang, nouns, and accents as identifiers of different speech, the informants perceive other linguistic aspects, as it can be seen in excerpts 11, 12, and 13:

(11) INQ. – What about in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, do people speak differently?
INF. – Oh yeah, they do.
INQ. – Do they?
INF. – That *unpleasant little voice.*
(Inf. 4/Alagoinhas)

(12) INQ. – What about your husband? He's from São Paulo, isn't he? [...]
INF. – He lived there for more than 50 years. He's been living here for over 10 years now [...] but now he's a very civilized person, he doesn't say things *wrong, he says everything right. With the right pronunciation* (Inf. 4/Itaberaba)

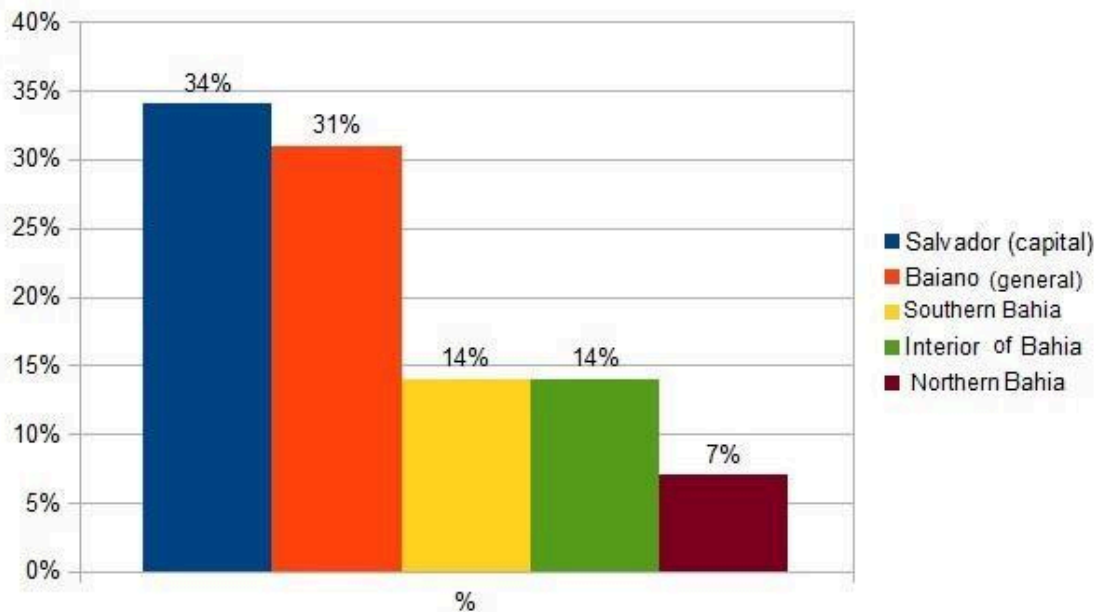
(13) INF. – Sometimes they're born and raised here, then they go to São Paulo.... I have a niece that goes there and stays for a while, when she gets back she's speaking in a different way.
INF. – A cousin of mine who has been there and speaks those different languages, we all laugh at her.
INQ. What kind of different things?
INF. – They speak with that accent of theirs.
(Inf. 4/Caetité).

Excerpts 11, 12 and 13 show negative attitudes of speakers from Bahia towards the São Paulo dialect. In their perception, the speech of the people from São Paulo is unpleasant, difficult, wrong and different, to the point of being a reason for mockery. Such behavior expresses discredit, especially to people who went to São Paulo to work and later returned to Bahia, having acquired marks of the dialect and being embarrassed by it. We highlight excerpt 12 for the comparison made between the varieties: the informant thinks there is a right variety (the local one) and a wrong one (the São Paulo one), showing ignorance of the diversity and the socio-historical and cultural context that separates the two states.

As for the perception of the use of different languages in the state itself, we observed the speech found in the capital city was more mentioned than the others (34%). There are some more specific mentions: from the South and the North, but also other generic ones: from the countryside

and from Bahia in general, as shown in Graph 3.

Chart 3 – Most remembered speaking styles from Bahia by informants from the interior of the state.



Source: Elaborated by the authors with data from ALiB Project

According to Graph 3, Salvador's dialect was the most well remembered (34%). It's possible that the city's renown results from its significance in the growth of the nation as an economic, port, administrative, and tourist hub. The Bahian language is a part of the regional identity, as evidenced by the fact that this index is quite near to the Bahian speech in general (31%). The interior (14%), southern Bahia (14%), and northern Bahia (7%) are also mentioned.

