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Construction of identities in oral narratives in the potions Quilombo – MG

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ABSTRACT
This article describes the discourses of the quilombola peoples, understood as traditional communities. We reveal the constitution of identities of the quilombolas of the Potions Territory in Minas Gerais. This investigation is anchored in the analysis of the French line of discourse and in anthropological studies. We used oral narratives from interviews, selected the fragments that most interested for this article and proceeded to qualitative analysis from the discourse analysis. The historical processes that constitute them also identify them and claim other identities. It was found that the struggle of the black people takes place in the social movements in a minimally organized way, the search for recognition and the dream of freedom have become essential instruments for their survival.

Keywords: Potions Territory, Quilombolas, Identities, Rights.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 FIRST WORDS

We consider in this work the discursive manifestations uttered by members of quilombola communities, understood as traditional communities whose members are, today, recognized as descendants of enslaved blacks. To this end, we investigated the discourses of the quilombola members that reveal the constitution of identities, specifically, of the communities belonging to the Potions Territory (Potions from Below and Potions from Above). We understand that the quilombola struggle for the recognition of their territory (land) and the understanding of the place of their remnant (black descendants of slaves), along with other needs that arose from the constitution of the communities, constitute the first steps to think about the different of the quilombola identity. We defend the hypothesis that, in the discourses given by the quilombolas, on the one hand, the identity that constitutes them inside and outside the communities where they are inserted is revealed, that is, social groups understood as remaining communities of enslaved blacks, and, on the other hand, other identities are claimed, based on the conditions and places of production of those discourses, instances that ensure the emergence of identities.

To discuss the existence of the identities of the quilombola subjects, we used a *corpus* composed of oral narratives obtained from interviews conducted in communities institutionally

recognized as quilombolas. The interviews were semi-structured and the central question "*what is it to be a quilombola"* was introduced in order to start the dialogue with them. From the oral narratives transcribed, we selected the fragments that most interested the research to proceed to the discourse analysis, based on the selected categories: discursive formation, interdiscursivity and identity imbricated in the revealing dialogues and representations that the members of the communities built on themes such as politics, social public policies and their historical and sociodiscursive practices. The choice of these categories allowed us to verify whether the members of the communities still preserved cultural aspects that brought them closer to the cultural practices of the enslaved blacks who founded the quilombos, from which the communities where they live today originated.

1.2 LINGUISTIC RESEARCH IN QUILOMBOLA COMMUNITIES: LANDS OF BLACK RESISTANCE

The studies revealed that the territories of the communities surveyed originated from quilombos or mocambos formed, initially, by escaped slaves from Bahia who rebelled against slavery and huddled together and constituted ethnic territories of resistance.

These territories began to have political-social visibility and be the object of research from the Brazilian Republic, in the twentieth century, with the Brazilian Black Front movement, in the mid-1930s and 1940s and in the late 1970s, during the process of redemocratization of the country. However, only with Article No. 68/1988 (Brasil, 1988), of the Act of Transitional Constitutional Provisions (ADCT) of the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil (Brasil, 1988), did such territories come to be understood as communities of remnants of descendants of enslaved blacks.

In 2003, from the Federal Decree No. 4,887/2003 (Brasil, 2003, p.1), of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, and considering the histories of struggle and resistance of this people, the remaining quilombolas began to be recognized and their cause legitimized. The quilombola struggle for the recognition of their land and the understanding of their place as black descendants of slaves, in addition to other needs that arose, enabled the first steps to think about the quilombola identity.

To understand in a synthesized way the entire historical course, we start from the concept of quilombos that historically composes the imaginary of Brazilians and that was established by the Overseas Council in 1740: quilombo is "[...] all housing of escaped blacks, who exceed five, partly depopulated, even if they do not have ranches raised and no pestles are found in it" (Moura, 1993, p. 13).

During slavery, as a form of resistance to all exploitation and violence and rebellion against the imposition of white culture, slaves fled and settled in places of difficult access where it was possible to preserve their cultural traits – language, religion, customs, traditions, history, etc. In this movement

of escape, there was "a denial of official society, which oppressed the black slaves. [...] and the quilombo [...] was a confirmation of African culture and lifestyle" (Guimarães, 1988, p. 65).

There were several forms of resistance of slaves to slavery, among them, we highlight: a) decrease in the pace of work; b) abortion; c) suicide; d) theft; e) attempted murder against their owners and; f) escape, this is an effective way of liberation. In addition, there were two types of escape: the demands, in which there was no radical break with the system, and the rupture, carried out individually (these more frequent) or en masse. These runaway slaves hid in places of difficult access (natural obstacles) in order not to be found, and when the number of runaway slaves was sufficient to do so, they formed a community: a quilombo.

Despite its importance, what defines quilombo is not only the place where blacks live, but, mainly, the existence of a living, dynamic element: the escaped slave. The starting point, according to Guimarães (1988, p.65), to characterize a community as a quilombo is "the existence of a certain number of runaway slaves", which does not prevent the presence of other individuals who do not fit into this category, such as free white men, Indians and mestizos.

In addition, what constitutes the quilombo "is not only the question of it being the place of refuge for fugitive blacks, but of transition between being a slave and being free" (Guimarães, 2008, p.65). These words indicate that the identity of these social groups conceptualized quilombos is not defined by size, number of members, but by their lived experience, their social practices and their common trajectory and continuity as a collective, and / or social group. This continuity as a collective group, considered a racial ethnic group in an anthropological approach, gives it what we understand as social belonging, because they develop daily practices that unite them by common interest in the same way that they exclude them. In this sense, Munanga (2006, p.62) is positioned as follows:

> [...] Quilombo does not mean refuge for escaped slaves, it is a fraternal and free meeting, with ties of solidarity and coexistence resulting from the effort of enslaved blacks to rescue their freedom and dignity through the escape from captivity and the organization of a free society [...] they were men and women who refused to live under the regime of slavery and developed actions of rebellion and struggle against this system.

