

**“The Drum Speaks, the Word Creates:” Evaluative Resonances in  
*Ladrão de Marabaixo Aonde Tu Vai Rapaz* [Thief of Marabaixo  
Where’d Ya Go Man] / “O tambor fala, a palavra cria”: ressonâncias  
valorativas no ladrão de Marabaixo Aonde tu vai rapaz**

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**ABSTRACT**

In this study, we present an analysis of the utterance *Aonde tu vai rapaz* [*Where’d Ya Go Man*], focusing on linguistic-enunciative resources from a dialogic perspective. The methodology consists of a dialogic analysis interconnected to the concepts of chronotope, ideology, utterance, dialogism, and social axiologies. Results reveal that institutionalized ideologies tend to nullify the one in everyday life. However, those results are confronted in some way with the counter word that is manifested by the *ladrão de marabaixo* chants. Intonation refracts pain, lamentation, indignation, anger, and slander, in addition to expressing value judgments of disapproval and opposition. Re-enunciation of the everyday-life word allows us to take a glimpse at segregation, denunciation, powerlessness, and the silencing of culture and identity. However, at the same time, it reverberates consolidated values such as African descent, identity, resistance, resilience, and re-existence.

**KEYWORDS:** Dialogism; *Ladrão de Marabaixo* [Thief of *Marabaixo*]; Social axiologies

**RESUMO**

*Neste estudo, apresentamos uma análise, em perspectiva dialógica, do enunciado Aonde tu vai rapaz, a focar os recursos linguístico-enunciativos. O percurso metodológico consiste em análise dialógica interligada aos conceitos de cronotopo, ideologia, enunciado, dialogismo e axiologias sociais. Os resultados demonstram que as ideologias institucionalizadas tendem a anular as cotidianas, porém encontram enfrentamento na contrapalavra manifestada no ladrão de marabaixo. A entonação refrange a dor, o lamento, a indignação, a raiva, o maldizer e expressa juízos de valores de reprovação, de oposição. A palavra cotidiana reenunciada deixa entrever segregação, denúncia, impotência, silenciamento, apagamento cultural e identitário, mas ressona, também, valores fortalecidos, como: afrodescendência, identidade, resistência, resiliência, reexistência.*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Dialogismo; *Ladrão de Marabaixo*; Axiologias sociais

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## Introduction

This paper is part of a larger study<sup>1</sup> and analyzes an utterance from the *ladrão de Marabaixo* [Thief of *Marabaixo*] chant genre. The utterance is entitled *Aonde tu vai rapaz* [Where d' Ya Go Man]. The *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant is artistically and culturally constituted by verbal-sign material that proves powerful for us to infer social conflicts and the axiological refractions lived by Afro subjects from Amapá (Afro-Amapá subject in the process of urbanization of the city of Macapá in the 1940s).

By reflecting upon the relation of utterance and social environment, we bring up the social, historical, ideological, and cultural circumstances of which it is constituted, since “(...) art is immanently social. The non-artistic social environment, acting on it from without, finds a direct, internal response in it.” (Vološinov, 1983a [1926], p.7).<sup>2</sup> Such considerations are in line with a humane perspective particularly taken as cultural alterity and as voices of resistance, resilience, and re-existence. In our view, this perspective must ascend to institutionalized teaching and learning spaces. Ethnic and identity representations arising from utterances that are typical of popular culture need to become means of affirmation and strengthening of native peoples, as well as means of fighting prejudice and stereotype.

For this reason, our studies are grounded in The Bakhtin Circle: (Vološinov, 1983a; Vološinov, 1973 [1929];<sup>3</sup> Bakhtin, 1986 [1979]<sup>4</sup>) and in the studies developed by others constituted in interlocution and counter word texture, such as Pereira and Rodrigues (2014); Menegassi and Cavalcanti (2020); Gomes and Ohuschi (2021); Pereira and Gregol (2022), among others. We have tuned our own voices to the uttered and

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<sup>1</sup> In-progress Ph.D. thesis, Languages and Literatures Graduate Program, Universidade Federal do Pará (UFPA). The research is a theoretical-practical study focusing on linguistic analysis from a dialogic perspective aimed at the continuing education of Elementary School teachers from the Amazon in Amapá. The *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant was the speech genre of choice, as it is the Afro-Amapá people's cultural asset. It has been put under governmental trust as Brazil's intangible cultural heritage. Nevertheless, it is rarely present in Amapá's school context.

<sup>2</sup> VOLOSHINOV, V. Discourse in Life and Discourse in Poetry: Questions of a Sociological Poetics. Trad. John Richmond. In: SHUKMAN, A. (ed.). *Bakhtin school papers*. Oxford: RTP Publications, 1983a. pp.5-30.

<sup>3</sup> VOLOŠINOV, V. N. *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. Transl. Ladislav Matejka and R. Titunik. Translator's Preface. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.

<sup>4</sup> BAKHTIN, M. The Problem of Speech Genres. In: *Speech Genres & Other Late Essays*. Translated by Vern W. McGee and Edited by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986. pp.60-102.

(re)uttered words of others in order to analyze, from a dialogic perspective, the utterance *Aonde tu vai rapaz*. The latter has been registered at *Marabaixo*<sup>5</sup> Dossier (Brasil, 2018), and the analysis focuses on linguistic-enunciative resources.

In view of this, we discuss 1) the dialogic word in the poetics of the *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant and axiological concepts; 2) the constitution of the speech genre *ladrão de Marabaixo* within broader and immediate purviews based on the concrete utterance *Aonde tu vai rapaz*; 3) the dialogic analysis of this utterance focusing on the authorial linguistic-enunciative markers activated in the utterance.

## 1 The Dialogic Word in The Poetics of Ladrão de Marabaixo Chant

In *Discourse in life and Discourse in Poetry: Questions of a Sociological Poetics*, Vološinov (1983a)<sup>6</sup> argues that an analysis of art that is devoid of dialogic principles is insufficient for anyone to understand the value dimension of artistic content. According to the author, both in life and in art, the word is imbued with sociological values inherent in the cultural framework that engenders it. Thus, in both contexts, the word cannot be dissociated from the event of which it is part. This is because the word is constituted and defined by its extralinguistic dimension which, in turn, infuses it with meanings, references, and values.

From a sociological standpoint, it is necessary to understand not the word per se, as a meaningless shell, but how it is refracted in artistic communication. Carrying out such an operation means to consider the creator and the contemplator mediated by the word in the very act of interaction, the communicational and esthetic peculiarities that must not be neglected in the flow of social life because esthetic communication “(...) is part of the single stream of social life: it reflects a common economic basis and joins in the mutual effect and exchange of forces between other forms of interaction” (Vološinov, 1983a, p.9).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> As this is content from popular oral culture, there are records of different versions of the same *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant.

<sup>6</sup> For reference, see footnote 2.

<sup>7</sup> For reference, see footnote 2.

For this reason, the sense of the artistic word can only be disclosed by everyday life which provides extraverbal contour to the meanings that arise out of and from art. Everyday life completes it and fulfills it with its imbrications that otherwise could be disregarded in the evaluative act. The basis for this is that the everyday relations established between utterances are filled with social evaluations marked out by diverse principles that “speak up” more strongly than linguistic form. Substantially, this becomes evident when there are cultural, regional, and historical linguistic variations that need sociocultural and historical context not only to be understood but also to make the interlocutors of a given utterance actively involved.

The utterance analyzed herein —the *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant— is a good example of how evaluations are imbued with extraverbal aspects. The term *ladrão* [thief], when merged with aspects that are characteristic of the cultural activity of which it is part, *Marabaixo*, gains singularity and refracts positivity in the Afro-Amapá community, as it is considered a cultural asset and not taken by other negative meanings disclosed by the same term: *gatuno* [burglar], *larápíio* [beggar], *afanador* [mugger].<sup>8</sup> Such meanings are not abstracted from the linguistic sign alone, but from the social value that fulfills it through the extraverbal.

A reader who is unaware of the poetic force of the *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant needs to share the enunciative context activated by the extraverbal situation to achieve the social and cultural values the utterance has for natives. Whenever uttering a *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant, an interlocutor needs to consider whether the subject engaging in interaction shares the cultural experiences related to utterance expression; whether the contexts of enunciation are the same; which evaluations each one of them activates depending on their physical, temporal, ideological, and cultural places. According to Vološinov (1973, p.85),

The word is oriented toward an addressee, toward who that addressee might be: a fellow member or not of the same social group, of higher or lower standing (the addressee’s hierarchical status), someone connected with the speaker by close social ties (...).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> In Brazilian Portuguese, *gatuno*, *larápíio*, and *afanador* are terms used to refer to “one that steals.” This is also the meaning of the word “ladrão.”

<sup>9</sup> For reference, see footnote 3.

