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Semantic Protest Techniques in Seven Popular Song Lyrics by Chico Buarque Recorded During
Brazil's Second Military Regime (1966 to 1978)

Abstract

Brazil had a series of revolutions throughout the twentieth century, two of which led to the rise of dictators supported by vast military regimes. These regimes oppressed Brazilians through censorship, torture, and violence against any citizen perceived to oppose them. During the second military regime, a period that spanned two decades, many artists, including popular music composers and singers spoke out against the regime, leading many to be imprisoned, tortured, and exiled. Chico Buarque is a leading musician in the *Musica Popular Brasileira (MPB)*. He was interrogated for *Roda Viva*, written early in his career, and went into a self-imposed exile to Italy, unlike his friends whose exile was imposed by the regime. This writer has concluded that Buarque survived and navigated the regime, after returning to Brazil, by using what this paper labels Semantic Protest Techniques (SPT) in his song lyrics. An SPT occurs in song lyrics when the meaning of phrases or clauses align with traditional popular music lyrics, but can also be interpreted as veiled political protest. An analysis of many of his 47 albums shows that Buarque used three SPTs consistently throughout his career. This paper treats seven song lyrics from various stages in his career throughout the military regime, and analyzes three specific SPTs, which kept Buarque out of prison, and in their simplest form can be described as: manipulating the masses, especially the poor (SPT 1), love and women (SPT 2), and *double* (or triple) *entendres* (SPT 3).

Brazil's second military regime arose in 1964 and used torture, censorship, and various other tactics to maintain their hold on the people and the country's resources. Multiple protests ended in police brutality and during this time, many artists, like Chico Buarque, doubled as political activists. The regime beat, imprisoned, interrogated, or simply made their opponents disappear, causing many protests in the streets of Brazil as well as more imprisonments and deaths. Chico Buarque, one such political activist, avoided violence from the regime through what this paper calls Semantic Protest Techniques (SPTs) in the song lyrics he performed. This paper will present biographical information about Chico Buarque, define SPTs as a general concept, then describe three SPTs specifically used in seven of Chico Buarque's songs. SPT 1 refers to the situation of the poor and Brazilian people in general. SPT 2 is the prevailing symbolism of the feminine figure and romantic love. SPT 3 is the manipulation of *double* (sometimes triple) *entendre* that allow for different interpretations. All three SPTs kept Chico out of jail and allowed him to continue writing and performing more songs.

Biographical Background and the Military Regime

A two-time winner of the Latin Grammys for his music, many of which were performed in the festivals for *Musica Popular Brasileira* (MPB), Chico Buarque has been one of the most celebrated musicians of Popular Brazilian Music since the mid-1960s, and is still popular today. He collaborated with other artists of the era with whom he was close friends, and who were just as popular as him, including Gilberto Gil, Milton Nascimento, and Caetano Veloso. Born Francisco Buarque de Hollanda on June 19, 1944 in Rio de Janeiro to Maria Cesario Alvim, a pianist, and Sergio Buarque de Hollanda, a historian, Chico spent his childhood in Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, and Rome where his father served as a visiting professor in the Brazilian Studies Department of the University of Rome for two years. The influences of the Bossa Nova

style of music that dominated Brazilian popular culture in the 1950s through the mid-1960s surrounded his formative years and would influence the music that he would perform in his adult life. His adult life began with the start of the Second Military Regime of Brazil, which ran from 1964 until 1985. Chico Buarque along with contemporaries like Caetano Veloso, Milton Nascimento, and Geraldo Valdez, all inspired by Bossa Nova, would make up the *Clube de Esquina* Style that would protest the regime in various ways.¹

A military regime had already been in place from 1930 until 1945, and the Second Brazilian Republic, the “Republic of ‘46” as it is often called, failed in 1964 when President Castelo Branco took power, with the backing of the military, under the guise of rescuing the country from anarchy. The last four democratically elected presidents of the Republic died in crashes, by suicide, or stepped down and Castelo claimed no government could effectively rule without the stability of a military regime.²

The Regime itself would be responsible for many deaths and violations of human rights, under the leadership of President Costa e Silva, President Medici, and to a lesser extent Presidents Geisel and Figueiredo.³ It would also be no less corrupt than the governments that

¹ These artists were not alone in contesting regimes in South America. For a broader study on the songs of MPB and *Nueva Cancion* and their political influence, see Krista Burne’s “Subversive Instruments: Protest and Politics of MPB and the *Nueva Cancion*.”

Brune, Krista. 2015. Subversive Instruments: Protest and Politics of MPB and the Nueva Cancion. *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 33: 128-145.

² The United States also had a hand in the rise of the military regime. The United States Embassy gave money to candidates opposing Goulart, the candidate favorite for the left. Officials in Washington D.C. labeled it a coup d’état of the “democratic forces” that would keep the country from spiraling into communism. Due to the United States’ involvement in the bringing about the regime, Chico Buarque has never performed in the United States.