In turn, the expression quilombola community refers to rural black communities inhabited by descendants of enslaved blacks who maintain kinship ties and live, for the most part, from subsistence cultures, on land donated, purchased or occupied secularly by the group. Members of these community's value some cultural traditions of their ancestors, religious or otherwise, by recreating them in the present. They have a common history and have explicit norms of belonging and awareness of their identity as descendants of enslaved blacks.

The investigation of this work takes place in the north-Minas Gerais space, where there are still quilombola communities, defined, according to Arruti (2006, p.26), as:

> [...] a relatively recent social category, [which] represents a social force relevant to the Brazilian rural environment, giving new translation to what was known as rural black communities (more to the center, south and southeast of the country) and terras de preto (more to the northeast and north), which also begins to penetrate the urban environment, giving new translation to a varied range of situations ranging from old rural black communities affected by the expansion of urban perimeters to neighborhoods in the around the Candomblé terreiros.

In 2003, after great political pressure from the quilombola communities and the centers of reference and ethnic-racial movements, the then President of the Republic of Brazil, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, signed Decree No. 4,887/2003, which replaced Decree No. 3,912/2004 and Normative Instruction No. 16/2004 of the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA)[1]. Since the publication of this decree, in the North of Minas Gerais, approximately 140 quilombola communities have been institutionally recognized, emphasizing that, since 2019, no quilombola community has been recognized in Brazil under the current government of President Jair Bolsonaro. Among these already titled communities, 97% are located in the rural area of the North of Minas Gerais.

In this work, we adopted the definition of language as human interaction, which requires differentiated studies and research on the mother tongue that situate it as a place of constitution of social relations, during which the speakers constitute themselves as subjects. In this perspective, language is only possible because each speaker establishes himself and presents himself as a subject, referring to himself as "I" in his discourse. For this reason, "I presuppose another person, the one who, although being external to me, becomes my interlocutor (you)/subject" (Benveniste, 1995.p.286). This approach allowed us to analyze language, discourse and culture in the narratives of members of two quilombola communities in the North of Minas Gerais, using the French Discourse Analysis.

We emphasize that this work prioritizes orality and, in the excerpts selected for discourse analysis of the oral narratives of members of the selected communities in the Potions Territory, we maintained the transcription pattern originally used by scholars who researched the structure of the language present in these speeches, seeking to maintain the authenticity of speech, although from that standard we do not come to make specific use.

For the analysis, we selected the categories 1) discursive formation (FD), 2) interdiscursivity and 3) identity imbricated in the discourses, pointing out the representations that the members of the communities built about the political and social issues facing the quilombola community, as well as about their historical and sociodiscursive practices. These procedures allowed us to know if they still preserve the cultural issues that bring them closer to the descendants of enslaved blacks, or if they have built a new identity.

[1] Currently the work is conducted by Normative Instruction 57, of October 20, 2009, of INCRA.

1.3 THE TERRITORY OF POTIONS (MG)

The Territory of Potions is located in the municipality of Francisco Sá, in the North of Minas Gerais, in the district of Cana Brava. It has approximately 2,000 inhabitants (CENTRO DE DOCUMENTAÇÃO ELOY FERREIRA DA SILVA, 2008, p. 271) and is part of the black field of the North of Minas Gerais. The municipality of Francisco Sá stands out in agricultural production for being a large producer of garlic, being known as the national capital of garlic, and, in livestock, as the largest milk producer in the region and one of the twenty cities with the largest cattle herd in the State of Minas Gerais. Francisco Sá has a rural quilombola territory certified on 7/6/2006, called quilombola community of Poções, located 34 km from the urban center of the municipality.

The community is "made up of blacks from Bahia and whites who lived in the Brejo Luís Farm, in the district of Santo Antônio do Gurutuba, a diamond region of the municipality of Grão Mogol" (GONÇALVES, 2007, p. 63). According to the inhabitants of Poções, its history and its birth are associated with the name of the Bahian and precursor Josino Ferreira de Brito, who came from the region of the Recôncavo Baiano and built the quilombo. In addition, one of his sons, Pedro Guida Ferreira, nicknamed Pedro Ju, fought to combat water scarcity in that region, where the dam that received his name (nickname) was built in honor of his fight for the construction of this dam, thus minimizing the problem of water scarcity in the place. These feats have made the Ferreira de Brito family, nowadays, the most recognized within the quilombola community of Poções.

The community organizes itself through its residents, who work in the Association of Potions Quilombolas, and seeks to retell and re-signify its history and its identity. This population, before becoming a quilombola community, benefited from the construction of dozens of masonry houses to stop the advance of Chagas disease. As a recognized quilombola community, it began to receive other benefits, such as electricity (most of the residents) and school, until the 5th grade (former 4th grade). To continue their studies, children and young people attend from the 6th to the 9th grade in the village of São Geraldo and high school in the village of Cana Brava. With regard to housing conditions, it can be said that they are very precarious, the education rate of the quilombolas is low, and most of them are illiterate, there is also no health care. The means of transport used are animals (horse), ox cart and cart. The members of the community seek to maintain their culture and their customs, have their festivities, such as the feast of Senhor Bom Jesus, because they are, for the most part, Catholics. Among these festivities and rituals, they celebrate the revelries of kings, feasts of the saints of the church, make novenas and three hundred celebrated to the sound of the batuque – a typically African percussion instrument –, which packs the dances always in pairs. Since this territory is made up of several local groups somewhat distanced from each other, we restrict ourselves to the informants of Potions from Above and Potions from Below.