It is from the social environment that subjects define their motivations, form their opinions, and make evaluations, while keeping in mind visible and non-visible aspects with which communicative interaction is imbued, such as the social projection of the utterance. Those aspects constitute the spectrum of meaning constitution and mark off the place where they are constructed, which favors intonation (Vološinov, 1983a).<sup>10</sup> It is at the level of experience/everyday life that the agents of interaction assume their roles, act, understand, and make judgments about the content of the interaction. Thus, the dialogic word is understood as a social, historical, ideological, and cultural construct as it is through the dialogic word itself that society reflects its political and economic organizations (Vološinov, 1973).<sup>11</sup> The word becomes dialogic when taking part in discourse: riddled with meanings, it is constituted as a social value in its status of the ideological sign.

In those terms and its historicity, the concrete utterance *Aonde tu vai rapaz*<sup>12</sup> has a sociocultural value that makes it a sign of Afro-Amapá culture: it is an ethical response of this social group to cultural, economic, ideological, political, and social conflicts marking an age in the history of Macapá, Amapá, Brazil and which actually have interfered in people's lives. Understanding the utterance means broadening our view of social subjects about their cultural, social, and ideological positions while also acknowledging the force of their words in *ladrão de Marabaixo*, as their voice emerges as resistance, a responsive and ethical act faced with the silencing and erasure of ethnicity and culture. To this end, we need to understand it in light of social axiologies.

Our considerations on social axiologies from a dialogic perspective arise from our studies focusing on the following works: “Discourse in Life and Discourse in Poetry: Questions of a Sociological Poetics” (Vološinov, 1983a);<sup>13</sup> *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, (Vološinov, 1973);<sup>14</sup> *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (Bakhtin,

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<sup>10</sup> For reference, see footnote 2.

<sup>11</sup> For reference, see footnote 3.

<sup>12</sup> The utterance's title has been spelled exactly as registered in *Marabaixo* Dossier (IPHAN, 2018). Since it arises from popular culture, its nature is then evinced. For this reason, we've chosen to keep the lack of agreement and original punctuation with respect to the utterance's identity.

<sup>13</sup> For reference, see footnote 2.

<sup>14</sup> For reference, see footnote 3.

1986).<sup>15</sup> Vološinov (1983a)<sup>16</sup> points out that the axiological concepts of the extraverbal, intonation, and value judgment are tied to the conception of utterance; they are consolidated as discursive threads in the continuous flow of human verbal activity. The utterance, as a discursive element, is part of the flow of life. Together with discursive communication, it constitutes collectivity; both are intertwined in the interaction of people in society.

Hence, the utterance is filled with dialogic tones. The socio-verbal dimensions of the utterance constitute the enunciative scenario, shape the linguistic forms materialized in the utterance, and imbue meaning with traces and impressions in the extraverbal. Concrete utterances are, therefore, made up of concrete material and the non-visible. Due to its broader nature, the latter comprises the scenario of interaction as well as the thematic plane (Beloti et al., 2020). Thus, the verbal plane refracts, to a certain extent, the subject's subjectivity, whereas the non-verbal is grounded in collective practices and values.

Therefore, the extraverbal comprises the situation that directly affects the social orientation of the utterance towards the addressee, that is, its immediate audience. It comprises time and space, as well as the theme, and the relationship between subjects and theme: in short, the situation of enunciation not only affects verbal expression but also determines social evaluation and constitutes an essential part of its subsequent ideological development (Vološinov (1983a, p.285).<sup>17</sup> Thus, the extraverbal constitutes the scenario, the meaningful framing of the utterance, which is established on the plane of the non-verbal: "And this general sense is completely dependent both on the most immediate environment which is directly responsible for generating it, and also on the most remote social causes and factors underlying that particular speech communication" (Vološinov, 1983b [1930], p.124).<sup>18</sup>

The extraverbal dimension of the utterance, therefore, organizes the refractions of meaning and can be made up of three aspects: a) the spatial horizon common to the speakers, which comprehends the situation shared by everyone involved; b) knowledge and comprehension of the situation common to both interlocutors, knowledge of the

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<sup>15</sup> For reference, see footnote 4.

<sup>16</sup> For reference, see footnote 2.

<sup>17</sup> For reference, see footnote 2.

<sup>18</sup> VOLOŠINOV, V. What is language? Trad. Noel Owen. In: SHUKMAN, A. (ed.). *Bakhtin School Papers*. Oxford: RTP Publications, 1983b. pp.93-113

object of interaction, and an understanding of the situation of communication experienced by them; c) evaluation of the situation, inherent in the coparticipants of the communicative act, in which they constantly evaluate one another and from which they modulate and shape language because of the other and the objective of interaction (Vološinov, 1983a).<sup>19</sup>

Faraco (2009) explains that even small facts delimited to immediate everyday life can integrate the broader picture of the interaction of a certain social group in reciprocity to collective movements, beliefs, and attitudes. In this context, the addressers are not only empirical subjects but representations of axiological positions delimited within a group. In the case analyzed herein, the chanters, or *ladronistas* [“Thievers”] (Videira, 2008) within the context of *Marabaixo*, are not only in the position of chanting the *ladrão* but as such, they circumscribe their evaluative social position in the discursive chain.

Evaluation constitutes the utterance. And intonation is the materialization of social evaluation, it is on the threshold between the verbal and the extraverbal, between the visible and the alluded. It is through intonation that the word is enlivened and updated, embedded in the social chorus that allows for its meaning to exist: “Creatively productive, assured and rich intonation is possible only when a supporting chorus is assumed” (Vološinov, 1983a, p.14).<sup>20</sup>

According to Bakhtin (1986),<sup>21</sup> intonation is an emotional means used by the subject in relation to the object of their discourse. It only occurs as an utterance, since linguistic units are devoid of intonation. Therefore, the word choices we make are referenced by the social tone embedded within them. We select our words based on other utterances and we perform them within the network of objective reality outside the verbal material. This is where the spark of intonation happens and (re)vivifies the meanings and values of uttered words. In that context, verbal signs are enlivened when verbalized: “The connection between an utterance and its situation and audience is established mainly by intonation” (Vološinov, 1983b, p.127).<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> For reference, see footnote 2.

<sup>20</sup> For reference, see footnote 2.

<sup>21</sup> For reference, see footnote 4.

<sup>22</sup> For reference, see footnote 17.

The tone is the means by which the word-sign rises already full of meaning. In the *ladrão* chant *Aonde Tu Vai Rapaz*, the tone of lamentation evinces the subjects' evaluations of the social, cultural, and economic events that resulted from the government's decision of removing Afro-Amapá families from *Vila Santa Engrácia* [Saint Engracia Village], *Praça de Cima* [Upper Square], and *Largo de São João* [Saint John Square] (Videira, 2008). Scholars of the Bakhtin Circle claim that intonation "(...)" is the expression in sound of a social evaluation" (Vološinov, 1983b, p.127),<sup>23</sup> and is particularly shaped by the social position of the speaker and their audience. This is the reason why it requires words to be in harmony with the place they occupy in the syntactic chain of the utterance. "(...) The intonation that expresses the social orientation not only requires words or expression in a particular style, not only endows them with some meaning but also indicates their position and arranges them in the sentence as a whole" (Vološinov, 1983b, p.134).<sup>24</sup>

Intonation is, therefore, the evaluative expression (Vološinov, 1983a, p.216)<sup>25</sup> that refracts social evaluation. Primarily, it participates in inner dialogue, constitutes the metaphor of gestures, and the modulation of voice. Then, it amplifies outward, connecting to the physical material in contact with the body, reaching one's linguistic vocabulary and refracting into sound waves. Thus, intonation is the guiding thread of evaluative expression represented by linguistic signs within a social context. This is because, in this scenario, an evaluative tone is always present in its organic and genealogical aspects. It is, therefore, characterized as "socio-evaluative, socio-expressive, and socio-axiological" (Pereira; Gregol, 2022, p.486).<sup>26</sup>

Bakhtin (1986)<sup>27</sup> argues that linguistic-discursive and enunciative choices are determined by the speaker's volitional force, which, in turn, determines stylistic-compositional choices, as well as expressiveness. For this reason, there is no such thing as a neutral utterance, since every utterance brings along some appreciation and value judgment. Gomes and Ohuschi (2021) explain that value judgment is like a social

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<sup>23</sup> For reference, see footnote 17.

<sup>24</sup> For reference, see footnote 17.

<sup>25</sup> For reference, see footnote 2.

<sup>26</sup> In Portuguese: "social-avaliativo, social-expressivo e social-axiológico."

<sup>27</sup> For reference, see footnote 4.



construct riddled with ideologies of distinct eras and places which, in turn, constitute subjects and the collectivity to which they belong.