³ Because of the 1979 Amnesty Law, not only were the political opponents of the regime pardoned, but so were the military officials that were later charged with torture and murder, although lawyers such as Helio Bicudo argue that the torture perpetuated by these officials was not a political crime.

came before and the one that followed, but because the Republics were directly democratically elected, Chico Buarque would not criticize those governments in the way that he criticizes the military regime. The Brazilian federal police's division of censorship and public entertainment (DCPD) is one way in which the military government sought to curb dissent. Censorship would include the music of popular music artists being turned off on television or seized by governmental forces, writers that spoke out against the government being arrested, and the news being censored with a supportive tone for the government.

SPT Analysis in Lyrics performed by Chico Buarque

Chico Buarque, an MPB artist who chose to combat censorship throughout his early career and through to the end of the military regime, wrote most of his own lyrics and songs, as well as collaborated with his contemporaries throughout his lengthy career which began in 1966 and is ongoing.⁴ This writer has analyzed thirty three of Buarque's songs and has identified three poetic themes in the lyrics that will be called Semantic Protest Techniques (SPT) for the purposes of this paper in that the meaning of these specific themes are manipulated to obscure his protest to the government sufficiently to avoid the governments harsh retaliation and

SCHNEIDER, NINA. 2011. Breaking the 'Silence' of the Military Regime: New Politics of Memory in Brazil. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 30, no. 2: 198-212.

⁴ A recent video, released in April of 2016, catches Buarque admitting that he buys music from street musicians, saying that one of them, Ahmed, tells him not to mess with the harmonies. The heavily edited video never states that Chico buys lyrics, only that he buys music. Chico is also more of a writer than a musician, as evidenced in the many books that he has published. He did not compose his most popular song, *Joao e Maria* which Severino Dias de Oliveira, better known as Sivuca, wrote in 1948 and asked Chico to write lyrics to it. Chico wrote the lyrics right then and there. The timing of the video's release is also suspicious. During the proceedings of President Dilma Rousseff's impeachment (December 2015 – August 2016), Chico Buarque participated in anti-impeachment protests. The author believes that the far right released the video to discredit Chico and push for Dilma's impeachment, which is the second impeachment in Brazil's history, the other also occurring in the Third Republic. Today, some Brazilians are asking for a return to the military regime.

ensorship. These SPTs occur in many of Chico Buarque's songs. We will label as SPT1 any instance when Chico Buarque sings about the population in general, and especially about poor people. The word "gente" is the word the best represents this SPT and it occurs in nine of the thirty-three songs examined. We will label any instance when Chico sings about love or women SPT 2. Twelve of the thirty-three songs contain this SPT. We will label any instance in which there is *double entendre* as SPT3 and this SPT is the most utilized. We will now isolate seven songs: two songs each for each SPT, and a seventh song that utilizes all the SPTs to show how these three techniques are used in practice.

SPT 1 Explanation and Analysis

SPT 1, the poor and the Brazilian people, occurs in nine of the thirty-three songs studied. The songs *A Banda* and *Historia de uma Gata* seem to epitomize this SPT in multiple clauses of the lyrics.

Chico performed *A Banda*, one of his first songs, along with *Disparada* at the second festival of *Musica Popular Brasileira (MPB)* or the Festival of Popular Brazilian Music. While this festival exposed his music to a large audience, and allowed him to spread his influence, it also garnered him the attention of the government who would go on to censor many of his songs. *A Banda* is neither an obvious critique of the new regime nor an obvious critique of the old republic. The refrain of this upbeat song repeats once and starts the song with the concept of the suffering people. This song refers to how in 1965, a year after the military dictatorship had taken power, the city of Rio de Janeiro organized the first Carnival, with a parade, entertainment, and free food. The city became known for this parade, and people would save up just to attend this citywide party. This song takes the historical event of the parade and the concept of bread and

circuses that the Roman Empire used to quell dissent and points out that despite the party and the distraction, nothing changes.

It is possible that all three SPTs originated in the successes Chico enjoyed from this song, as it gained him national recognition. He uses all three SPTs, but we will isolate SPT 1. The refrain occurs twice in the song, and is surrounded by mentions of how the people that stop to watch the band pass include the young, the old, the beautiful, the ugly, the serious rich man, and the show off. Here, Chico highlights the idea of the people, the poor, and the rich.

A Banda, Chorus 1

1 Estava à toa na vida	I was lazing about in life,
2 O meu amor me chamou	when my love called me
3 Pra ver a banda passar	to see the band pass
4 Cantando coisas de amor	singing things of love.
5 A minha gente sofrida	My people scarred by suffering
6 Despediu-se da dor	said goodbye to their pain
7 Pra ver a banda passar	to see the band pass
8 Cantando coisas de amor	singing things of love.