In 2007, the community was studied by the anthropologist Flávio José Gonçalves[2] who addressed, in his research, the question of the territoriality of the blacks of Poções, as well as their history, their beliefs and their ancestors. The work points out the constitution of this community from the access to information about constitutional rights. Gonçalves (2007, p. 63) discusses and describes, still, "the process of occupation and territorialization in the local memory, highlighting the figure of the black Lucas, coming from the Recôncavo Baiano". When discussing the occupation process, Gonçalves states that the presence of blacks in the region occurred before the arrival of whites, making an incursion into the writings of memorialist historians. The author also shows the internal relational plots and their dynamics of territorialities. In his words, territorialities "are based on strategies of family and social reproduction, based on reciprocity that reinforce family ties and their neighborhood ties" (GONÇALVES, 2007, p. 80). Finally, Gonçalves discusses the social processes that constitute the community, highlighting the cashangas of the Development Company of the São Francisco and Parnaíba Valleys (CODEVASF) for the construction of the Pedro Ju dam, in whose waters is buried the original village, with its settlements, the cemetery of its ancestors, the chapel, the Southern Cross and the places of material production.

With regard to cultural manifestations, Gonçalves (2007. p. 104) narrates the Feast of Potions, an occasion of effervescence that brings together contrary things and elements. Religiosity and sacredness are highlighted in the devotion to Senhor Bom Jesus and the playful practices affirm and reaffirm the ethnic identity of a remaining group of quilombos from Campo Negro da Jaíba (MG). The organizational structure of the community members was based on three social entities of representation and local productions. They are associations that play a fundamental role in the viability of local development and aim to implement a collective and solidarity economy.

1.4 THE COMPLEXITY OF THE DISCOURSES AND THEIR CHARMS

Constituted from the mid-60s, Discourse Analysis (DA) consists of a current of studies developed in France and that treats the language in its historical process, and will privilege the conditions of production and textual reception, as well as the effects of meaning. We understand Discourse as a historical and ideological object that is socially produced through specific materiality - language - understood as a social practice, being a dispersion of texts, whose mode of historical inscription allows defining it as a space of enunciative regularities, in which evidence is repeated in a given order within the discourse.

In Foucauldian words, Discourse is conceived as a practice of man in society. Clivado by the conscious and unconscious and moved by desire, it is constituted as such, determined and determining

[2] Master's thesis entitled "Negros de Poções: Feitiços e outros caxangás em seus processos sociais: Historicidade, identidade e territorialidade em Brejo das Almas - MG.

discursive practices. In spite of the numerous studies and researches already carried out, treading the paths of Discourse Analysis (DA), without a doubt, is still to step on the place of the unknown, of the new, of what, even if constituted by meanings "already said". In the words of Gregolin (2003, p. 16), when we adopt the point of view of Discourse Analysis, we focus on discursive events from the assumption that there is a real of language and a real of history, and the job of the discourse analyst is to understand the relationship between these orders, since meaning is produced by man's relationship with language and history. Discourse Analysis proposes, therefore, to describe the articulations between the materiality of the statement, its grouping in discourses, its insertion in discursive formations, its articulation through practices, its control by principles related to power, its inscriptions in a historical archive.

To analyze the Discourse, in this perspective, is to account for all these specificities, to apprehend the Discourse as an event, as an event that erupts in a certain time and place, considering it as an effect of historical relations, concrete practices that are alive in the statements. This implies analyzing the speeches seeking to explore them in their context, to the extent that they are socio-historical and political production/construction, since language is also constituted of practices. The epistemological framework for AD was developed as a Marxist critique of Foucault's conception of discourse, considered from the point of view of the category of contradiction, and concluded on the need "for an appropriation of what Foucault's work contains of materialism" (Pêcheux 1997a. p.17). In turn, Pêcheux and Fuchs, aiming to articulate Foucault's conception of Discourse with a materialist theory of discourse, created a general framework of AD that encompasses three areas of knowledge:

> a) historical materialism – theory of social formations and their transformations, there also understood the theory of ideologies; b) linguistics – theory of syntactic mechanisms and enunciation processes at the same time; c) the theory of discourse – theory of historical determination of semantic processes (PÊCHEUX, 1997a. p.17).

We recall that these three areas of knowledge – whose basic concepts are those of social formation, language and discourse – are in a certain way crossed by the reference to a theory of subjectivity, of a psychoanalytic nature, which we do not deal with in this work. Defended by Pêcheux (1975), the notion of discursive-ideological process presupposes that its concern is to inscribe the discursive process in an ideological relation of classes, since it recognizes that, if language is indifferent to the division of social classes and their struggles, they are not so in relation to language, according to the field of their antagonisms. Thus placed, language constitutes the condition of possibility of discourse, because it is a kind of invariant presupposed by all possible conditions of production at a given historical moment. Thus, it can be concluded that Pêcheux proposes a formal consideration of discursive processes, both within discourses and between one discourse and another, and less a substantive consideration of particular ideologies and Discursive Formations (FD) within an

established concrete form. In this line of reasoning, an FD can be understood as a game of regulatory principles that constitute the basis of effective discourses, but that remain separate from them.