As we understand it, the Circle considers the concept of value judgment in relation to that of ideological value, since every subject utters and evaluates an utterance based on the ideological position they take (Pereira; Rodrigues, 2014; Menegassi; Cavalcanti, 2020). Thus, value judgment does not reflect a subject's individuality, but reifies the social embodiment that gives them assurance in their existence. Accordingly, in the expression of the word, the expression of the other resounds, thus representing the other's voice as one's evaluative position (Bakhtin, 1986).<sup>28</sup>

From this perspective, neutrality would suggest that the subject is not invested in their discourse, which is impossible, since evaluative relations are inherently emotional and can only be characterized through concrete discourse. Whenever we engage in thought, we activate the group's evaluative image: our inner speech is manifested, whether by being questioned or making inquiries, answering, asserting, or denying things. In short, it becomes a replica of social voices blended with other opinions and judgments coming from the group that confers significance to us (Vološinov, 1983a, p.120).<sup>29</sup>

(...) It is from their point of view that all the utterances will be constructed. Their possible opinions and judgments will also determine the inner (or outer) tone of voice (intonation), and the choice of words, and their compositional arrangement in the concrete utterance.<sup>30</sup>

In light of all that, carrying out an analysis of value means considering elements related to the extraverbal, intonation, and value judgment, all of which represent the subjects and their ideologies. Hence, ideology assigns significance to human activities and their products beyond the boundaries of their functional nature. Vološinov (1973)<sup>31</sup> argues that signification is what gives meaning to the ideological sign, as it has a symbolic nature that represents and substitutes for what lies outside it. Pereira and Gregol (2022) explain that ideology comprises the means of conceiving and evaluating social existence.

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<sup>28</sup> For reference, see footnote 4.

<sup>29</sup> For reference, see footnote 2.

<sup>30</sup> For reference, see footnote 17.

<sup>31</sup> For reference, see footnote 3.

As for the ideology of everyday life, which provides the basis for the artistic form, it comprises a subject's essential needs.

In the ideological plane, the word is intimately related to the extraverbal. It operates as the “autopilot” of social collectivity in such a way that meanings resulting from opinions and evaluations, but which are assigned to the words, are blended into the context. The relationship among subjects, the word, and the context is key to understanding how that ideology is transformed into official ideology. Vološinov (1983a, p.11)<sup>32</sup> explains that the utterance of everyday life “(...) always binds the participants of the situation together, as co-participants, who know, understand and evaluate the situation in the same way” (Vološinov, 1983a, p.11).<sup>33</sup> By fostering this connection, ideological understanding occurs and is extended among the co-participating individual consciousnesses in such a way that it unites them in the process of interaction. Therefore, the *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant *Aonde Tu Vai Rapaz* constitutes symbolic material through which the author-creator reverberates worldviews, concepts, and evaluations of shared social situations that have impacted his group's cultural and ethnic existence, and their identity. Filled with ideological content of everyday life in the *Marabaixo* circle, the *ladrão* chant shapes another ideological expression.

From the Bakhtin's Circle perspective, the utterance is determined by the immediate social situation, the extraverbal context. This comprises aspects such as the space and time in which interaction occurs. In other words, the chronotope, Oliveira and Pereira (2022) highlight that the notion of chronotope emerged in the literary sphere to designate the connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships (For the purpose of expanding one's comprehension on the subject matter, cf. Pereira; Oliveira, 2020, pp.89-108). Vološinov (1983a)<sup>34</sup> argues that each utterance represents a moment in the discursive flow, much like life and history, and is composed of two parts: the verbal and the extraverbal. The latter comprises the social conditions and the different environments where the utterance occurs and includes three aspects: space and time, theme, and subjects' evaluation. Under this perspective, Jurach, Schröder, and Brocardo (2020)

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<sup>32</sup> For reference, see footnote 2.

<sup>33</sup> For reference, see footnote 2.

<sup>34</sup> For reference, see footnote 2.

explain that the importance of the chronotope arises from a comprehension of language as concrete utterance, grounded in a social, historical, and ideological context.

The researchers claim that the chronotope influences the organization of a genre through dialogic relations inherent in interaction and that it guides the thematic understanding of the utterance. Therefore, analyzing the chronotope is of paramount importance, since it guides the understanding and production of meanings of the utterance in a given space and time. The dialogic relation of time, space, and genre engenders discursive, linguistic, and enunciative choices, refracting a representation of human beings within a given reality. Thus, investigations looking at cultural, ethnical, and identity issues cannot overlook the importance of the chronotope, as human actions are constantly changing, and space-time constitutes the domain of authorship engendered through social practices.

By adopting the theoretical-methodological approach proposed by Pereira and Gregol (2022), the analysis of value must consider elements such as the chronotope, ideology, the expressiveness of the utterances as reflected in the content, style, and composition, followed by comprehension of meanings evoked/mobilized by the linguistic, discursive, and enunciative aspects within and emanating from the utterance. Hence, we bring to the scene of this utterance, the *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant *Aonde tu vai rapaz* by Raimundo Ladislau intending to unveil the evaluative movements in it.

## **2 Constitution of the Discursive Utterance *Ladrão de Marabaixo***

According to The Bakhtin Circle, the utterance intertwines past sayings with those that are yet to come and re-enunciates voices while projecting itself as the subject's individuality in a relationship of alterity between the self and the other. As material constituted of words, it adheres and may refer to other axiological positions and social memories, typified in a genre that is characterized by form, content, and linguistic elements (re)enunciated and selected to compose it.

Our speech, that is, all our utterances (including creative works), is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of "our-own-ness," varying degrees of awareness and

detachment. These words of others carry with them their expression, their evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate (Bakhtin, 1986, p.89).<sup>35</sup>

Understanding the *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant is understanding the history of *Marabaixo* whose conception is deeply tied to Afro-descendant, ethnic, cultural, and religious aspects.<sup>36</sup> Videira (2008) suggests *Marabaixo* be understood based on African philosophy gnostic knowledge, highlighting the concepts of Brazilian Africanities and Afro-descendant culture and the historical and social relationships established between them. The researcher points out that the history of *Marabaixo* dates back to highly important values such as “word, ancestry, community, and religiosity” (Videira, 2008, p.3).<sup>37</sup> Therefore, *Marabaixo* has an intimate relationship with communal belonging and with the religious value that stem from what the author names as *Catolicismo de Preto* [Black People’s Catholicism] (Videira, 2008, p.3).

Ancestry is marked by historical reverence and members’ hierarchy in the organization of local festivals. The word is, thus, a marker: verbal inscription legitimizing the transmission of knowledge to future generations. As such, it constitutes an ideological sign because it refracts the senses of belonging and wisdom, knowledge, and tradition, all of which mark verbal and semiotic signs. In this context, meaning is conferred to the objects which constitute signs; that is: “the drum speaks” (Videira, 2008, p.3)<sup>38</sup> and the word creates, it holds bits of knowledge and power. According to Bakhtin (1986),<sup>39</sup> the expressiveness of certain words, being typical of a given genre, echoes the individual expressiveness of the other, thus fulfilling the other’s utterance.

Martins (2012) points out that the possible origin of what is now known as *ladrão de Marabaixo* is in a poem identified by the author-poet as an eclogue.<sup>40</sup> A manuscript found in the archives of *Condes da Cunha* [Counts of *Cunha*], in Coimbra: *História da verdadeira sucedida Praça de Mazagam nos despejos que fizeram os africanos em março de 1769 que se contarão - 11 do dito mês de março e ano* [History of the True Happening

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<sup>35</sup> For reference, see footnote 4.

<sup>36</sup> For the purpose of expanding one's comprehension on *Marabaixo*, access: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ba4K9uNMO90> (IPHAN, 2019). Access on: June 12<sup>th</sup>, 2023.

<sup>37</sup> In Portuguese: “a palavra, a ancestralidade, a comunidade e a religiosidade.”

<sup>38</sup> In Portuguese: “o tambor fala.”

<sup>39</sup> For reference, see footnote 4.

<sup>40</sup> Poem in dialogues or in soliloquy on the subject of rural life and the society of shepherds.

in Mazagam Square in the Eviction of the Africans in March of 1796 to be told – 11<sup>th</sup> day of the said month of March and year] (Vidal, 2008, p.72 *apud* Martins, 2013, p.66). The thematic content of the utterance and its intonation suggest the “Mazagam dwellers’ lament and disappointment”<sup>41</sup> regarding their relocation, which would be similar to the lament still expressed in the *ladrões de Marabaixo* chants today (Martins, 2012, p.66). Due to this understanding, Coelho (2021) argues that it would be more appropriate to name it an elegy instead of an eclogue.

Oliveira (2015) studied the nature of chants that are present in cultural manifestations such as *Marabaixo* and proposed a typological classification.<sup>42</sup> The author considers the cultural dynamics of the production and circulation of those utterances, namely: the situations, events, and acts of oral speech. The researcher concluded that the *ladrões* chants are speech acts that occur in the context of *Marabaixo*, in its profane<sup>43</sup> or ludic side, as argued by Reis, Maciel, and Pereira (2021). *Ladrão* is considered a ludic chant because it is exclusively performed during *Marabaixo* as an informal expression of leisure and entertainment, as argued by Reis, Maciel, and Pereira (2021).

It is, therefore, intimately linked to dance. During performances, the audience actively and responsively engages with the dance by using their bodies and voice while joining a chorus. Accompanied by instruments, rhythms, and specific performances, *Marabaixo* and *Batuque*<sup>44</sup> are constituted as gatherings or circles. Coelho (2021) refers to the *ladrão* chant as a group of traditional songs; whereas Videira (2010, p.78) refers to this utterance as ditties: “(...) the short musical phrases present in *Marabaixo* and *Batuque*

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<sup>41</sup> In Portuguese: “lamúria e decepção dos mazaganenses.”