In *A Banda, Chorus 1*, line 1, the phrase “à toa” means to laze about, be idle, or to do something aimlessly or pointlessly. Spoken in the first person, the singer acknowledges that his life, up to this point has been aimless and privileged, especially since in 1962, before the republic fell, he was a teen that had stolen a car at night to have fun, and was arrested. He was not as aware of the ‘suffering’ of the regular people who lived in the slums. Rio de Janeiro has many of the most famous slums built with cardboard and bricks on squatted land, without plumbing or electricity, unless it’s stolen from the main city, which is what he refers to in the second stanza. In *A Banda Chorus 2* line 5 of the above refrain, *sofrida* can literally be translated to “living death,” or “suffering.” The word suffering does not capture the weight of this word, that he uses. In *A Banda Chorus 1* Line 6, “despediu-se” means to bid farewell, and is much lighter. SPT1

juxtaposes these two words so that the next statement about the band passing seems insignificant. Chico does not end with just the distraction of the band. Instead, he adds a commentary that would later become his signature about how this party does not change the fact that the people still suffer, and the government is not democratically elected:

A Banda, Chorus 2

1 Mas para meu desencanto	But for my disillusioning
2 O que era doce acabou	all that was sweet ended.
3 Tudo tomou seu lugar	Everyone took their place
4 Depois que a banda passou	after the band passed.
5 E cada qual no seu canto	And each to their song.
6 Em cada canto uma dor	In each song, a pain,
7 Depois da banda passar	after the band passed
8 Cantando coisas de amor	singing things of love.

This “disillusionment” in Chorus 2, line 1 refers both to Chico Buarque’s disillusionment of the carnival party and the people’s disillusionment from their pain after the band passes. In 2016, since corruption is still prevalent in Brazilian politics, Maria Regina Rizzo, b. 1955 expressed a desire for a return to the military regime.⁵ Rizzo has a younger sister by eleven years Carmen Elizaura Latorre Mota b. 1966 and so should remember the military regime with more clarity. However, due to living in Brazil during this Third Republic, she has become disillusioned, as Chico Buarque was during the military regime after the band passed. The reason for Regina’s disillusionment is that she has, if not forgotten, then at least romanticized her childhood. In conversation, Carmen has reminded Regina, “Do you not remember waking up and seeing the news about the people that had died in the night? Do you not remember how hard it was? There was no freedom of speech, curfew, we were sleeping at night and we would hear the

⁵ Maria Regina Rizzo is the elder half-sister of the writer’s mother, Carmen Elizaura Latorre Mota (this is her maiden name).

officers going by the whistle. You had to stand at attention [at school] at the age of six for at least an hour, singing first the national anthem, and it was the whole thing, all the verses, and then the hymn to the flag, and then stand throughout all the announcements.” (Interviews by author, March 15, 2017, 5pm, Orlando). They came from a middle-upper-class family. Life in the military regime would have been harder for the poor. This disillusionment is focused on the people themselves, not just on himself. In Chorus 2 line 3, the words “tudo” meaning “all” – all people, and all things – and “lugar” meaning “place” reveal more of the use of SPT 1. This second word, lugar, not only means location, but has a social connotation, as it does in English, usually indicating someone of lower social standing. When Buarque sings “all take their place,” he means that the poor go back to their “living death” once the band passes. Furthermore, the band passing indicates the end of the party and a return to the monotony of life, only this time with the memory of a better time, which is represented by the “things of love.”

Our second discussion of SPT 1 takes us to the song *Historia de uma gata*. Its release in 1977 coincided with the Geisel regime’s shifting focus from social control to economic growth. Geisel’s less strict administration afforded more censorial leniency for *Os Saltimbancos*, a children’s play based on *The Town Musicians of Bremen*. The Brazilian version commissioned Chico Buarque to write some extra songs that do not exist in the English version. In this play, the cat represents the artist. The refrain of *Historia de uma gata*, sung by children, is as follows:

Historia de uma Gata, Chorus

1 Nós, gatos, já nascemos pobres	We, cats, were born already poor.
2 Porém, já nascemos livres	However, born already free.
3 Senhor, senhora senhorio	Mister, Missus, Landlord.
4 Felino, não reconhecerás	Feline, you will not recognize.

This children's song, performed on television, subtly calls the regime the plantation owner that is going to be thrown out of the seat of power. Chico asserts four times in the lyrics that Brazilians may be born poor, but they are inherently born free. He uses SPT 1 to assert that the landlord, or government controls the people by locking out the cat. It meows all day and night longing for freedom in the streets. The word he uses there about why the cat is being punished is interesting. He likely chose "cantoria," meaning a concert of voices, for three reasons. The first reason was for rhyme scheme. A word he could have used, "porcaria," which is often used in such situations, is a swear word. Since this was a children's song, he used "cantoria." The second reason may have been the close relationship between the words gritaria, or a cat's mating call, which sounds like crying, and the crying of the Brazilian people under the military rule. Gritaria fits the rhyme scheme, and would have normally appeared in this lyric if spoken in conversation. The third reason could have been that Chico's friends were exiled for their songs. Literally they were exiled because of their "cantoria."