Excerpt 14 illustrates the perception of the informant from interior on the speech of people from the capital city:

(14) INF. – Because in Salvador they say “pá lá” instead of “prá lá” “pá lá, pá cá”, “pra onde” “pá onde”, “vai pá onde?”, that’s how they speak. Are you folks from there?
 INQ. – Yes, we are.
 INF. - I think it's funny, I think it's so *beautiful*, there's a person from there who lives here, he speaks the same way, he never got it, it's always the same way, “pá lá” and “pá cá”.⁵
 (Inf. 4/ Euclides da Cunha)

The informant in excerpt 14, when referring to the speech from Salvador, emphasizes the syncopated form of pra> pá as something funny and beautiful at the same time. Thus, she tried to soften the expression funny, which has a negative connotation, adding then the adjective beautiful, as a way of preserving the face⁶.

Excerpts 15 and 16 illustrate the linguistic features thought to be distinctive of Bahian speech in order to examine the relationship of contrasts between the speech of the capital and that of the interior of Bahia:

15) INQ. – The people who go to São Paulo, right?

⁵ Pá lá and prá lá are short forms, in speaking, for *para lá*, which means “over there”, pá cá, would be, then, “over here”. In the same way, *vai pá onde* is a short form in speaking for *vai para onde*, which means “Where are you going?”.

⁶ Face preservation is understood as the strategies by which the speaker avoids committing themselves to what has been said.

INF. – Yes, they go to Salvador and it's always *another voice*, right? Always different.
(Inf. 2/Jeremoabo).

(16) INF. – Ah, almost every time they go... even if they go to Salvador there's a big difference, right? The drawl is different. [...]

INQ. – Now, comparing here to Salvador, how do you think it is different?

INF. – The language?

INQ. – Yes.

INF. – Ah, there's a big difference... they drawl a little, we hear a person from the capital speaking, you immediately hear the difference immediately. [...] I have a sister who lives there.

INQ. – Then, when she gets here... Does she come here once in a while?

INF. – Yes, yes, she does. Then, geez, she drawls and I keep laughing, I'm not mocking her, it's just that we hear the difference that is big in our way of speaking, you see?

(Inf. 3/Alagoinhas).

Excerpts 15 and 16 show the perceptions of speakers from the interior about the speech found in the capital, Salvador. The data suggests that the Salvador variety is recognized for being different, for the accent, for the language, for being slower and more drawling.

In excerpt 16, the speaker is aware that, between his city Alagoinhas and Salvador, the speech presents differences in prosody. He classifies the speech as drawling and says "we hear" to share their feelings about the differences, contemplating the impressions of other speakers. The same informant recognizes the difference in the speech of his sister who, when moving to another locality, acquired certain linguistic marks of the local variety, which became a reason for laughs, but not for debauchery.

In summary, the speech found in Salvador received both positive and negative evaluations from the informants. It was evaluated as beautiful, revealing appreciation for the variety, but it also received qualifications for its drawl and singsong.

Given the reflections about the speech found in the capital of the state, we paid attention to the manifestations about the speech of Bahia countryside. The perception of the informant in excerpt 17 is that of a speech considered wrong.

(17) INQ. – What about Bahians?

INF. – The Bahian ... is the one that speaks "*more incorrectly*".

INQ. – How does the Baiano speak?

INF. – The same way I'm speaking.

(Inf. 3/Juazeiro)

When comparing the Bahian's speech to that of other Brazilian regions, the informant in excerpt 17 claims that the Bahians are the ones who speak more incorrectly, deviate from the idealized model of appropriate language, and violate linguistic norms, supporting the idea of right and wrong that is propagated by society and the media. As they respond "the same way I'm speaking" when asked about how the Bahians speak, they simultaneously assess themselves. This blatantly demonstrates a disdain of one's own speech as well as the awareness of membership in the alleged group of people who talk incorrectly.

