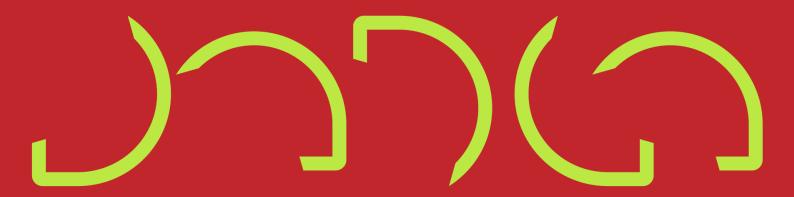


The miudinho tap(s) of the sambadeiras from the Recôncavo da Bahia

Clécia Maria Aquino de Queiroz

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RESUMO

Este artigo, aborda o(s) passo(s) miudinho(s) traçado(s) pelas mulheres do samba de roda do Recôncavo Baiano, a partir de pesquisa com 12 sambadeiras daquela região, com o objetivo de analisar os ritmos traçados pelos pés na roda tradicional, investigando a existência de uma célula rítmica comum a todas elas. O caminho epistemológico foi traçado a partir dos estudos do ritual, da cena e da performance (Schechner,1985; Turner,1986; Bião,1999) e as interações conceituais possibilitadas pela etnografia. Os recursos metodológicos usados foram: entrevistas; fotografias; gravação em vídeos, transcrição de células rítmicas para notação musical. Os estudos de Döring (2016), Amoroso (2009) e Domenici (2011) auxiliaram no entendimento da dinâmica das rodas de samba. A pesquisa me levou à conclusão de que existe um padrão rítmico mais recorrente entre o sapateado das sambadeiras, contudo não é o único e sofre diversas variações e alternâncias durante a performance.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE samba de mulheres; samba de roda tradicional; passo miudinho do samba de roda

ABSTRACT

This article approaches the small step(s) traced by the women of the samba de roda of the Recôncavo Baiano, from research with 12 women sambadeiras from that region, intending to analyze the rhythms traced by the feet on the traditional samba circle, investigate the existence of a rhythmic cell typical to all of them. The epistemological path was traced from the studies of ritual, scene, and performance (Schechner,1985; Turner,1986; Bião,1999) and the conceptual interactions made possible by ethnography. The methodological resources used were interviews; photographs; video recordings, and transcription of rhythmic cells for musical notation. The studies by Döring (2016), Amoroso (2017), and Domenici (2011) helped to understand the dynamics of samba circles. The research led me to the conclusion that there is a more recurrent rhythmic pattern among the sambadeiras. However, it is not the only one and undergoes several variations during the performance.

KEYWORDS women's samba; traditional samba de roda; small step of samba de roda

The miudinho tap(s) of the sambadeiras from the Recôncavo da Bahia

Clécia Maria Aquino de Queiroz (UFS)1

E-mail: cleciaqueiroz@academico.ufs.br ORCID: http://orcid.org/0000-0002-4561-1927

¹ PhD in Dissemination of Knowledge (UFBA), Master in Arts (Howard University/USA, Degree in Dance (UFBA). She was Substitute Professor of the Dance and Theater Courses at UFBA, Coordinator of the Preparatory Course at the FUNCEB School of Dance. Professor at the Federal University of Sergipe - Department of Dance and Professional Master's Degree in Dance - PRODAN UFBA

Tap dancing, sambadeira², tap dancing, tap dancing

The tiny, chubby feet of "Dona Nicinha" de Santo Amaro, marked using Hawaiian sandals, with long toes finished with nails painted in pale pink, drag rhythmically in a tiny way across the white tile floor ornamented with thick brown lines, which times few became dirty by the sweat of their feet mixed with a small amount of mud from the street. Then, finally, the lady's voice is heard:

— Ói, ói, ói rroi, ói, oi, ói, ói-ói, porque quando a viola chama, né, a gente aí faz um quebradinho assim, né, Ói, ói, ói ó (xi-cum-tum, xicum-tum, pra-cum- tum, pracutu, — soa o ritmo dos pés).