<sup>42</sup> The researcher develops this classification based on Hymes (1972; 1975 *apud* Oliveira, 2015). The categories considered are: speech situation, speech event, and speech act.

<sup>43</sup> Oliveira (2015) categorizes the *Marabaixo* chants as religious and profane. They are tied to *Marabaixo* as a cultural activity that comprises dancing, the *ladrões de Marabaixo* chants, *Marabaixo* drums, food and beverages (for example, *gingibirra* [Ginger beer], which is made of *cachaça* [sugar cane alcoholic drink] and ginger), and religious chants. Cid e Coutinho (2020) highlight the voice of *cantadeiras* [chanters] from *Marabaixo* to explain that the term is evaluated as “something which is not from God” [In Portuguese: *aquilo que não é de Deus*]. This sense is not accepted by the *marabaixeiros* [the *Marabaixo* people] who usually identify with the ludic term, as the latter stands for the joy of the encounter. In respect to their option, we have chosen to use the term ludic.

<sup>44</sup> *Batuque* [drum beating] is another cultural manifestation from Amapá. It is characteristic of communities remaining at Curiaú *Quilombo* and marked by a faster pace than *Marabaixo*. *Batuque* is accompanied by drums and tambourines, whereas *Marabaixo* is also accompanied by the *Marabaixo* drum (Oliveira, 2006).

Bandaias<sup>45</sup> represent another characteristic of Afro-Amapá culture which may be similar to the *Bantu* tradition.”<sup>46</sup>

Therefore, the *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant is affiliated/inscribed in the discursive threads of the song, or ditties. Nevertheless, it changes while acquiring its nuances from the communities and groups responsible for its enlivenment. A good example are the distinctions related to the production of those utterances. Coelho (2021) explains that the *ladrão* chant is performed in a circle and is a result of improvisation, the “theft” of everyday life experiences, or the appropriation of someone else’s chant. Oliveira (2006), on the other hand, argues that, nowadays, the *ladrões* chants are repeated and no longer impromptu created as they were in the past. Regardless of the context, lamentations and daily struggles are embodied in the chanted utterances, intertwining the sacred and the ludic in the thematic mesh that makes up the *ladrões* chants.

Oliveira (2006) conducted a study about *Marabaixo do Curiaú*<sup>47</sup> and explains that the term *ladrão* is used not only to name the chorus but also the overall composition. In the present study, the term *ladrão* is used to refer to the utterance. In general, the *Marabaixo* chant is produced with a group of *Marabaixo* dancers, mostly women, who chant the chorus while arranged in a circle. They repeat the chorus after each stanza is chanted by the lead chanters, also known as *puxadores do ladrão* [Thief Tuners]. They initiate each verse and are considered authors of the utterances, even if they are illiterate (OLIVEIRA, 2006).

The compositional structure of the *ladrões* chants comprises verses and stanzas. The number of verses can vary (Oliveira, 2006): stanzas can consist of one or more verses; the number of stanzas is unlimited. However, one stanza may be part of one or more than one *ladrão* chant. Furthermore, the compositional structure of the genre presupposes that chorus and stanzas be combined, without the obligation of thematic continuity. “In the majority of the chants, the stanzas have a slightly fixed form. Their structure consists of

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<sup>45</sup> *Batuque* chants (Oliveira, 2015).

<sup>46</sup> In Portuguese: “(...) as frases musicais curtas presentes nas cantigas de Marabaixo e bandaias de Batuque representam outra característica da cultura afroamapaenses que possivelmente se assemelha à tradição Bantu.”

<sup>47</sup> Curiaú is officially recognized as a remnant quilombo community. It is part of both *Área de Preservação Ambiental* [Environmental Protection Area] (APA) of Curiaú and the *Área de Relevante Interesse Ecológico e Cultural* [Area of Relevant Ecological and Cultural Interest] (ARIEC). It is considered a traditional community that intertwines socio-environmental aspects with religious and cultural expressions, such as *Batuque* and *Marabaixo*, both of which are of Afro-Brazilian origin (Oliveira, 2006).

four verses always followed by a chorus. Generally, rhyme is irregular” (Oliveira, 2015, p.151).<sup>48</sup>

Oliveira (2006) carried out studies about *Marabaixo* at Curiaú quilombo and has identified the following as thematic content: everyday life experiences; bucolicism, with emphasis on the flora and fauna of the Amazon in Amapá; and Catholic religiosity. Oliveira (2015) conducted further research on Afro-Amazon chants, orally registered in *Mazagão*, and found thematic approaches such as everyday life intertwined with lived and imagined experiences; identity, and resistance, as a social cause, whenever chant verses focused on African origin and slave suffering.

The style of the genre consists of linguistic-expressive resources that mobilize the lexicon inherent in the regional linguistic varieties of everyday life. The variety of register is that of informality. It may feature rhymes, parallelism, and metrics (Oliveira, 2015). Rooted in a ditty, it refracts social behaviors, virtues, and values that are integral to the community’s culture. In that context, knowledge is organized in orality and its real audience is formed by the *Marabaixo* circles. Due to being of an oral nature, it “(...) is determined by the friction between the word and the non-verbal environment, and between the word and an alien word (another person’s word)” (Vološinov, 1983b, p.116).<sup>49</sup> We are aware that knowledge about an utterance is acquired based on its genre. Therefore, we move on to analyze the axiological dimension of the concrete utterance *Aonde tu vai rapaz* by Raimundo Ladislau (Brasil, 2018).

### 3 Analysis of the Evaluative Resonances of the Utterance

Pereira and Gregol (2021) have discussed the concepts of value based on the studies conducted by the Circle. The authors concluded that the subjects’ position from which they speak reflects, in language, not only their evaluative subjectivity but also their shared ideologies. As a result, the authors have analyzed dialogic concepts that intertwine with the concepts of social value/evaluation based on the Circle’s perspective.

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<sup>48</sup> In Portuguese: “As estrofes apresentam certa fixidez na forma, na maioria absoluta dos cantos. Apresentam a estrutura de quatro versos, seguidos sempre do refrão. De forma geral, apresentam rima irregular.”

<sup>49</sup> For reference, see footnote 17.

Additionally, they have analyzed methodological proposals to be used for the analysis of value.

The study carried out by Pereira and Rodrigues (2014) is among those proposals. It suggests that the analysis of value be conducted by considering four aspects: a) chronotope; b) ideology; c) utterance; d) dialogism. As previously discussed, the chronotope allows us to have a glimpse at the subject's representation in their temporal reality from axiological and ideological standpoints. Ideology presupposes the interweaving between institutionalized and everyday-life ideologies, and this is the foundation for critical analysis of ideological production as a whole. Therefore, the intersection with the ideology of everyday life provides the basis for a critical analysis of official ideology production. The utterance, the real unity of verbal communication, a unique, unrepeatable, and dialogic event, presumes the live birth of emotion, tone, and value judgments that take place through language use. On the other hand, dialogism presupposes connections with past and future discursive threads, as well as an understanding of relationships of meaning materialized through utterances. The latter is updated in the course of interaction in such a way as to establish semantic-axiological relationships (Pereira; Rodrigues, 2014; Pereira; Gregol, 2021).

Thus, we have decided that the aforementioned approach is the best method to adopt for this investigation aiming at conducting value analysis of the concrete utterance *Aonde tu vai rapaz*. To this end, we draw on the guiding questions proposed by Pereira and Rodrigues (2014) and organized by Pereira and Gregol (2021).

1. How is the image of a human being constituted given the evaluative determinations arising from the time and space in which they are inserted? How does the space-time dimension project worldviews?
2. How do both ideology of everyday life and established ideological systems reveal evaluative attitudes in a situation of interaction?
3. How are both ideology of everyday life and established ideological systems shaped by evaluative attitudes/positions?
4. How do the constituent aspects of the utterance, in connection with the concrete situation, demonstrate axiological positions?
5. How is the utterance evaluated given the situation of interaction?
6. How do semantic-axiological and dialogic relations evoke meanings from/to the utterances? (Pereira; Gregol, 2021, p.488).



Once the methodological approach has been described, we bring the concrete utterance, the object of analysis of this paper, to the enunciative scene. It is the *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant *Aonde tu vai rapaz* which is part of Brazilian oral tradition. Its author is Raimundo Ladislau (Brasil, 2018), one of the leaders of a black community in Macapá in the 1940s.