Thus words, expressions and propositions acquire their meanings from certain socio-historical-discursive formations that are produced, and in which meaning becomes an effect on a subject, and not a stable property. What results from this historical determination are individuals questioned into social subjects, speakers, as subjects of their discourses, in which they are "susceptible to forget" when they think they are the "origin of saying" (Pêcheux, 1975, p. 111).

Thus, the discourse as an object of AD is conceived as a "word in motion", effects of meanings between the interlocutors, "a historical and ideological object that is produced socio-historically, through a specific materiality – language – understood as a social practice" (Foucault, 1969, p. 42). Discourse is, therefore, a practice of language, being conceived as a daily, natural practice of man in society. According to Foucault (1969, p.42), the discourse has the "regularity of a practice that must be apprehended from a system of formation" (Foucault, 1969, p. 42). In the same work, Foucault argues about discursive practices and defines them as a

> Set of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that defined, at a given time and for a given social, economic, geographical or linguistic area, the conditions for the exercise of an enunciative function. (foucault, 1969, p. 42).

Discursive practices, in this way, determine that not everything can always be said, that what can be said is regulated by an order of discourse. That is, one cannot speak of anything at any place and time; it is always necessary to submit this something to the order of discourse. From this definition, we understand, and corroborate Foucault (1969, p.43), that FD refers to what is allowed to be said in a given time and social space, to what takes place and realization from specific production conditions (which constitute the instance of discourse, the place from which one speaks, the image, the context, etc.), and historically defined. It is, therefore, a possibility to explain how each statement has its place and its reason. In this line of thought, there is no discourse that does not relate to other discourses. In other words, the meanings result from the established relations: a discourse points to others that sustain it, as well as opens to future sayings. In this perspective, we highlight the thesis of Pêcheux (2009, p.162), when he postulates that "every discursive formation conceals, through the transparency of the meaning that is constituted in it, its dependence with respect to the complex whole with dominant" (Pêcheux, 2009, p. 162).

To this "whole complex with dominant" Pêcheux calls "interdiscourse" and develops the thesis that also the interdiscourse is submitted to the law of inequality, contradiction, subordination, which, as previously stated, characterizes an ideological formation, understanding such formation as "complex set of attitudes that are neither individual nor universal" (Pêcheux, 2009, p. 161). Therefore, interdiscourse is a process of incessant reconfiguration, in which a FD is led to incorporate pre-

constructed elements (understood as "what is spoken before") produced outside of it, which, in turn, also constitutes other new meanings. From the relations of meanings previously conceptualized, we analyze the tessitura of the discourses in the narratives of the speakers of the communities investigated, taking into account the conditions of production of those speeches.

We consider that, from the speeches given by the quilombolas, meanings that show common characteristics may emerge. That is, characteristics of being and belonging to a stigmatized community and, from them, constructing and reconstructing identities that, in this text, we call floating identities. It is worth remembering that the issue of the identity of the subject is permeated by social, ideological and cultural representations that are and that are constituted in the discursive practices, in relations established inside and outside the community. The social theorist Hall (2006, p.8), in his work "Cultural identity in postmodernity", proposes to discuss some issues related to identity, presenting it, however, as a provisional notion and, therefore, changeable. According to Hall, there is no unity in the sociological community on the subject. The concept of identity, which to this day is still discussed, according to the author, "is too complex, too little understood in contemporary social science to be definitively put to the test" (HALL, 2006, p. 8). This statement is corroborated by other authors, who maintain that the opacity on the subject makes it possible to surf perspectives and limits, elaborate different concepts and (re)think the concept of identity from various perspectives, due to its non-fixity.

Identity can be conceptualized as what determines what one is, for example, through a continuous succession of predications: to be white, to be a woman, to be a Portuguese teacher. A sequence of assertions, in a given time and space, can, however, imply a set of parameters, not necessarily integrated, and sometimes counterposed by the appeal to negation, which reiterates what has been previously stated about the diverse nature of identity.

Identity is also constructed in the interdependence between similarity and difference and vice versa (Silva, 2000, p.110) It is interesting to observe that from the difference that marks the identity conflicts can emerge and there are cases in which these differences are understood by a given group as more important than the others. An example of this are the "differentiations" from which the prejudice of "color", origin, class and other discriminatory attitudes originates, and the subjects are called to occupy these identities and do so. The conception that identities are constructed through differences and not separated from them raises questions about whether it is an act of power as a social constitution (Hall 2000, p. 110).

The questioning about what they are, what they ceased to be, what they will become constitutes a path of challenges, with regard to the process of identity construction for any groups of subjects, including, in particular, our research subjects, the quilombolas of the community of Poções (MG), since, for them, the challenge of deconstructing the stereotyped image of a wild individual is posed, soulless, intellectually inept, which has endured for more than three centuries of history. Aren't these

definitions of the author merged here with the notion of FD? After all, when the subject defines himself, discursives, is he not positioning himself in a place of meaning of the sayable, in a regionalization of the saying? Anchored in these studies two questions, we opted for positions/identities assumed by the subjects of this research: those of being remnants of enslaved blacks and of being quilombolas.

According to Hall, "the subject assumes different identities at different times" Hall, 2006, p. 13) because thinking about identities requires taking them as a meeting point where discourses and discursive practices meet, intersect and call each other, calling the individual to assume a place as a socio-historical subject. Therefore, thinking about the issue of the quilombola implies reflecting the relationship of this individual with the place where he lives, as well as with the place of his quilombola community in the regional historical context. In the case of a quilombola community, we found that the construction of identity for most of the subjects of this research was operated, firstly, through the identification with the place where they reside. For some interviewees, the community is configured as a space *of protection* and a place of belonging/possession (of the land).