Historia de uma Gata, Refrain

1 De manhã eu voltei pra casa	In the morning, I returned home,
2 Fui barrada na portaria	was barred at the entrance
3 Sem filé e sem almofada	without a fillet and without a
4 Por causa da cantoria	cushion,
5 Mas agora o meu dia-a-dia	because of the singing,
6 É no meio da gataria	but now my daily routine is
7 Pela rua virando lata	amid all these cats on the street,
8 Eu sou mais eu, mais gata	I am more myself, more cat
9 Numa louca serenata	around the corner of the can,
10 Que de noite sai cantando assim	in a crazy serenade
	that at night leaves singing this way.

This politically charged song about being poor but being free, and about being free outside of the home from which Brazilians are barred, disguised as a children's song about cats showcases Chico's use of SPTs, and how he avoided censorship, prison, and state-imposed exile with this

song in the way that his friends did not. Both Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso were held by the governments of President Castelo Branco and President Costa e Silva, and fled to England when they were told to leave the country in 1969. Both returned in 1972, later than Chico Buarque, because Buarque's exile was not state imposed, whereas theirs was, which was due to Buarque's ability to mask most of his protest songs and argue for an interpretation that was not political so that he could circumvent censorship and release his songs to a public audience in Brazil.

Buarque's work on the music for the play *Os Saltimbancos* is significant to his history of political protest. The play is about the animals overthrowing the owner of the farm. The significance of its broadcast on television marks the weakening of the military regime. This is further evidenced by the release of two of Chico's songs a year later, *Cálice*, written in collaboration with Milton Nascimento, and *Calabar*. This weakening of the regime is thanks in part to President Ernesto Geisel's policies and the controversy surrounding his succession. President Geisel's focus on economic growth, efforts to quell unrest by allowing exiles to return, restoring habeas corpus, and repealing many of his authoritarian powers offered respite to the crusading artists.⁶ These artists then redoubled their efforts against the regime by using their platform as popular artists to speak out against the regime. They performed at the MPB festivals to attract attention, and walked in the street protests that called for direct democracy in 1983. We will analyze this protest, in Rio de Janeiro, in which Chico participated by carrying a banner bearing the lyrics to *Apesar de Você* later in this paper.

⁶ His authoritarian powers had been instituted by the Fifth Institutional Act, issued by President Artur da Costa e Silva on December 13, 1968 and were removed in 1978, when President Geisel allowed congress to pass a constitutional amendment. This was all part of his policy of relaxing policies on the people, but was also a sign of the end of the regime.

SPT 2 Explanation and Analysis

Moving on to an analysis of SPT 2, we turn to the 1967 songs *Morena dos Olhos d'agua* and *Quem te viu quem te vê* and the manipulation of the meaning of love and women. In Portuguese, like the other romance languages, democracy and liberty are feminine nouns. Often, when Chico Buarque sings about his love, he means freedom and democracy and while it may be so in *Morena dos Olhos d'Agua*, *Quem te viu*, *Quem te vê* views the woman as a representation of the duplicity of the corrupt government. As the symbol of women is a prevailing theme in writings about liberty and democracy, it is fitting that the figure of the woman is corrupted, like the government of Brazil, in the second song.⁷

A Morena dos Olhos d'agua, which was written and performed in conjunction with Caetano Veloso in 1967, calls the singer's true love the morena. In Portuguese, morena means a girl with dark hair and does not necessarily mean someone with dark skin. Morena does not indicate a specific race, but when used in conjunction with a suffix meaning little, is a term of endearment. Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, a popular Brazilian writer from the nineteenth century even wrote a book entitled *A Moreninha*. The book was turned into a telenovela⁸ in the sixties, two years before Chico Buarque and Caetano Veloso wrote and performed their song. In the novel, a boy promises a girl that he'll marry her, but when he comes back he doesn't remember who she is. The book is a hallmark of Brazilian literature, and is a metaphor for Brazil and democracy, with the use of SPT 2. Democracy, a feminine noun, is the morena. Brazil, a masculine noun, is the boy who promised to marry her. This song was written with the

⁷ In France, the birthplace of modern democracy, the national symbol of the French Republic is Marianne, a personification of liberty and reason, and a portrayal of the Goddess of Liberty after whom the Statue of Liberty is based.

⁸ A telenovela is a series on television, that always has an end in sight and is completed within the year. The closest approximation of a telenovela is a miniseries.

telenovela in mind, and as an allegory to both the song and Brazil. The song's refrain uses SPT 2 in its use of the role of democracy and the people's promise to return to a democratic government.

Morena dos Olhos d'Água, Chorus

1 Morena, dos olhos d'água,	Morena, with watery eyes,
2 Tira os seus olhos do mar.	take your eyes away from the sea
3 Vem ver que a vida ainda vale	and see that life is still worth
4 O sorriso que eu tenho	the smile that I
5 Pra lhe dar.	give to you.

In this song, there is hope that one day, democracy's love, Brazil will return to democracy's arms whom Brazil still loves, even if democracy has become unrecognizable to the country. Brazil will still smile at democracy.