*Aonde tu vai rapaz  
Aonde tu vai rapaz  
Por esses campos sozinho  
Vou construir minha morada  
Lá nos campos do Laguinho*

*Quando vim da minha casa  
Me perguntou como passou  
Rapaz eu não tenho casa  
Tu me dá um armador*

*Destelhei a minha casa  
Com a intenção de retelhar  
Mas a Santa Engrácia não fica  
Como a gente pode ficar?*

*Estava na minha casa  
Conversando com a companheira  
Não tenho pena da terra  
Só tenho do meu coqueiro*

*Largo de São João  
Já não tem nome de santo  
Hoje é reconhecido  
Por Barão do Rio Branco*

*A Avenida Getúlio Vargas  
Tá ficando que é um primor  
Essas casas foram feitas  
Pra só morar os doutor*

*Dia primeiro de junho  
Eu não respeito o senhor  
Eu saio gritando viva  
Para o nosso governador (Raimundo Ladislau. Registered version in  
Dossiê do Marabaixo pelo IPHAN [Marabaixo Dossieu by IPHAN  
[Institute of the Historical and Cultural Heritage], 2018, pp.18-19).<sup>50</sup>*

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<sup>50</sup> “Where d’ya go man // Where d’ya go man / Alone in these fields / I’ll build my home / In the meadows by *Laguinho* // I took off the roof of my home / With plans to put it back / But if Saint Engracia doesn’t remain / How can we? // I was at home / Chatting with my partner / I don’t pity the land / Only my coconut tree // Saint John’s Square / No longer named after a Saint / Today it is widely known // When I came from

The *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant analyzed herein presents an artistic, poetic typology organized in seven stanzas of four verses each. The first one is the chorus. The composition of the genre allows the author-creator to communicate with his real audience: the people taking part in the *Marabaixo* circle. In order to do so, he recruits linguistic resources that finish off his discursive project, thus producing social criticism with a tone of lamentation. Mendes-Polato, Ohuschi, and Menegassi (2020) identified three possibilities that allow an utterance discursive project to be understood: the objective, the discourse purpose, and the intention. These three possibilities can be distinguished and merged to contemplate the signification made possible by the reader/listener. Hence, the author-creator's objective is the fruition of speech in a playful way while chanting and dancing. The social purpose is to disclose his dissatisfaction with the government's acts; whereas the authorial intention is to denounce the racial and social segregation imposed on the Afro-Amapá people. As demonstrated below.

According to Bakhtin (1986),<sup>51</sup> every genre is subject to expressive intonation which uniquely colors each utterance. Therefore, we understand the utterance *Aonde tu vai rapaz* as the author-creator and the social chorus' active response. It refracts an evaluation of disapproval, rebellion, and indignation at the relocation of the Afro-Amapá people. The latter has resulted in cultural, racial, and social segregation. The real condition of production of the utterance is its time and place of birth. Thus, based on studies carried out by Pereira and Gregol (2021), we move on to discuss it as the original enunciative chronotope of the utterance: the formation of the Federal Territory of Amapá in 1943, when the urban reform of the city of Macapá took place.

The people living in that area were practically forgotten by the rest of the nation. At that time, Brazil was mostly rural. The country was ruled with a heavy hand by the dictatorial *Estado Novo* [New State] commanded by Getúlio Vargas (Madureira, 2019). In the 1940s, the Amazon region began to arouse interest from the National State under the motto *Integrar para não entregar* [Join In So As Not To Hand In], and the watchword

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home / You asked me how it was / My, I am homeless / Give me hooks for my hammock // *As Barão do Rio Branco* [Baron of White River] / Avenida Getúlio Vargas [Getúlio Vargas Avenue] / Is getting so lovely / Those homes have been built / Only for the white collars to live / First of June / I don't respect you, Sir / I shout and yell / Hail the governor.”

<sup>51</sup> For reference, see footnote 4.

was “conquer the land, dominate the waters, subject the forest” (Vargas, 1941, p.229).<sup>52</sup> Thus, colonizing the Amazon was a strategy that met national interests, and which would include investments in urbanization and structural transformation with basic sanitation and public healthcare developments. In this context, a sanitation project in the Amazon aimed at fighting diseases such as malaria, a hindrance to the integration of the Amazon into the rest of the country (Andrade; Hochman, 2007).

Those events resulted in the urban reform of Macapá based on the formation of the Federal Territory of Amapá in 1943. The governor appointed at that time was Captain Janary Gentil Nunes whose mission was to urbanize the city. Consequently, the people living at *Beira* [Banks] were forced to move to areas located further from downtown (at that time) — *Lá nos campos do Laguinho*, which resulted in the formation of *Laguinho*<sup>53</sup> and *Favela*<sup>54</sup> neighborhoods, both of which have contributed to consolidate *Marabaixo* (Brasil, 2018). Videira (2008) explains that the black community prevailed at *Vila Santa Engrácia* — currently named *Praça Barão do Rio Branco*, *Praça de Cima*, and *Largo São João* — in downtown *Vila de São José de Macapá* [Saint Joseph of Macapá Village], which is now considered a noble area of the city. They were expropriated from their lands and relocated to *Lá nos campos do Laguinho*: the place of their choice as it was where they harvested their crops.

Expropriating the community from downtown Macapá and relocating them to the neighborhood of *Laguinho* began with the arrival of Captain Janary Gentil Nunes, a military governor appointed by Getúlio’s dictatorial regime, in the city of Macapá on January, 25<sup>th</sup>, 1944. That change was certainly not devoid of opposition from the local community. Authoritarian as it was, the government based its program on the triad “Sanitate, Educate, and Populate” (Maciel, 2001 apud Videira, 2008, p.5).<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> In Portuguese: “conquistar a terra, dominar as águas, sujeitar a floresta.”

<sup>53</sup> Historically, the neighborhood of *Laguinho* is a territory with a majority of the Afro-descendant population and it is known as the “Black Nation.” It was in the context of being relocated to this place that *Marabaixo* became stronger, making the neighborhood one of the most representative of the *Marabaixo* culture in Macapá-AP.

<sup>54</sup> *Favela* is a neighborhood currently known as *Santa Rita*. At that time, this place was very far from the urban center of Macapá. Those who disagreed or resisted going to *Laguinho* chose this place as an act of resistance, as they did not want to even see the governor from afar. In this place, there was a forest that separated it from the city, and it became known as *Favela* (Luna, 2017).

<sup>55</sup> In Portuguese: “A desapropriação da comunidade do centro de Macapá e o remanejamento para o bairro do Laguinho, tiveram início após a chegada do Capitão Janary Gentil Nunes, governador militar indicado pela ditadura getulista, à cidade de Macapá, em 25 de janeiro de 1944. Não foi uma mudança sem

The Amazon peoples in places such as Macapá, State of Amapá, carried on with their lives with a strong bond between them and their personal beliefs and habits, the forest, the river, and the land. As follows: “*Lá nos campos do Laguinho*”; and in lexical markers such as: “*destelhar, retelhar, primor*” [take off, put back, lovely]. At that time, poverty, social inequality, and low levels of education reigned in the country. The situation was not different in Amapá: many families lived in stilt houses at *Beira* which is currently the Amazon Riverbank. In this context, the *ladrão* chant *Aonde tu vai rapaz* reflects how the local population was affected by the aforementioned political changes.

In excerpt 1, we bring to the enunciative scene of this paper the title and chorus of the *ladrão* chant to unveil the image of men and women conveyed in relation to the evaluative determinations of time and space in which they are inserted, as well as the influence of the space-time dimension projected in their worldviews (Pereira; Gregol, 2021).

Excerpt 1  
*Aonde tu vai rapaz*  
*Aonde tu vai rapaz*  
*Por esses campos sozinho*  
*Vou construir minha morada*  
*Lá nos campos do Laguinho*<sup>56</sup>

Both utterances, the title *Aonde tu vai rapaz*, and chorus suggest the image of a man that feels lost, as expressed by the adverb *aonde*, the verb *vai*, and the question form of the utterance: *Aonde tu vai rapaz*. This man does not know where to go nor whom he can count on, as seen by the choice of using the adjective *sozinho*: *Por esses campos sozinho*. This man loses his references, his home, so he goes to a place which is meaningless to him: *esses campos*. The demonstrative pronoun *esses* suggests a place different from the man’s homeland and refracts some distance, which can be confirmed by the noun *campos*. The latter refers to a more general space that does not belong to him. The term *morada* evokes meanings of existence and transcendence, with reference to

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resistências por parte da comunidade. O governo com sua forma autoritária de governar, baseou seu programa de governo na tríade “Sanear, Educar e Povoar.”

<sup>56</sup> “Where d’ya go man / Alone in these fields / I’ll build my home / In the meadows by Laguinho.”

enduring times brought up by other sayings such as *morada eterna* [eternal dwelling] for example. Nevertheless, in the utterance analyzed herein, his *morada* is uncertain, as it is not a part of his identity.

This comprehension is brought about by the linguistic-enunciative markers in the chorus and leads us to understand that the ideology of the subject's everyday life refracts some attachment to the ecosystem and the community, a feeling of belonging to the place that is a part of himself. In this context, by being relocated, the man loses a part of himself, feeling kind of stunned. This is because the everyday-life ideologies which provided meaning and value to a man of the land have been annulled: his home, his relationship with nature, culture, religiosity, and his history. The verbal aspects that constitute the utterance, in connection with the concrete situation, reveal the axiological positions taken by the subject/man affected by all those changes: dissatisfaction, disagreement, and some degree of conformism that clashed with feelings of belonging to the community and identity.