Thus, these two understandings led us to elaborate the links between community (family, association and society) and identity, revealed in the reports of the interviewees. At this point, a question can be posed: was the quilombola identity (descendants of enslaved blacks) an achievement/choice of theirs, or was it broadcast, taught, inflated or launched by other ideological discourses, such as, for example, those of the researchers who transited through the communities or those of the members of the associations they created? All this finds' echoes in the suspicions launched by Bauman (2005): "[...] Identities float in the air, some of our own choosing, but others inflated and launched by the people around us, and one must be on constant alert to defend the former against the latter" (Bauman 2005, p. 13). It is for these reasons that we consider identities to be fluctuating, transient, flexible, and disrupt what is fixed, ready, and determined; They are identities characterized by the so-called post-modernity and that, from this place, because it does not make sense, does not allow the solidification of them, with regard to social practices. Thus, according to Costa (1999. p.112), when speaking of the quilombolas of the North of Minas, at different levels of social belonging, it is propitious that they "develop and possess situational floating identities, as members of an extended family, of a family trunk, of a collectivity that groups several family trunks" and that affirm their belonging according to the structural place in which they are.

1.5 QUILOMBOLAS: IDENTITIES AND DISCOURSES

The discursive categories that constitute the quilombola subject are discourse and identity. Thus, the analysis was developed from the interdiscursive relations that constitute the FD that regulate

the discourses given by the quilombolas of Poções (MG). These formations were brought to the fore by the flow of discursive memory and [3] represented linguistically and discursively.

Through these discourses, we were able to verify whether new interdiscursive relations were constituted and their relations with the origins, the external world and the social structure. Therefore, during the analysis, we try to remain at the level of the existence of words, of things said, letting it appear in the complexity that is peculiar to it. In the discourses there are only statements and relations that the discourse itself puts into operation (Foucault, 1970, p. 50). The oral narratives of the selected quilombolas are marked by memories of stories that were told to them by their captive black ancestors in Bahia, and who fled to Minas Gerais to rebuild their lives in freedom. With regard to the origin, the very constitution of the community and the reports of the quilombolas relate to its foundation. The narratives are constructed from the flow of their memories, individual and collective, which take up their ancestors, to reaffirm their territoriety, reveal the foundation of the community and the identities constituted in their discourses, and the reason why they chose the terrains, as the following sequence presents us:

> Subject 1
> [...] Queim fundô a comunidade foi u negru Lucas [...] eli veiu fugindu dus capanga du fazenderu baianu [...] aqui a terra era di ninguéim [...] eli gostô daqui i começô a trabaiá pra sustentá a família deli i pur aqui ficô [...]

The discourse of subject 1 is crossed by the voice named "Luke" who speaks of his place as an enslaved fugitive ("[...] eli veiu fugindu dus capanga du fazenderu baianu [...]") – slave identity. His speech also highlights the power relations prevalent in the community where Luke lived, before he escaped. The collective memory is triggered in the form of a remembrance of the narrative once told by the black Lucas, founder of the Potions community. Memory, through memories, recomposes events and, according to Halbwachs (2006, p. 30), "memories remain collective and are reminded of us by others, even if they are events in which only, we were involved and objects that only we saw".

The excerpt "[...] here the land was di ninguéim [...] eli gostô daqui i começo a trabaiá pra sustentá a família deli i pur aqui ficô [...]" reveals that the community began in invaded territory and that the founder of the community, a fugitive from Bahia, appropriated it ("[...] eli gostô daqui i começo a trabaiá pra sustentá a família deli i pur aqui ficô [...]"). The speech shows a partial knowledge about external reality, because, in fact, "no man's land" belongs to the federal government. The quilombolas invaded them and appropriated them. Following on the origin and constitution of the social structure of the community of Poções (MG), let us analyze the speech of the following citizen.

[3] Discursive memory is characterized by a non-linear process of retrieval and production of information and, therefore, operates by faults and gaps, being a space of unfoldings, replicas, polemics and counterdiscourses.

Subject 2
[...] sãu todus aparentadu [...] um parenti mais longi [...] um parenti mais pertu i vai crescenu di famia mais sempri é [...] é famia uma famia só [...] Britu [...] Viera [...] Ferrera [...] Perera, é Cardosu [...] Santis [...] teim eli cum borra aí [...] Grigóri' [...] otrus chegarum i si aquilombaram cum nóis, até brancu teim aí na cumunidadi [...] i forum casãnu i ficãnu puraí [...]

The social structure that is outlined in this report is the family as a unit, a community, when subject 2 states that "[...] sãu todus aparentadu [...] um parenti mais longi [...] um parenti mais pertu i vai crescenu di famia mais sempri é [...] é famia uma famia só [...]", in spite of the families having different surnames, namely, "[...] Britu [...] Viera [...] Ferrera [...] Perera, is Cardosu [...] Santis [...]". The relationship of relatives with community living makes the community united. And the way this uniqueness is constituted arises from the discourse of subject 2 when he states that "[...] otrus chegarum i si aquilombaram nóis, até brancu teim aí na cumunidadi [...] i forum casãnu i ficãnu puraí [...]". In this statement, the subject also points out the relationship of the social structure of the group with the world, because "[...] até brancu teim aí na cumunidadi [...]" In both fragments, the firmness of the institution "family" is registered, in terms of maintaining the uniqueness of the community, and, from this axis, its consolidated social and family structures and relations. In this perspective, the family, hybrid and community identity are formed. The expression "even white" in the narrative points to the entry of another ethnicity from outside the black quilombola community. The mixture ("[...] otrus chegarum i si aquilombaram cum nóis [...]") dá origem ao compadrio, conforme a expressão "[...] i forum casãnu i ficãnu puraí [...]. This type of relationship is understood by historians as one that admits, in the community, black and white individuals, thus introducing miscegenation and the formation of a new identity, typically Brazilian: the mestiza.