Quem te viu quem te vê (1967) is also a love song, except it is sung in the second person to the lover directly, or, as we apply SPT 2, it is sung to the democracy that once was (Republic of 1946-1964), and to the politicians that abandoned the country. One such politician includes President Jânio Quadros who resigned from the Presidency on August 1961, six months after swearing into office, citing "terrible forces" that conspired against him. His resignation served as one of the reasons given by the military dictatorship for why it was necessary that they take power and was one of the catalysts that led to the rise of the military regime. The singer sings directly to his love, to the democracy that once was and to the politicians who sold out. While Chico Buarque was never a trained or skilled dancer, he sings from the point of view of someone who is. He sings to the "most beautiful girl" of their samba school who married out of their social class, and is no longer recognizable. This song uses SPT 2 by invoking love and a feminine figure to speak against politicians who took bribes and forwarded a controlling military

regime, as shown in the Chorus, and verses 1 and 5 meaning that Brazilians saw the politicians and trusted them, and the politicians left them to live lives of luxury.

Quem te viu quem te vê, Verse 1 and Chorus

1 Você era a mais bonita das cabrochas dessa ala
 2 Você era a favorita onde eu era mestre-sala
 3 Hoje a gente nem se fala, mas a festa continua
 4 Suas noites são de gala, nosso samba ainda é na rua

5 Hoje o samba saiu procurando você
 6 Quem te viu, quem te vê
 7 Quem não a conhece não pode mais ver pra crer
 8 Quem jamais a esquece não pode reconhecer

1 You were the most beautiful of the pretty lively girls of this samba group,
 2 you were the favorite whereas I was the Master Dancer.
 3 Today we don't talk to each other, but the party continues,
 4 you spend your nights at galas and we're still dancing samba on the streets.

5 Today the samba music went searching for you.
 6 Those who saw you then, those who see you now
 7 those who do not know you cannot see how you were to believe it,
 8 those who never forget you cannot recognize you

This song, in its entirety, is a song about two things at the same time, and the feminine figure embodies both the love of the singer's life, and the betrayal of a fellow dancer to her roots.

Quem te viu quem te vê, Verse 5

1 Hoje eu vou sambar na pista, você vai de galeria
 2 Quero que você assista na mais fina companhia
 3 Se você sentir saudade, por favor não dê na vista
 4 Bate palmas com vontade, faz de conta que é turista

5 Today we're going to the samba competition, you'll be up in the balcony
 6 I want you to watch in the finest company
 7 And if you miss it, please pretend
 8 Clap your hands eagerly, pretend you're a tourist

This last stanza in the song is where the singer criticizes the woman, or as SPT 2 is applied, where the singer criticizes the politicians. When he says that he wants her to pretend she's a

tourist (Verse 5 line 4), he could be saying that he wishes the best for her and is happy that she got away from the poverty. However, considering his career up to this point, which includes participation in protests, his association with Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso, both of whom were labeled by the government as dangerous to the regime, and Buarque's criticism of the government in his music, the true meaning is in fact more political. For the people with whom she, or the politician, grew up and danced, it is too late to turn back and have what was once hers. Her choice of abandoning her roots is final and the dancers she abandoned do not want her back. In other words, the Brazilian people do not want the politicians of the regime back, they will have democracy on their own.

SPT 3 Explanation and Analysis

SPT 3 is the most versatile in that virtually everyone of Chico's songs can be analyzed using it. Chico Buarque used this SPT to bring attention to the Military Regime through ambiguity in interpretation, with metaphors and double entendres. All the songs mentioned so far have an element of this SPT in them and it is the technique that is most apparent in his music. This aspect of his style is the most prevalent throughout his career. It made him less of a target by the Military Regime and that much more influential.

The song *Roda Viva* is best analyzed using SPT 3. The release of this song in 1968, in conjunction with his participation in the March of the One Hundred Thousand in the same year, led to his arrest and interrogation. Less than a week after the dictatorship decreed Institutional Act Number 5 (AI5) on December 13, 1968, stating that habeas corpus was suspended in the case of political crimes, Chico Buarque was brought in for questioning because of *Roda Viva*, his participation in protests, and another charge that did not actually apply to him, because it was about someone else's play. He was released quickly, and on January 3rd, went abroad to Rome,

Italy with his pregnant wife, where they stayed for eighteen months before returning to Brazil, a new father and with a hoard of new songs to release. His return to Brazil was very public in that it was broadcast in part because there was still fear of disappearance. This author's grandfather, Luis Motta, who worked for the government and often caught discrepancies in the accounting, disappeared in 1968. He would not be the first or the last to so suffer. After Buarque's exile, his music became more politically engaging due to his newfound parenthood and renewed sense of responsibility. Chico Buarque wrote *Roda Viva* when he was still only twenty two, and the song focuses mostly on the people and the government's censorship. In this song, Chico Buarque utilizes the Portuguese language for *double entendres* and SPT 3 three times.