*Excerpt 1* represents the Afro-Amapá people's view during that period, particularly concerning hegemonic power. They feel powerless, rebellious, objected, and confronted by a Eurocentric authority over an Afrocentric one, the colonizer over the colonized, the central power of the State over the Amazon *caboclo* [hillbilly] who is uneducated and devoid of "culture" and, therefore, could not take part in social and political decision making. His beliefs and cultural expressions were taken as inferior or even as evil or improper.<sup>57</sup> It is in this chronotope that the Afro-Amapá man not only is cut off from the social and ideological decisions that affect the course of his life but also shows off his *gargo*<sup>58</sup> and chants the *ladrão* chant *Aonde tu vai rapaz*. By doing so, he emerges as an active responsive voice, aware of the fight against all the silencing imposed by dominant ideologies, and also as part of an artistic culture that makes its voice heard.

According to Vološinov (1983a),<sup>59</sup> the awareness of consciousness is related to the outside of the event, which is the organizing center of its conditions and

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<sup>57</sup> *Marabaixo* has been considered profane by the Catholic church.

<sup>58</sup> In the original, in Portuguese, the word "gargo" was used to describe someone who has a good singing voice or a voice strong enough to chant the *ladrão* in the *Marabaixo* circles: "*os puxadores - são os que são dotados de bom gargo*" [tuners are the ones who possess a good 'gargo'], according to Sebastião. This means they have a good singing voice, a tone of voice that is loud and firm enough to be heard over the sound of instruments (...)" (Oliveira, 2006, p.47).

<sup>59</sup> For reference, see footnote 2.

circumstances. The Afro-Amapá, riverain, marginalized man's voice breaks out the silence box and emerges as the Amazon River waters do: gaining strength and volume reverberating through other subjects who chant the *ladrão* chant *Aonde tu vai rapaz*, echoing their worldviews, their sense of community, thus becoming "colored sociologically and historically: by its time in history, its social environment, its Speaker's class status and the actual specific circumstances of its utterance" (Vološinov, 1983b, p.105).<sup>60</sup>

Through his simplicity and oral tradition, that man uses the *ladrão* chant to denounce his pain and criticism, letting his disclosure resonate throughout every element of the stanza, while also reverberating it in different voices in such a way that it all becomes *pororoca* [tidal bore] in language. By doing so, it steals the show from hegemonic power, mobilizing other voices that join him to ideologically reflect ancestry, identity, resilience, and resistance, all of which are taken as a value judgment that makes existence positive. Such an understanding arouses from the extraverbal and can be inferred from the linguistic-enunciative markers of the utterance which refract this form of self-knowledge and the everyday-life ideologies which, on the other hand, can be relocated to the limits of other fields, such as the cultural, political, and artistic ones. We, therefore, move on to analyze excerpt 2.

Excerpt 2

*Quando vim da minha casa  
Me perguntou como passou  
Rapaz eu não tenho casa  
Tu me dá um armador*

*Destelhei a minha casa  
Com a intenção de retelhar  
Mas a Santa Engrácia não fica  
Como a gente pode ficar?*

*Estava na minha casa  
Conversando com a minha companheira  
Não tenho pena da terra  
Só tenho do meu coqueiro<sup>61</sup>*

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<sup>60</sup> For reference, see footnote 17.

<sup>61</sup> "When I came from home / You asked me how it was / My, I am homeless / Give me hooks for my hammock // I took off the roof of my home / With plans to put it back / But if Saint Engracia doesn't remain / How can we? // I was at home / Chatting with my partner / I don't pity the land / Only my coconut tree."

The first three stanzas of the *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant reflect ideology of everyday life, the relationship between the man and his daily life: his way of talking, his lexical and compositional choices which denote the author-creator's subjectivity, his feelings of belonging and ideologies which determine his responsive position and intertwine by the everyday life and the artistic field. "The peculiarity of real-life utterances is that they are intertwined by a thousand threads into the non-verbal real-life context (...)" (Vološinov, 1983a, p.12).<sup>62</sup> They, therefore, establish the relationships of the author-creator's extraverbal situations and the linguistic-enunciative markers: simplicity and sense of community refracted in the composition of verses built in the form of a dialogue; the concern about his place of living, which can be grasped through his lexical choices: *casa, morada, armador*;<sup>63</sup> the feelings of unsafety and insecurity: *destelhei, retelhar*; his concern about his family: *companheira*; the feeling of resistance: *só tenho pena do coqueiro*.

Those linguistic markers refer to the ideological place from which the *ladronista* [the author-creator of the chant] speaks: the position of a segregated, black man affected by social inequality, as evinced in the following verses: *Mas a Santa Engrácia não fica / Como a gente pode ficar? Santa Engrácia* was a village where the Afro-Amapá people lived. By using that lexical marker, the author-creator not only elucidates social and economic differences but also identifies with his social class which does not provide him the power to stay, since he could not afford to build a "lovely" house. The only people staying at that location would be those who could conform to the standards projected onto the concept of a city: to enjoy their rights, they had to comply with certain demands (Lobato, 2015).

Hence, it is the extraverbal which allows us to catch a glimpse at the author-creator's position and evaluations of what was going on in the society of Amapá at that time: grief and powerlessness in those situations. The thematic content points out the families' relocation and the pain caused by expropriation. It is understood based on the lexical choices in the verbal plane whose meanings, relationships and values are

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<sup>62</sup> For reference, see footnote 2.

<sup>63</sup> *Armador*, in Portuguese, is a hook used to secure a hammock.

intrinsically related to the extraverbal. The author-creator's intonation is marked by lamentation for his losses: his home, the coconut tree, safety, and security, as well as the disclosure of his diasporic state. For this reason, we understand that the value judgment projected in the *ladrão* chant is that of injustice, nonconformity, and indignation.

Gomes and Ohuschi (2021) explain that the tones mobilized by the subjects are made present in the stylistic-enunciative markers of language, whose concepts reverberate the philosophy of the Bakhtin Circle. Hence, the choice of a word implies the activation of ideologies that come not only from the non-verbal but also from grammatical resources mobilized in the speech act and which express value in a speech genre. Importantly, it is through the genre that the author-creator actively responds to a social event.

Thus, considering the utterance analyzed herein, we claim that the subjects' voices, which had remained dispersed, can now be found in the *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant and are inserted in a new context of speech: the *Marabaixo* circle. Faced with a new social audience, meanings, and values are renovated and gain strength as the *ladrão* is chanted, told, and reverberated beyond the circle and its usual chronotope. Bakhtin (1986) argues that "If an individual word is pronounced with expressive intonation it is no longer a word, but a completed utterance expressed by one word (...)" (Bakhtin, 1986, p.85).<sup>64</sup>

Additionally, the philosopher also highlights that the weight words carry is different when they are uttered in political-social situations. Consequently, an intonation of lamentation becomes an intonation of insult to the established ideological systems, as it reinforces a value judgment of disapproval at actions taken by the government.

Excerpt 3

*Largo de São João*  
*Já não tem nome de santo*  
*Hoje é reconhecido*  
*Por Barão do Rio Branco*<sup>65</sup>

*A Avenida Getúlio Vargas*  
*Tá ficando que é um primor*

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<sup>64</sup> For reference, see footnote 4.

<sup>65</sup> In 1898, José Maria da Silva Paranhos Júnior, Barão (Baron or Thane) *do Rio Branco*, was entrusted with the task of solving a diplomatic matter: a dispute between Amapá and France. He presented his studies to the arbitration award, on December 1st, 1900, which was favorable to Brazil, and the name of Rio Branco achieved a high level of popularity.



*Essas casas foram feitas  
Pra só morar os doutor*

*Dia primeiro de junho  
Eu não respeito o senhor  
Eu saio gritando viva  
Para o nosso governador<sup>66</sup>*

The thematic content of stanzas in excerpt 3 is the transformation of the place where the author-creator used to live. There are references to the other's discourse, which is refracted by linguistic-enunciative markers of hegemonic political and ideological discourses. This is portrayed as the time preceding and following the people's relocation. The names of places hitherto known by those people are replaced by other names. The nomenclature *Largo de São João* vanishes as it is replaced by *Praça Barão do Rio Branco*. The paths lead to streets whose names —*Avenida Getúlio Vargas*— pay homage to people who did not belong there. The houses are no longer the homes of those who had been born and raised there, they are now inhabited by *doutor*.

Hence, the excerpt illustrates how meanings are assigned to language as words represent the imposition of one ideology over the other: the government's ideology at the expense of the people's ideology; the doctors who are considered to share certain values related to formal, scientific, and technical literacies and, for this reason, deserve a better place in society, as evinced by the terms *primor* and *Essas casas foram feitas / Pra só morar os doutor*. The author-creator does not feel he is part of this new social organization.