When dealing with an identity constructed in dispersed circumstances, integrated with different historical perspectives, the Afro-Brazilian quilombola identity is subject to a lot of instability, which makes a comparative perception of the content of this identity normal. Thus, although of different ethnicities, forming a family not only made up of members of the same blood, these communities, reinforcing Decree No. 4,887/2003, when it comes to the recognition of the remnant, maintain their own trajectory, their ancestry, resistance and oppression, the same suffered by their ancestors.

Corroborating the words of Arruti (2006, p. 26), there is no quilombola community that says "I am a quilombola" without self-knowledge and self-discussion with the black movement. The difficulties to understand this are posed in the scarcity, perhaps the inexistence, as we verified, of studies and research, encouragement and knowledge so that the members of the quilombola communities can understand what it means to be descended from a slave, not only by the color of the skin, but by their ancestry, by their history, memory and culture. And it is, perhaps, for this reason also, that the discourses in the statements of the interviewees name enunciative places from which those researchers who joined the communities and who contributed to their knowledge speak, in the

sense of providing data for the construction of the identity of descendants of slaves, and for the awareness of "being a quilombola". The following excerpt accuses the presence of the researchers.

> Subject 3
> [...] aí vei um pessual da Unimontis / veiu Fláviu José qui começô essi trabaiu aqui juntu cum otrus, taméim a Maria du Rosáriu, taméim u Tonim da Emater // intãu tinha muitas pessoas qui vinha fazê trabaiu, pruque a genti neim dá conta neim di lembrá [...]

In this excerpt, several voices emerge, interdiscursivity ("[...] intãu tinha muitas pessoas qui vinha fazê trabaiu, pruque a genti neim dá conta neim di lembrá [...]". instituted from the memories of community members. In this report, the statements reveal specific enunciative places, such as the State University of Montes Claros (Unimontes), and researchers such as Flávio José Gonçalves, Maria do Rosário and Tonim da Emater. These subjects/voices enunciated other voices and their ideological discourses, interwoven in the discourse of the quilombolas, contributed to the formation of the citizen identity of the descendants of black slaves from the North of Minas Gerais, through information about their rights, duties and the struggle to highlight the need for the quilombolas to maintain their Afro-Brazilian culture, and to celebrate it.

Still on the history of the Poções dam, in the mid-1980s, through CODEVASF and the political support of Deputy Humberto Souto, the long-awaited Preto Ju dam was built. However, the project included the construction of other smaller dams, which did not occur. The objectives of CODEVASF included: to install water structures that would enhance agricultural production and livestock in the North of Minas, an installation that would result in minimizing floods, preserving streams and rivers, storing rainwater, with the subsequent perennialization of rivers, supplying water to humans and animals, implementing irrigation in areas of long droughts, fish farming for local consumption and commercialization, recreation and leisure, and encourage ecological tourism. However, the main objective of the public agency was to minimize the suffering of the quilombolas, which seems to have been achieved, as shown below.

> Subject 4
> [...] a barragi foi cosa boa pra nós / gostu da barragi / nós agora teim água pra bebê [...] água dentu di casa [...] água pra lavá ropa, tomá bãiu [...]

Notice, again, that although the hardships of the community have been minimized, having the dam to enjoy drinking water is still seen as a good and not as a right to a gift of nature. This position points to a lack of knowledge about the external reality, because the quilombola citizen does not claim, nor does he seem to know his rights to have human conditions of survival. In any case, the quilombolas understand the positive aspects of the construction of that work, since they no longer live under the sub-human conditions in which they lived before the construction of the dam. Let's see, next, how this history unfolds in the statements of the narratives of the quilombolas.

Subject 5
[...] mais tardi trouxerãu as máquinas [...] era barraca di lona pur tudu quantu é ladu [...] mandaram algumas pessoas disarranchareim-se du seu lugar [...] foi só choru! Briga! Briga! / u doutô falô qui era pra construí a barrageim [...] coisa dus guvernus [...] perguntei / "moçu / comu fica nossas coisas?" / intãu eli disi / "olha / dona / vai sê tudu colocadu eim um outru lugar" // daí eu pensei / meu Deus / na casa qui era di meus pais i u cemitériu ondi elis istãu interradus [...] pensei até na igreja i nu cruzeru [...]

Again, as already analyzed in other speeches, the ideas of Foucault (1970, p. 6) will support our analysis of the quilombola discourse, because the philosopher says that "there are statements and relations that the discourse itself puts into operation, being it the space in which knowledge and power are articulated, because who speaks, speaks from somewhere, from a right recognized institutionally". This discourse, supposedly true, which conveys knowledge (institutional knowledge), generates power. In this sense, the narrative "[...] u doutô falô qui era pra construí a barrageim [...]" reveals another voice, that of power materialized in the term "doctor". Against the discourse of the voice of the "doctor" the voice of the quilombola (subject 5) emerges, when demonstrating their dissatisfaction and a certain revolt in relation to the expropriation they suffered, when they ceded their territory and assets: "[...] brought the machines [...] era barraca di lona pur tudu quantu é ladu [...] mandaram algumas pessoas disarranchareim-se du seu lugar [...] Foi só choru! Briga! Briga! [...]".