As we can see in (18), other excerpts demonstrate how Bahian speech is perceived:

(18) INF. – Even in Bahia, down there, sometimes there's this "*oxe, oxe, e ai bichinho? Como vai bichinho?*"⁷ We sometimes say it, because of... we meet someone like this, so because of four friendship, for being close, we end up saying it, but our accent is..., I'm not

⁷ *Oxe* is an expression that can express surprise, confusion, and *bichinho* is an expression of endearment or proximity, but not exclusively used among friends or family. Suggested translation: "**Gosh, howdy, little fella? How's it going, little fella?**"

comparing it to the accents from Goiás or Minas Gerais, or with São Paulo or Rio Grande, neither with the whole South, because there's a difference, the South all leans toward the foreigners, and here, here we don't. *It's our own Portuguese.*
(Inf. 3/Santana)

In excerpt 18, the informant distinguishes between northern and southern Bahia, highlighting expressions like *oxe* and *bichinho* for informal communication contexts. They also observe the difference in accents with the awareness that each place mentioned (Goiás, Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul and the South Region) has its own characteristics due to the possibilities of variation in their dialect. By stating that, in their place of living, they speak the same Portuguese, the informant confers to their speech an attitude of prestige and belonging to their community, valuing their way of speaking. In (19) we can confirm this attitude:

(19) INQ. – And do you think, sir, that there are some people here who speak in a different manner here in Carinhanha?
INF.- No. Portuguese here has... there are some here... no, not here, hardly. Not here.
INQ.- Don't you speak...
INF.- Erm, just the Bahian language. The *baiano*, the Portuguese language.
(Inf. 3/ Carinhanha)

Excerpt 19 presents the statement of an informant who exaggerates the worth of the language he uses and names his own dialect, the *baiano*, as a sign of linguistic prestige. His vocabulary and accent developed simultaneously with the lengthy local historical process, which spans from the start of colonization through the effects of many peoples, including Europeans, indigenous people, and Africans. This attitude is described by Moreno Fernández (2009, p. 189) as a process of giving respect and admiration to people or organizations who fit particular criteria, which encourages people to imitate their actions and ideas. There are plenty of amusing examples of one's own discourse, as in excerpt (20):

(20) INQ. Where do you think, since you have visited many places, which places do you think that people speak differently from here?
INF.- Even the Bahians speak with a little drawl
INQ.- Do they? [...]
INF.- Some of them *singsong*, you know? As if they were *singing*, you know? *Drawling* the words. *Baiano* is kinda *cheeky*.

In excerpt 20, the informant considers Bahian speech to be *singsongy* and *drawling*, and ends with a personal judgment attributing to the Bahian the quality of *cheeky* to justify the previous perceptions.

Marroquim (1934) had already noted Northeasterners *singsong* and *drawl* as a general aspect of their speech. In his words, "the intonation of northeastern speech, especially in the interior, follows a descending orientation. The vowels are marked and open. Hence the reputation for speaking as if we were singing" (Marroquim, 1934, p. 25). The author also states that "the pronunciation of the northeastern is what characterizes in general the Brazilian speech: it is slow, monotonous, let's say even *drawlish*, in contrast with the Lusitanian prosody, rough and energetic" (Marroquim, 1934, p. 21).

(21) INF. – My daughter herself lives in Feitiolândia. It's right close toQueimadas. Near Feira de Santana, neighboring Queimadas. But the speaking of folks there is a *silly talk*, a *different talk*. I din't even learn it, it's a different talk. People *singsong*. *Sandália* (flip-flops), they call it "sandáia", The strap sandals, they call it "sandáia de venta" (windy flip-flops). Just like that. They say it is windy. This thing here is called "venta" Come

again? The “sandáia de venta” (windy flip-flops). Dih fulano que a sandáia de venta quebô “‘was’ John Doe’s windy flip-flops that got ‘boke’”.
(Inf. 4/Jequié)

The informant in excerpt 21 first noticed prosodic aspects such as silly talk and people who singsong. She also highlights the lexical aspect of the term sandáia de venta, and phonetic aspects of the "iotization"⁸ in sandaia and monotonation and syncope of the r from quebrou to quebô. The informant's statement shows devaluation in relation to the speech from the interior of the state, showing linguistic prejudice against the variety from Feitiolândia.

After paulista and baiano, the most remembered dialect was carioca (9%). According to the perception of some informants, it was attributed the following prosodic characteristics: singsong, drawl, sibilant, with a heavy accent and similar to the Portuguese people.