The first usage of SPT 3 is in the Chorus, line three when "the giant wheel turns." This reference is slightly obscure, though just as important as the rest. Brazil is the largest country in South America, and is bigger than the Contiguous United States as well. It is therefore sometimes called the "giant." And so, this giant wheel turning can either mean Ferris wheel, which brings with it the connotations of entertainment that run parallel with *A Banda* written just two years before this song, or that the country turns, changes, and has a new government, where there is now no "active voice" that the people want, mentioned in Verse 1 of the song.

Over a decade later Chico Buarque participated in the protest which lasted from March 1983 until April 1984, and started in Sao Paolo, called *Diretas Já*, meaning "direct (elections) now" where the people wanted direct democracy. While the congress may have failed to accommodate them, this idea of the "people" that "we" could have an active voice in the government did not go away and succeeded a year later with the fall of the regime and the first democratically elected presidential elections in 1990.

Roda Viva, Chorus

1 Mas eis que chega a roda viva
 2 E carrega o destino pra lá
 3 Roda mundo, roda-gigante
 4 Roda moinho, roda pião
 5 O tempo rodou num instante
 6 Nas voltas do meu coração

But here arrives the wheel of life
 And carries destiny ahead
 The world turns, the giant turns
 The mill turns, the spinning top turns
 Time went by in an instant
 Around my heart.

The second usage of SPT 3 is in the Chorus, line 4. This phrase, “roda pião.” means top, but it is also a word meaning the lowest of the construction workers. Every aspect of the world turns in this song. The rest of the verses of this song are important too, however. It is this refrain that is the meat of this song.

Roda Viva, Verse 2

1 A gente vai contra a corrente
 2 Até não poder resistir
 3 Na volta do barco é que sente
 4 O quanto deixou de cumprir
 5 Faz tempo que a gente cultiva
 6 A mais linda roseira que há
 7 Mas eis que chega a roda viva
 8 E carrega a roseira pra lá...

We go against the current
 Until we cannot resist
 On the return of the boat, we felt
 How much you allowed to comply
 It's been a long time since we cultivated
 The most beautiful rosebush there is.
 But here arrives the wheel of life
 And carries the rose bush ahead...

The third usage of SPT 3 in this song is in the word “roseira” in Verse 2. There is of course, usage of SPT 1 in verse 2, line 1 with “gente” which means “we” that can also be read as “the people” or “folks” only in this instance, they are going against the “current” and have no power to resist. But this rosebush, the “roseira” represents the ideas and political discourse that has been neglected because of fear of the government’s retaliation that has been missing from the country.

Despite his usage of the SPTs to avoid censorship, he was not always successful. In 1973, Chico Buarque wrote two songs that were both censored quickly by the government, one in collaboration and another, *Calabar*. After both Chico and Gilberto Gil wrote *Cálice* together in

1973, they, and Milton Nascimento tried to perform it on television but the government shut off the audio. In 1974, President Medici would appoint his successor, president Ernesto Geisel, who would only remain in power long enough to see this song and its sibling released to the public. Although *Cálice*'s lyrics were much more inflammatory than *Roda Viva*, which brought Buarque into questioning, still employs SPT 3. In 1978 after the release of *Cálice*, the government was much more lenient to artists due to the decline of their popularity and the questions that arose surrounding the presidential succession.

Cálice, Chorus

1 Pai, afasta de mim esse cálice	Father, move this chalice away from me
2 Pai, afasta de mim esse cálice	Father, move this chalice away from me
3 Pai, afasta de mim esse cálice	Father, move this chalice away from me
4 De vinho tinto de sangue	Of wine the color of blood

In this refrain, there is this reoccurring back and forth between Chico Buarque and Milton Nascimento where they repeat the same phrase three times, like the Trinity, a common theme in Church music, and each time it repeats there is a new meaning.

The first meaning refers to a quote from the Bible when Jesus is in the Garden of Gethsemane and He asks God to take this cup away from him before he is arrested and subsequently crucified, fitting considering the largely Catholic population of the country, with the official religion being Catholicism. The song itself becomes a prayer.

The second meaning comes from the homophonic nature of the word “cálice” which in Portuguese sounds exactly like “cale-se” which is a way of telling someone to be quiet, and is a reference to the governments censorship. Probably the only reason why it was allowed, even in 1978, through the censorship was because it was spelled as it was. This song is perhaps the poster child for Chico Buarque's double meanings. Even the phrase in line 4 of the chorus about

the “wine the color of blood” or “red wine of blood” uses SPT 3 in referring both to Jesus and the Brazilian people that were brutally attacked by the military police.