The dominant ideologies are imposed and extinguish local social and cultural memory. The only feeling left is certainly pain. This is something the author-creator laments, as he no longer recognizes himself in the nomenclature reassigned to all those places. His sense of place and religiosity are blurred by the mists of urbanization. This is seen in the following verse: *Já não tem nome de santo*. At the same time, his intonation

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<sup>66</sup> “Saint John's Square / No longer named after a Saint / Today it is widely known // When I came from home / You asked me how it was / My, I am homeless / Give me hooks for my hammock // As Barão do Rio Branco [Baron of White River] / Avenida Getúlio Vargas [Getúlio Vargas Avenue] / Is getting so lovely / Those homes have been built / Only for the white collars to live // First of June / I don't respect you, Sir / I shout and yell / Hail the governor.”

in *Hoje é reconhecido / Por Barão do Rio Branco* denotes some distance from the new name which does not match the author-creator's identity.

The date — “primeiro de junho”— is a specific time marker that, historically, alludes to a new beginning or a fresh start. It is part of the utterance and, for this reason, it acquires a historical, social value that can only be interpreted by the extraverbal: the *primeiro de junho* is Governor Janary Nunes' birthday. It is worth highlighting another linguistic marker that evinces the author-creator's tension and disagreement with the actions taken by the State and materializes the uttered rebellion: *Eu não respeito o senhor*. According to Vološinov (1983b, p.125), “(...) the verbal expression, the utterance, moreover does not merely reflect the situation passively. No, it is its resolution, its valuational summation, and, at the same time, a necessary condition for its further ideological development” (Vološinov, 1983b, p.125).<sup>67</sup>

His tone of anger is filled with courage. This reverberates in the verb *gritando*, as it alludes to confrontation with the dominant ideological systems and refracts a value judgment of criticism and indignation. The interjection *viva*, spoken in a joyful tone and directed toward *nosso governador*, creates the image of a popular authority who is beloved by his people, as refracted by the possessive pronoun *nosso*. However, it does not conform with the general critical tone of the utterance. This is an example that needs further explanation anchored in the extraverbal. A priori, the last stanza suggests the author-creator accepts what had been imposed on him. However, it is important to point out that the term *viva* (which in Portuguese sounds exactly like the verb “hail”) could be a re-enunciation of the verbs die or fight, which could have been spoken by the people who disagreed with the government, as argued by Godinho (2018).

According to the author, one term was replaced by the other due to disagreements among the relocated families or as an ideological action aimed at erasing/silencing those linguistic-enunciative markers (die or fight). This is a possible explanation for the fact that one term was replaced by another with the opposite meaning, probably intending to erase potential effects that could have arisen from *Eu saio gritando viva / Para o nosso governador*. Replacing *morra* [die] to *viva* [hail] clearly states the speakers' value judgment of opposition and resistance, as those markers activate meanings and effects of

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<sup>67</sup> For reference, see footnote 17.

discontent about what they had experienced. Laura Ramos, Julião Ramos' great-granddaughter, gave an interview with Godinho (2018) in which she explained that the re-enunciation of the verse *Eu saio gritando viva / Para o nosso governador* was a consequence of harassment by the government. According to her, who is from *Marabaixo*, the original utterances were slightly different:

(...) He really played hardball with everyone. Then, to avoid a hostile atmosphere, with people talking about 'He Who Must Not Be Named,' we sang it differently: First of June/I don't respect you, Sir/I shout and yell/Hail the governor.' But the right way to sing should be: "Let him die!" (Ramos, 2018 apud Godinho, 2018, p.347).<sup>68</sup>

(...) Ladislau had originally created the following: On the first of June / I don't respect you, Sir / I shout and yell, let's fight / Our governor, right Janary's birthday was on June 1<sup>st</sup>. The black people who were dissatisfied with him did not shout 'Let him live.' For them, that was a fight (Ramos, 2018 apud Godinho, 2018, p.348).<sup>69</sup>

Both "die" and "fight" conform with the overall tone of the utterance: indignation. It refracts not only the value of denial but also disapproval and fighting. On the other hand, the term *viva* refracts a desire for approval by the government, which conforms with populism. Nevertheless, the speaker re-enunciating it did not consider that the utterance, as a whole, "speaks." For this reason, it is possible to perceive a thematic rupture with the overall theme.

Alves and Franco (2020) explain that the re-enunciation of the already spoken reveals the social dimension of language and leads authors-creators to re-evaluate their utterances. In the present study, re-enunciation aims at transforming social evaluation in favor of a different group's ideology. Vološinov (1983b, p.110)<sup>70</sup> claims that "the style of the inner speech should determine that of outer speech, although the latter does have a feedback effect on the former."

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<sup>68</sup> In Portuguese: "(...) Ele jogava muito pesado com a rapaziada. Aí pra não ficar essa coisa pesada, com eles falando no 'Coisa', a gente já cantava de outra forma: Dia primeiro de junho/Eu não respeito o senhor/Eu saio gritando viva/Ao nosso governador. Mas o correto era: Morra o nosso governador."

<sup>69</sup> In Portuguese: "(...) Ladislau criou: No dia primeiro de junho eu não respeito o senhor/Eu saio gritando briga ao nosso governador. Dia 1º de junho era o aniversário de Janary. Os negros que não estavam satisfeitos não gritavam viva. Pra eles era briga."

<sup>70</sup> For reference, see footnote 17.

The axiological elements of the utterance *Aonde tu vai rapaz*, such as the extraverbal, intonation, and value judgments, reveal the author-creator's view, in addition to refracting his ideologies worldviews. Results indicate that the social axiologies in the *ladrão* chant refract a subject who takes up different roles in his life within his context of speech: as he moves through space and time and is affected by social events, he shifts from a passive everyday perspective to a position of a contesting voice.

## **Final Considerations**

This study presented an analysis of the utterance *Aonde tu vai rapaz* from a dialogic perspective, with a major focus on linguistic-enunciative resources. To our understanding, the utterance analyzed herein is a text composed in oral tradition, and as such it is penetrated by the ideology of everyday life. Nevertheless, in the given circumstances of speech and within its chronotope, the dispersed nature of everyday-life discourse undergoes a shift and gains additional layers of meaning that are valued differently from everyday life. This is because those meanings are colored in tones and value judgments of opposition to established ideological systems and, therefore, become discursive re-enunciations penetrated by other ideologic connotations.

The ideology of everyday life brought to the enunciative scene reveals the worldview valued by the author-creator: his relationship with family, friends, and neighbors; his connection with the land, home, religiosity, and culture; as well as the bond with his cultural and ethnical conditions. These are the foundations of his identity and are as important as the conditions of established ideological systems. The former, however, are not valued by the latter. Representations of the world that are modified by historical and social events are not uttered and do not mean anything in isolation. Instead, they converge and are shared in unison, initially in the *Marabaixo* circles and eventually throughout society as a whole. As a result, forces and voices are gathered, amplifying a combative stance of confrontation and resistance against the established ideological systems.

In the process presented herein, everyday life was re-enunciated differently, with a different tone: the land, the crops, home, religiosity, and friends became ideological

signs of fight, resistance, resilience, and re-existence. The extraverbal let us have a glimpse at the ideological confrontations denounced by the author-creator: Eurocentrism, Afrocentrism; colonizer, colonized; State, people; urban, rural; written, oral; doctors, “*caboclos*.” *Aonde tu vai rapaz* is consolidated as an ethical, responsive positioning. By projecting the counterword, it reverberates the Afro-Amapá people’s powerlessness, denunciation, social and racial segregation, and the silencing of their culture and identity. Intertwined with the linguistic-enunciative resources, intonation refracts pain, lamentation, indignation, anger, and slander, in addition to expressing value judgments of disapproval and opposition. For this reason, whenever re-enunciated, the word of everyday life vibrates in different tones and, thus, reverberates other values: identity, resistance, resilience, and re-existence.

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### **Statement of Authors' Contribution**

The authors Gercilene Vale dos Santos and Márcia Cristina Greco Ohuschi declare to be responsible for the elaboration of the manuscript entitled “The Drum Speaks, The Word Creates:” Evaluative Resonances In *Ladrão De Marabaixo Aonde tu vai rapaz.*” We hereby indicate the contributions of each author in the production, construction, and writing of the manuscript, thus fulfilling the authorship requirements.

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Gercilene Vale dos Santos: Analysis and interpretation of data; Manuscript writing; Responsibility for all aspects of the work intending to ensure the accuracy and integrity of the article.

Márcia Cristina Greco Ohuschi: Initial conception and project; Critical review of intellectual content; Final approval of the manuscript to be published; Responsibility for all aspects of the work intending to ensure the accuracy and integrity of the article.

### **Research Data and other Materials Availability**

The contents underlying the research text are included in the manuscript.

### **Reviews**

Due to the commitment assumed by *Bakhtiniana*. Revista de Estudos do Discurso [*Bakhtiniana*. Journal of Discourse Studies] to Open Science, this journal only publishes reviews that have been authorized by all involved.

### **Review I**

1. Appropriateness of the title to the article:

The title of the article is appropriate because it refers to the data/unit of analysis, the aim of the study, and the theoretical perspective adopted.