(22) INF. – It’s like cariocas do their “shee”
INQ. – The “che”, right?
INF. - The “che”, the carioca has a “che”.
INQ. – What word did you hear them say that has this sibilant sound?
INF. – It is... It’s “shee”, really, “shee”. [...] The want to say “rapaz”
🗨️👍👉👉👉?🗨️ they say it “rapaish” 🗨️👍👉👉👉
(Inf. 3/Euclides da Cunha)

Rio de Janeiro received successive waves of immigrants, including the Portuguese, especially in the early nineteenth century with the arrival and establishment of the royal family in the then capital of the country. On that occasion, they left many of their linguistic marks, such as the sibilant speech verified in excerpt 22, which refers to the use of the voiceless alveo-palatal fricative [ç] at the end of syllable.

Other languages were mentioned, such as those of Minas Gerais, Rio Grande do Sul, and Pernambuco, among others.

(23) INQ. – No, from other places?
INF. – I have family in Minas, you know. A sister and a nephew and all, and then we keep learning that *jargon*.
(Inf. 3/Alagoinha).

(24) INF. – Just from the state of Minas that is different from here.
INQ. What’s it like there?
INF. – There’s this way of saying *uai* that we don’t have.
(Inf. 3/Itapetinga)

For the informant from Alagoinha (excerpt 23), the speakers from Minas Gerais have a different language, which he knows from family members who live in the state of Minas Gerais, which is why he learned the jargon.

The presence of the expression "uai", cited in excerpt 24, is characteristic of the language of Minas Gerais. It is used in informal situations to express astonishment and even affirmations. Amadeu Amaral (2020 [1920]) proposes as origin for the expression uai an alteration of "olhai" (look).

The data obtained about the dialect from Rio Grande do Sul point to the perceptions of accent, lexical varieties and the use of the expression “*tché*”, as illustrated in excerpts 26 and 27:

⁸ “Iotization” or iotização is a phonetical variation that changes the “lh” sound in Portuguese to an “i” sound.

(26) INQ – What do you mean, a word that they (the people from Rio Grande do Sul) use a lot?

INF – They call baianas *bausca*. Yeah,.. *bausca*. Yeah, theirs is a *beautiful* language.
(Inf. 4/Barreiras)

(27) INQ. – Are there any other examples?

INF. – Gaúcho. “Eh, *guria* (*girl*), is that *farofa*? No, it’s *feijão-tropeiro*. Hum, very good, *tchê!*”⁹

(Inf. 2/Santa Cruz Cabralia).

From excerpts 26 and 27, we can see the presence of lexical variants of the speech from Rio Grande do Sul, with changing the word “baiana” for *bausca*¹⁰ and “menina” for *guria*. The cultural aspect is also pointed out through the cooking of *feijão-tropeiro*, as well as the use of the expression *tchê*.

(27) INQ. – Who speaks differently?

INF. – The people from São Paulo, first because they have a fantasy like that, they are big people... Pernambuco, on the other hand, have that *sorrowful voice*.

(Inf. 3/Barreiras)

(28) INF. – Yes, absolutely. I have an acquaintance who lives in Pernambuco who says like this “*tire o negossu dali de cima, vá!*”¹¹

(Inf. 2/Santa Cruz Cabralia)

The Pernambuco dialect presents prosodic and phonetic differences, with a more sorrowful tone of voice, as seen in excerpt 27. The informant in excerpt 28 recalls the non-palatalization of /t/ and /d/ before the vowel /i/ and /e/, and monotonation of *io>o*.

The Paraíba dialect, together with the Pernambuco dialect, uses the variant “*tu*”¹² according to the informant's perception shown in excerpt 29.

(29) INF. – Pernambucano, Paraibano, for example, right? They say *tu* “*tu vai? Tu vais?*, Come here! There are two ways for *tu* that aren’t from here (*jeremoabense*)

(Inf.4/Jeremoabo)

The use of the pronoun “*tu*” is recurrent in some locations in Brazil. The informant's perception brings up a contrast between the variants *tu* and *você* in subject position: first, without the second person verbal inflection; then, with the flexed verb. She adds the non-use of the variant “*tu*” in her locality, but allows us to infer that the state of Pernambuco preserves the Portuguese influences in its language.

In the view of an informant from Group II, from Vitória da Conquista (Espírito Santo state), the northeastern dialect, as a generic reference, has its way of speaking represented through the pronunciation, which holds in the voice, as pointed out in excerpt 30:

(30) INQ.- And do you know of any fact that draws attention to this difference? That draws your attention.