The third meaning is apparent in both the first and second verse:

Cálice, Verse 1

1 Como beber dessa bebida amarga	How to drink of this bitter beverage
2 Tragar a dor, engolir a labuta	Swallow the pain, swallow the toil
3 Mesmo calada a boca, resta o peito	Even silent the night, there's the chest
4 Silêncio na cidade não se escuta	Silence in the city is not heard
5 De que me vale ser filho da santa	What's worth to me to be the son of the saint
6 Melhor seria ser filho da outra	It'd be better to be the son of the other
7 Outra realidade menos morta	Other reality less dead
8 Tanta mentira, tanta força bruta	So many lies, so much brute strength

Following and followed by the chorus, verse 1 continues to use SPT 3, as evidenced by lines 1 and 2, in their reference to Jesus on the cross asking for a drink only to be given vinegar. This time, however, it is obvious that there is an underscoring meaning due to lines 3 and 4, referring vaguely to the “silent city” that is a more prevalent theme in the second verse. There is also an interruption in the rhyme scheme. “What’s it worth to me to be the son of the saint? It’d be better to be the son of the other” does not rhyme in Portuguese. The Military regime was very strict about what could be said in Public, and this was almost broadcast on television. The word that would rhyme means prostitute, though is a bit more vulgar, and considering the meaning of the words, as well as the rhyme scheme, the meaning is not too difficult to understand. If not the son of a saint, then the son of a harlot. And of course, the criticism for the regime is still there in each line, and again when the refrain comes back.

Cálice, Verse 2

1 Como é difícil acordar calado	5 Esse silêncio todo me atordoa
2 Se na calada da noite eu me dano	6 Atordoado eu permaneço atento
3 Quero lançar um grito desumano	7 Na arquibancada pra a qualquer momento
4 Que é uma maneira de ser escutado	8 Ver emergir o monstro da lagoa

How difficult it is to wake up silent
 If in the dead of the night I'm screwed
 I want to cast an inhuman scream
 Which is a way to be heard

All this silence baffles me
 Baffled, I remain attentive
 In the bleachers to at any moment
 See emerge the monster of the lagoon

This second verse again confronts the censorship of the government with SPT 3 in verse 2, lines 1 through 4. Carmen Elizaura Mota grew up in the military regime and would often remember the curfew at night. Tanks would ride down the streets making certain that everyone stayed in their homes and that people did not disturb the peace. Chico Buarque himself once disturbed the peace, before the regime was in power, in 1961, when he and a friend stole a car for a joy ride. They understandably went to jail; however, their punishment was different from the punishments discharged by the regime. This is probably what “baffles” him so much about the silence. In the morning, the *presuntus* would be reported: people that had “broken” curfew were dead, or people were killed in their homes – often by the military police – in the dead of the night. Most of them were political dissenters.

Cálice, Verse 3

1 De muito gorda a porca já não anda
 2 De muito usada a faca já não corta
 3 Como é difícil, pai, abrir a porta
 4 Essa palavra presa na garganta
 5 Esse pileque homérico no mundo
 6 De que adianta ter boa vontade
 7 Mesmo calado o peito, resta a cuca
 8 Dos bêbados do centro da cidade

Because it is so fat, the pig no longer walks
 Because of use, the knife no longer cuts
 How hard it is, father, to open the door
 This word trapped in my throat
 This homeric inebriation in the world
 What good it is to have good will
 The heart is silent, your mind remains
 Of the drunkards from downtown

Here the word “porca” or “pig” is used in the feminine, where the general neutral noun is masculine. Chico and Gilberto Gil changed the gender deliberately here because the words for corruption and police are feminine – and here he means the military police, not the civil police. Because of the corruption and the military police, this “porca” is so fat, corruption can no longer walk. The word for “knife” is also a feminine noun, and it is used that way. In this context,

“knife” is referring to the strong arm of the police that through repeated violence no longer functions in dissuading the dissenters. Yet, the people are blind, drunk, and this is where that third meaning of “cálice” is evident with SPT 3. Hungover from the long oppression and unable to consider the light of democracy, Brazilians are blind. The government no longer functions, if it ever did, and the people have no way of going forward.

Cálice, Verse 4

1 Talvez o mundo não seja pequeno	Maybe the world's not small
2 Nem seja a vida um fato consumado	Neither is life a consummated fact
3 Quero inventar o meu próprio pecado	I want to invent my own sin
4 Quero morrer do meu próprio veneno	I want to die of my own poison
5 Quero perder de vez tua cabeça	I want to completely lose your head
6 Minha cabeça perder teu juízo	My head lose your judgement
7 Quero cheirar fumaça de óleo diesel	I want to smell the smoke of diesel oil
8 Me embriagar até que alguém me esqueça	Get drunk until someone forgets me

This last verse is the most agitated. Chico Buarque was friends with Zuleika Angel Jones, also known as Zuzu Angel, who married the United States citizen Norman Angel Jones in 1943 and three children and her son Stuart Edgar Angel Jones, a member of the militant left, was tortured and killed by the dictatorship in 1976, two years before *Cálice* was released from censorship and two years before it was first written. Stuart was arrested on the morning of May 14, 1971 in Rio de Janeiro as a militant of the Revolutionary Movement of October 8th. He died in a suspicious car accident five years later, that the dictatorship classified. His mother, Zuzu, became politically active following his death and looked for information about his death, finding evidence of torture, including an instance where his mouth was taped to the end of an exhaust pipe. In this verse, Chico Buarque and Milton Nascimento say that they would rather suffer Stuart’s fate, breathing diesel oil, than be shut up and censored by the undemocratic forces of the military regime.