In the same account, in the expression "[...] disarranchareim-se du seu lugar [...]", the verbal phrasing "desarranchar-se" (they were taken/plucked from the ranches), plus the sequence "[...] era barraca di lona pur tudu quantu é ladu ", patents the relationship of power, truculence and destruction, at least in the point of view of the interviewee. Moreover, the discourse of subject 5 reveals a resigned reaction against the current state of affairs ("[...] It was just crying! Quarrel! Quarrel! [...]"), however, leaving a citizen identity to pass through, convinced that it was her property that was usurped from her. Subsequently, an attempt to maintain an identity related to material things is exposed, that is, the identity of the quilombola members was also constituted in the houses, in the church, in the personal objects of each one, as the sequence reveals: "[...] perguntei / 'moçu / comu fica nossas coisas?' / intãu eli disi / 'olha / dona / vai sê tudu colocadu eim um outru lugar' [...]" Next, the discourse reveals the sadness for the loss of these assets and their cultural memory: "[...] daí eu pensei / meu Deus / na casa qui era di meus pais i u cemitériu ondi elis istãu interradus [...] Pensei até na igreja i nu cruzeru [...]". Narrating the moment of this loss brings to light the metamorphosis of the slave identity, demarcated by the territorial space, to the citizen identity that is constituted by the fact that they would have access to decent housing. All the facts are relived in the narratives by the flow of the collective memory of the subject belonging to the community in question.

Research on Afro-Brazilian and quilombola culture showed us that the place where their black descendants buried their ancestors was considered sacred and should be untouchable. In the case in question, if the culture is preserved, the reaction of the quilombolas would be that the water contained

in the dam would penetrate the depths of the pits and appropriate the vital energies distributed throughout the land and, therefore, to use the water would be an outrage, it would be to drink their ancestors. However, in the quilombolas of Poções, cultural beliefs were also lost and the dispossession of the previously constituted cultural identity was evidenced. The following report also belongs to the same quilombola subject, in which he shows clarity of vision about the reasons for the construction of the dam.

> Subject 5
> [...] uns tempus depois / a barrageim estava prontinha [...] começaram fazê as casas novas [...] você está venu aqueli pau u meiu da barrageim? / lá eu morava cum minha irmã [...] nós fomu nascidas i criadas dentru dessi lugar / mais hoje / estãmus aqui [...] gostu da barrageim [...] barrageim foi muitu bom pra nois // nóis agora tem água / água dentru di casa / antis a genti sufria muitu [...] tem o ladu boum tameim [...]

The discourse that once revealed the sense of loss and nostalgia, now marks the birth of a citizen ("[...] começaram fazê as casas novas [...] Você está venu aqueli pau u meiu da barrageim? / lá eu morava cum minha irmã [...] nós fomu nascidas i criadas dentru dessi lugar / mais hoje / estãmus aqui [...]") of that quilombola recognized as a remnant of slaves and gives rise to a politicized discourse that makes it able to discern between the benefits and harms brought by the construction of the dam, an identity constituted in its social and anthropological dimension.

The right to the use of water is also again welcomed, revealing a greater contact with the external reality about the social use of water ("[...] nóis agora tem água / água dentru di casa / antis a genti sufria muitu [...] tem o ladu boum tameim [...]"), as had already occurred in previous speeches on the theme "dam".

The religious discourse also emerges in the memory of the subject in the reference about the church ("[...] pensei até na igreja i nu cruzeru [...]") as a sacred element, and the cruise, as a space of concretization for his faith, in the firmament. The evocation "[...] meu Deus / na casa qui era di meus pais i u cemitériu ondi elis istãu interradus [...]*"* the expression "my God" is used factually, but it does not constitute an element that accuses religiosity.

In the process of building the dam, as mentioned, much was promised to the quilombolas to accept its construction in the territory where they lived. What was guaranteed to the black population, after the imprisonment of the waters of the Salinas River and the Poções stream, were some benefits already mentioned, for example, the use of water and compensation for the cession of their territory. However, contradictions and a certain distrust emerged when some promises remained only in verbalization or on paper. This is what the following report of the quilombola reveals to us.

> Subject 6
> [...] nãum / num teim nenhum projeto di pexi / fizemu dois / treis / num foi aprovado pra criami di pexi ni gaiola / i u aproveitu da água achu qui é muitu pocu / porque us pequenu num teim condiçãu di comprá uma bomba pra moía us quintau / o tocá uma ária maió // intãu / a água ta mesmu é só pra animal / i pra genti teim hora qui num teim / queim num tivé otra água toma ela taméim [...]

The discourse of the quilombola is inserted, then, in the discursive-ideological process assumed by Pêcheux (1975, p.111) that inscribes the discursive process in an ideological relation of classes. In this aspect, if language is indifferent to the division of social classes and their struggles, this division and struggles are not indifferent to language, according to the field of their antagonisms. Language, thus placed, constitutes the condition of possibility of discourse, because it is a kind of invariant presupposed by all possible conditions of production at a given historical moment. On the other hand, the discursive processes constitute the source of the production of the effects of meaning in the discourse, and the language is the place where the effects of meaning materialize. In the excerpt "[...] us pequenu num teim condição di comprá uma bomba pra moía us quintau / o tocá uma ária maió [...]*",* The lexical choice of the subject-enunciator for the term "little" announces the existence of a poorer class among them and reveals the speaker's knowledge about social structure and differences between social classes. In other words, an awareness of the reality of the outside world and the emergence of a social identity.