2. Clearly stating the aim of the study and coherence of its development throughout the text:

The major objective of the study requires further clarification to align with the analysis proposal and the theoretical and methodological perspectives adopted. The study carries out analysis from a dialogic perspective. The axiological concepts guide the analysis proposal, but the reflection is centered on the meanings of the utterance within its social context rather than focusing on those concepts. Thus, the semantics of the verb chosen to consubstantiate the objective – “to reflect” - does not fully correspond to the development of the study for two reasons: a) the aim of the article is not to reflect on axiological concepts but to analyze the utterance of choice guided by those axiological concepts. In an analysis carried out from a dialogical perspective, preconceived categories are neither applicable nor the focus of comprehension, but rather serve to guide interpretation aiming at grasping meaning(s). We thus recommend the major objective be rewritten in both the abstract and the introduction, based on our considerations.

3. Conformity with the proposed theory, demonstrating updated familiarity with pertinent literature:

The theoretical framework is consistent and based on the original discussions developed by the Bakhtin Circle. Additionally, they are in line with the interpretations of Brazilian researchers who preceded them. Importantly, we highlight some words and expressions used, so that the authors can reflect on their productivity and suitability. We present them along with reflective remarks that should be considered:

1) evaluative-axiological refractions: check for noun agreement.

We understand “axiological” as a concept that involves value and its intonational materialization in a given extraverbal context. The presence of the concept of value in an analysis does not necessarily entail an examination of intonation. However, if the analysis approaches intonational aspects as a guide for the production of meaning(s), we understand it as axiological. Therefore, the term “axiological refractions” would be enough, since it already implies valuation.

2) “This reflection is in line with a perspective of man.” The Circle’s theory was produced practically in the first half of the XX century. Interpreters need to update it, so as to respond to contemporary life matters. Thus, considering the current chronotope in which gender studies view gender as a social construct and challenge binarism within the patriarchal culture, which is also perpetuated through language, we suggest the term “man” is not used as a synonym of “subject” or “humanity,” even though the Circle often uses it.

3) “extraverbal contextual aspects.”

We perceive the expression as redundant since the extraverbal aspect of the utterance already encompasses what is commonly known as context or, in dialogic terms, the immediate situation of interaction. The latter is then integrated with the broader situation to form the extraverbal situation of the utterance, including its subtext and axiological atmosphere.

4) “in view of explicit/implied aspects.”

Check for comma use and the slash mark. From a dialogic perspective, the verbal/semiotic cannot be divorced from the non-verbal (extraverbal). In our view, “explicit” derives from a different theoretical approach. There is no direct and rigid correspondence between terms that come from different theoretical approaches. From a dialogic perspective, the implied aspects (the extraverbal) do not correspond to the notion of implied derived from another theoretical orientation. Therefore, the notion of linguistic or verbal/semiotic concreteness cannot be equated with the idea of explicitness or reduced to the notion of “visible,” as expressed in the text. In any case, a dialogic analysis cannot be carried out in the optional terms of focusing on the linguistic/semiotic and/or the implied (extraverbal), or the explicit and/or implied, as preferred by the authors. The detail of the choice of words and the connector with a slash mark, suggesting an option, compromise the foundations of the theory.

5) “the evaluation of the situation, inherent to the co-participants of communicative action, who constantly evaluate - even if unconsciously - the other...”

In dialogic terms, as found in Vološinov, Bakhtin e Medvedev’s writings, the subject’s evaluation is not done unconsciously, but based on their socio-ideological consciousness. The latter is constituted in the process of discursive interaction between situated and dated subjects, mediated by ideological signs. The notion of unconscious derives from a different theoretical-methodological approach and cannot be brought up in a dialogic discussion, at the expense of going against the theory. Thus, in our view, the term must be corrected.

6) “As a linguistic construct, it is interconnected with and can refer to other discursive formations and social memories.”

“Discursive formation” is not a category of dialogism. It belongs to French Discourse Analysis. It is key the authors think about more dialogical terms, such as “axiological positions” or “ideological orientations.” We argue that there is no direct correspondence

between terms deriving from different theoretical approaches. Therefore, term borrowing should be done with due care.

ADDITIONAL COMMENT:

In addition to the aforementioned remarks, we call the authors' attention to two aspects concerning the theory of choice:

7) The discussion about the concepts of "chronotope" and "ideology" is quite incipient. The abstract mentioned further discussion about those concepts, due to their analytical importance. Deepening the discussion around the concept of ideology would be beneficial.

Particularly concerning the constitution of everyday-life ideology and its interconnection with official ideology, since this is a relevant theoretical aspect that contributes to an understanding of the importance of the study. This is because the utterance analyzed by the authors is an expression of popular culture. Four lines are used to define everyday-life and official ideology, however, without a definition of what each one of them represents and no explanation about the relationship between them. The authors could also mention important references that can help readers to have access to other studies approaching the concepts more precisely.

4. Originality and contribution to the field of knowledge:

The work is original and highly relevant, especially because the utterance analyzed is an expression of popular culture, which is of paramount importance to the Circle due to its significance within social relations. Despite our remarks on the theoretical aspects of the text, we consider the analysis to be very well done. Moreover, it responds to the theoretical-methodological framework that guides the discussion. For this reason, this is a relevant text.

5. Linguistic clarity, accuracy, and appropriateness for scientific work:

The text is well-written, clear, and linguistically appropriated for academic purposes, although it needs to undergo a language review to address two minor inadequacies. These, however, do not compromise the discussion: some cases of nominal agreement and the plural of compound words. The aforementioned aspects have been highlighted and commented on in the original text.

Based on the remarks expressed herein, we recommend that the manuscript be approved with restrictions, although these are minor details that can be easily corrected by the authors. However, some theoretical remarks cannot be ignored, especially those that point out theoretical inconsistencies due to the authors' vocabulary/conceptual choices.

ACCEPTED WITH RESTRICTIONS [Revised]

*Adriana Delmira Mendes Polato* – Universidade Estadual do Paraná – UNESPAR, Campo Mourão, Paraná, Brazil; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8764-4217>; [ampolato@gmail.com](mailto:ampolato@gmail.com)

Reviewed on February 24, 2023.

## Review II

### General Remarks

Our review follows the guidelines proposed by this journal.

Appropriateness of the title to the article — the title is appropriate to the analysis carried out in the article. It provides readers with an initial image of its content.

Clearly stating the aim of the study and coherence of its development throughout the text — the objective of the article is stated in the Introduction and is consistent with its development throughout the analysis carried out by the authors.

Conformity with the proposed theory, demonstrating updated familiarity with pertinent literature — The concepts presented in the different sections suggest that the proposed framework is based on ideas found in the works of M. Bakhtin and V. Voloshinov which are properly used in the analysis. The bibliography on the discussed theme sheds light on its meaning and context in space and time.

Originality and contribution to the field of knowledge — The article provides relevant contributions to the field of Linguistic Studies, especially Applied Linguistics in which an increasing number of discussions are arising regarding topics that seek to bring attention to issues related to social inequality.

Linguistic clarity, accuracy, and appropriateness for scientific work — From the point of view of standard language, we claim that language is appropriate and the parameters required for the speech genre "scientific article" are fully respected.

Conclusion: Based on the aforementioned remarks, we consider that the present text meets the requirements of a scientific article. Therefore, we are in favor of publication.  
ACCEPTED

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Reviewed on February 24, 2023.

### Editorial review

Taking the aforementioned reviews into consideration, the article has been APPROVED WITH RESTRICTIONS. The authors are requested to rewrite the text, paying close attention to the issues pointed out, especially those highlighted by the first reviewer.

Also, the authors can interact with the first reviewer — Dr. Adriana Delmira Mendes Polato whose email has been provided.

### Review III

“The drum speaks, the word creates:” evaluative resonances in *ladrão de Marabaixo*  
*Aonde tu vai rapaz* /

This is a relevant work carried out from a dialogic perspective. It seeks to understand the axiological constitution of an utterance from the *ladrão de Marabaixo* genre entitled “*Aonde tu vai rapaz*.” As described in the article, “*ladrões de Marabaixo* are verses that are chanted rhythmically to the sound of *Marabaixo* drums” (Brasil, 2018) and constitute a cultural and popular expression of the Amapá Amazon.

1. The title of the article is appropriate because it refers to the data of analysis, the aim of the study, and the theoretical perspective adopted.
2. The objective is clear. It is refracted and reflected throughout the text, in the theoretical, methodological, and analytical dimensions.
3. The theoretical framework is consistent and based on the original discussions developed by the Bakhtin Circle. Additionally, they are in line with the interpretations

of Brazilian researchers who preceded them and share the same dialogic perspective of language.

4. The work is original and highly relevant to linguistic/cultural studies, especially because the utterance analyzed is an expression of popular culture, which is of paramount importance to the Circle due to being connected with everyday-life ideology. Its significance for social relations lies in the dynamic nature of experiences and interactions, as well as in its transformative character. Furthermore, the study aims to describe the characteristics of a speech genre that has not been previously studied: the *ladrão de Marabaixo* chant. This genre encompasses elements of religion, culture, Africanities, dance, and poetry.

5. The text is well-written, clear, and linguistically appropriated for academic purposes. Based on the aforementioned remarks, we recommend the article be approved.

APPROVED

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Reviewed on April 06, 2023.