SPT 3 masks the interpretation enough that though the song protests censorship, it can also be a Prayer. The military regime allowed it to reach a public audience due to the growing unrest of the people, as evidenced in his second verse, but also because of SPT .3

SPTs 1, 2, and 3 Analyzed in *Apesar de Você*

Apesar de Você, also released in 1978, uses all three SPTs. This song's title literally translates to "despite you." While it can be read as a jilted lover's song, it is also obviously a critique of the regime, and the identity of this "you" has never been clarified. At this point in Chico Buarque's career, he was not so preoccupied with masking his meaning, as stated before because of his growing sense of responsibility, and frustration with the regime in general. This first verse offers insight into his frustration and desire for a new government.

Apesar de Você, Verse 1

1 Hoje você é quem manda	Today you're the one who commands
2 Falou, tá falado	You spoke, is was spoken
3 Não tem discussão, não	There's no discussion
4 A minha gente hoje anda	My people today walk
5 Falando de lado	Talking to the side
6 E olhando pro chão, viu	and looking down at the ground, See?
7 Você que inventou esse estado	It's you who invented that state
8 E inventou de inventar	And invented inventing
9 Toda a escuridão	Everything is in darkness
10 Você que inventou o pecado	It's you who invented sin
11 Esqueceu-se de inventar	Forgot to invent
12 O perdão	Forgiveness

As stated before, this song can be read two ways (SPT 3), with SPT2 and SPT3 working together in the word "voce" in lines 1, 7, and 10 of verse 1. It can read as a "farewell to love" song, however, this is probably not the true meaning behind it. Though this song can read as a song about an unreasonable girlfriend or wife it is truly a song criticizing the authoritarian nature of

the regime. The fact that the word used for “state” here can mean either a formal Nation State or state of being supports this. Due to censorship constraints, that while beginning to lessen, still existed, this song had to use SPT 3. The military government oversaw lawmaking and punishment, and so this “It’s you who invented sin, forgot to invent forgiveness” in line 7 of verse 1 speaks directly to that as well as to a woman in a relationship and keeps a record of all wrongdoing. SPT 1 and SPT 3 also work together in line 4 of verse 1 with “a minha gente” or my people walking the streets, looking down. They may be downtrodden, or looking at the ground to make sure that the poor are not trampled as they march for their freedoms.

In the chorus, which repeats with slight alterations, and fades away at the end of the song, a declaration about tomorrow never changes:

Apesar de Você, Chorus 1

Apesar de você	Despite you
Amanhã há de ser	Tomorrow will have to be
Outro dia	another day
Eu pergunto a você	I ask you:
Onde vai se esconder	where are you going to hide?
Da enorme euforia	From the huge euphoria?
Como vai proibir	How will you prohibit
Quando o galo insistir	When the rooster insists
Em cantar	in singing?
Água nova brotando	New water welling
E a gente se amando	And we loving each other
Sem parar	without stop

The stanza above is the first chorus and employs all three SPTs. Line 11, brings back the “gente” (SPT1) and in the demonstrations of 1984, a banner bearing an altered, less formal line 2 was waved.⁹ In this chorus, there is also a proclamation saying that tomorrow will come no matter

⁹ The banner can be viewed in photos available from the time and in newspaper articles looking back on the protests.

Há 29 anos, movimento diretas já levou milhares às ruas que exigiam voto popular para presidente - fotos - R7 brasil. Internet on-line. Available from

what the “you” here in line 4 does, whether it is the military regime or the lover, SPT 2. In fact, this song has been used with the interpretation of the unreasonable lover by a family member of this author.

Conclusion

This writer concludes that Chico Buarque survived and navigated the military regime, after returning to Brazil from his self-imposed exile in Italy, by using what this paper labels Semantic Protest Techniques in his song lyrics. SPTs occurs in song lyrics when the meaning of phrases or clauses align with traditional popular music lyrics, but can also be interpreted as veiled political protest. We treated three specific SPTs to analysis of Chico’s songs and are described as: manipulation of the masses, especially the poor (SPT 1), love and women (SPT 2), and *double* (or triple) *entendres*. Throughout Chico Buarque’s career, SPTs aided his rise to popularity and fame as well as protected him from governmental retaliation, which would have included but was not limited to censorship, exile, and imprisonment.

<http://noticias.r7.com/brasil/fotos/ha-29-anos-movimento-diretas-ja-levou-milhares-as-ruas-que-exigiam-voto-popular-para-presidente-16042013>, <http://noticias.r7.com/brasil/fotos/ha-29-anos-movimento-diretas-ja-levou-milhares-as-ruas-que-exigiam-voto-popular-para-presidente-16042013>>. [Apr 18, 2017].

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