The sequence "[...] nãum / num teim nenhum projeto di pexi [...]" proves a common practice among politicians: the non-fulfillment of the promises made, and still reveals that things have not changed all that much, from the times of hardships to today. Already the sequence "[...] fizemu dois / treis [projetos] / num foi aprovado pra criami di pexi ni gaiola [...]" shows that they were curtailed, either by bureaucracy or by a lack of political will. Despite the benefits of drinking water and the construction of the new houses, our reading of the interviews, with regard to the construction of the dam, is that the dam acted as a spell[4] that, at first, fascinated and deceived them, but that, in fact, caused political and cultural socioeconomic disorder in the community.

From this disorganization, the Potions community felt the need to reorganize itself in order to be able to progress, since it already had water. As a result, there is a demand for other basic needs and rights, such as electricity, school and health center. For these reasons, it was urgent to set up an association that could raise funds for the community to achieve these social benefits. The result of this yearning was the creation of the Rural Association whose implementation process resulted in some of these benefits, but also in difficulties for the community, as narrated by the subject-citizen, below.

> Subject 3
> [...] ó a comunidadi foi u seguinti [...] é si a partir du momentu qui qui crió a associaçãu na comunidade aí já começô a desinvolvê [...] nóis neim cunhecimentu cum associaçãu nós num tinha, aí criô uma associaçãu [...] i ela ficô parada pur um bom tempu mais através lá num sei si é pulítica ou qui foi [...] consiguimu um tratô pra comunidadi i depois dessi tratô aí foi criô

[4] According to Gonçalves (2007), when the blacks of Poções speak of spell or caxangá, they refer to the construction of the Pedro Ju dam. For the descendants of enslaved blacks, the dam event generated disorganization of the socio-cultural, political and economic order of the local Potions group that was split because it was situated between two distinct villages separated from each other by a kilometer. In this way, the construction of the dam separated the community by dividing it into two distinct parts. The impacts caused by the construction of the dam were multiple, among the most significant and violent, the resistance to the transformation of some residents was the key factor to understand the types of relationships that families established among themselves in their daily lives – kinship, crony and neighborhood relations.

> as novas diretoria / aí eu já juntu cum o otu pessoal que tava ingajado na associaçãu [...] nós já começô sentá i discuti a respeitu das necessidadi da comunidadi i nós já começô adquiri algumas coisinha qui aí nós já consiguiu é uma melhoria di casa [...]

From the FD of this quilombola citizen emerges a social identity, the politicized subject, since he is already aware of the need to found a rural association, but also aware of the lack of knowledge of how to deal with it (distancing from the external world). This knowledge, little by little, the members of the community were acquiring. A certain political knowledge emerges from his discourse, sprinkled with irony, through which he denies himself in the "[...] num sei si é pulítica ou qui foi [...]" and it is stated in the enunciation "I know it is political", about the reason why the association is stagnant for a certain time, and mirrored in the use of terminology and functional conducts attentive to an association and to the political-social discourse, as in "[...] ingajado na associaçãu [...] nós já começô sentá i discuti a respeitu das necessidadi da comunidade [...]".

The saying "[...] num sei si é pulítica ou qui foi [...]" refers to Pêcheux's definition of discursive formation: "that which in a given ideological formation, that is, from a given position and in a certain conjuncture, [...] and that determines what can and should be said" (Pêcheux, 2009, p. 147). FD, then, refers to what is allowed to be said in a given time and social space, although speech may imply the possibility of a direct criticism that appears in it forbidden. Moreover, in the statements, subject 5 denies what he states in the enunciation (irony): that it is all a matter of (lack of will) politics. Thus, the referential networks are being weaved and the ethnic-socio-political identity of the quilombolas is established, according to the social advancement of the members of the Poções community.

1.6 A FEW WORDS TO CONCLUDE

After the excerpts of the discourse analysis of the narratives of the quilombolas presented here, it is pertinent to make some general considerations, focusing on the oral performance of the citizens of that community. The quilombola community of Poções (MG) encountered many difficulties, however, one characteristic differentiates it from others not yet recognized: the fact that the community of Poções has no problems maintaining possession of its lands and has had in its population constitution blacks and whites, living in (apparently) peaceful coexistence. The community is made up of a younger population (few are older) and, perhaps for this reason, less experienced in the issues at hand here. However, its members present political and ideological maturity, demanding their rights from the authorities and claiming an identity beyond the quilombola identity anchored in the federal decree, thus seeking to be recognized as Afro-Brazilian citizens with rights and duties equal to other Brazilians.

The collective mode of survival cultivated by the community is subsistence farming. Members grow food in community gardens, the product being used for consumption, and when there is a surplus of production, they negotiate with neighborhood farmers. Regarding the typical delicacies made with

the product of the harvest, the community shares it, sharing the same customs and using the ingredients from their plantations.

Because it is legally recognized as a remnant community of slaves, it is enrolled in government social programs, waiting for funds and equipment that, due to bureaucracy, take time to arrive. According to the account of its members, the Potions community, even being politically engaged, did not see half of the promises made by the government and politicians fulfilled. We admit that this analysis contains in itself a tiny particle of knowledge in the vast universe that the analysis of the discourses of the quilombolas unveils and challenges.

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