⁹ *Guria* is word used by gaúchos, the people from Rio Grande do Sul, to refer to girls or young women. *Farofa* is a traditional Brazilian dish, made of cassava (manioc) flour, vegetables, onion, etc, and *feijão tropeiro* is a traditional gaúcho dish made of beans, meat and cassava (manioc) flour. *Tchê* is an interjection, used in the end of a sentence, to express doubt, surprise or mockery, but it can really be used just to finish a sentence without a particular purpose at all.

¹⁰ She meant to say *Guasca*, however made an error when speaking it.

¹¹ Take that thing from up there, will you?

¹² The second person pronoun “*tu*” can be translated as you or thou.

INF.- Well, first of all, the... let's say the language of the Northeasterner, because they hold their voice, their pronunciation, you see? So, that means...
INQ.- It's different..
INF.- For us it is... that *they hold it* a lot, they *hold it* a lot, right?
(Inf. 3/Vitória da Conquista)

The informant's perception is of a slower, more protracted speech, just as Marroquim (1934, p. 21) found when referring to the northeastern language in its phonic aspect.

(31) INF. – [...]Terezinha always thought it was bad, she said, "Maria do Carmo, we speak in a way that you are criticizing, but we speak correctly, and you, from Goiânia, besides having an *ugly accent*, you speak everything *wrong*. "Plano" is *prano*. The way you speak it is *prano*."
(Inf. 4/Santana)

An informant from Group II, from Santana, considers the dialect from Goiânia (the capital of the state of Goiás) as having an ugly and faulty accent. The rotacism of plano>prano is labeled as wrong, as exposed in excerpt 31. We notice a negative reaction to the variety practiced by the person from Goiânia and a demonstration of aversion to the regional accent. It seems to us more like a case of attacking the person than the dialect itself.

Less often, we observe the perceptions about the speech from Espírito Santo (capixaba):

(32) INF. – You also have the capixabas that they've been around for a while, but their language is also a little bit strong
INQ. – How is their language different?
INF. – I can't tell you. It's a different way they speak to people, that you can't even understand them.
(Inf. 2/Itapetinga)

The dialect spoken by the people from Espírito Santo was recalled for speaking strong, in the understanding of the informant of excerpt 32, being so different that other people could not understand the variety.

The recurrent results bring influences from local geography, more precisely from Bahia border with the states of Pernambuco, Goiás, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo, which facilitates contact between the varieties. The high rates of mentions to dialects from São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul may have links to the mass migration movements of the 20th century, due to the decline of the northeastern economy and the industrial strengthening of the southeastern metropolises.

Regarding the varieties under study, there is a connection between the dialects from Bahia and São Paulo due to increased inter-speaker interaction brought on by internal migration that resulted in a sharing of personal experiences.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The purpose of this study was to (i) analyze the answers given by speakers from Bahia countryside to questions 4 and 5 of the metalinguistic questionnaire applied by ALiB; (ii) learn what speakers from Bahia countryside think about the varieties of the Portuguese language; and (iii) discuss the linguistic attitudes presented in the corpus.

In general, the linguistic perception highlighted by the analyses focuses on more aspects of

prosody. According to the data, the most remembered dialects were from São Paulo (32%) and Bahia (29%). We confirm traces of a two-way movement: from Bahia to São Paulo and back to their state of origin, as contextualized in section 2. Other dialects that were mentioned less frequently are the ones from: Rio de Janeiro, Rio Grande do Sul, Pernambuco, Paraíba, the Northeast region, Goiás, and Espírito Santo.

The characteristics associated with speaking differently show sensitivity to the accent in the majority of the responses, as it gathers phonetic-phonological and prosodic aspects that condition the informant's perception of local dialects and those from other regions, through the use of terms such as different, singsong, drawls, strong, and others. We discovered that perceptions of linguistic diversity manifested themselves both positively and negatively in relation to the other's speech.

This work allowed us to identify the perceptions and attitudes of speakers from Bahia in relation to their own speech and to the varieties used in other states. We pointed out dialects and characteristics of their speech from the capital, the interior, the north and south of the state, but also, with emphasis on the speech from São Paulo.

We hope that the studies on linguistic attitudes can make speakers in general aware of the existence of varieties of the Portuguese language and their contexts of use, in order to value their history and their way of speaking. We also hope that these studies may contribute to actions to combat the stereotypes and linguistic prejudices present in our society.

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