You do not take your feet off the ground, do you? (I ask her).

The feet spin on the ground (*Xi-cum-tum, xi-cum-tum, pra-cum-tum, pracutu,* – continua a soar o ritmo dos pés – *tá, tá tá tá tá*). The *sambadeira* makes a setback, smiles, and stops the samba circle.

The result of many cultural exchanges between Africans trafficked to Brazil as enslaved people, native peoples of the land, and the colonizers, *samba de roda*⁴ is perhaps the most extraordinary Afro-derived translation and the common denominator of the popular culture of the Recôncavo⁵, practiced in all its 20 municipalities. The scene described at the opening of this text, made during recordings for my doctoral research, was placed here to start this article, which addresses the tiny step(s) traced by the women of *samba de roda*. Wishing to understand the universe of movement in samba, I surveyed 12 women samba dancers from different cities in the Recôncavo region. When asking them what makes

² Sambadeira is how we call the woman traditional samba dancer Lyrics of a samba from the Recôncavo Baiano (public domain)

³ Eunice dos Santos Luz, known as D. Nicinha de Santo Amaro, one of the best-known samba dancers (*sambadeiras*) in Bahia, was a person who contributed a lot to this research through interviews, images, many practices and conversations exchanged with me. She passed away at home, in her sleep, on February 17, 2022.

⁴ Samba de roda is the traditional form of samba that gave rise to the urban samba that is now widely practiced in Brazil.

⁵ The Recôncavo is the coastal strip that surrounds Bahia de Todos os Santos, in the state of Bahia. The region has 20 municipalities, including Santo Amaro, São Francisco do Conde, Cachoeira, and Saubara.

a person a good samba dancer, the vast majority followed the answer by D. Zélia do Prato⁶ (2018): "It's having tap dancing on your feet, knowing how to pinch your feet, drag your feet." Faced with the answer, I sought to investigate whether there was a minimal cell or a rhythmic clef behind the tracing of the feet, which was familiar to all *sambadeiras*.

The epistemological path of this research was traced from two perspectives: the studies of the ritual, the scene, and the performance (Schechner,1985; Turner,1986; Bião,1999) and the conceptual interactions that are made possible by the ethnographic method. As methodological resources, I used interviews; a collection of representations through photographs; video recording, and transcription of rhythmic cells for musical notation to understand the dynamics of the samba circles.

Observing the importance of foot tap dancing, the dancer, teacher, and researcher Dr. Daniela Amoroso – in her doctoral thesis – discusses sambas in the cities of Cachoeira and São Félix – carried out a careful study of the *miudinho*⁷, as this tap dance is usually called. Her research on popular dances led her to conclude that the "step" identifies a particular traditional dance and allows the transgression of the boundaries between intangible and material heritage, time, and space. He refers to the *miudinho* as a principle of movement from the African diaspora configured in samba de roda. (Amoroso, 2009).

Dr. Amoroso came from a social experience outside Bahia and from a dance background that included *samba de roda* briefly, albeit significantly, to the point of making her want to study it in Bahia. She used her own experiences to understand the *miudinho* step, their difficulties during learning, and some technical elements of choreography to describe the bodily sensations and directions of what is considered the essential step of samba de roda – creating a visual scheme for their spatial understanding. In addition, she drew attention to an important detail that we will frequently observe

⁶ Zélia Maria Paiva, known as D. Zélia do Prato, samba dancer (*sambadeira*) of the *Samba Chula de São Braz Group* (Santo Amaro).

⁷ Miudinho is the name of the tap dance characteristic of traditional samba de roda.

in tap dancing: the rhythmic division of the step-ternary – which differs from that of percussive instruments – binary.

The musicians are on the side of the scenic space, which is a dance classroom. They begin to play the tambourine, the marking, and the tablet; I listen to the rhythm, mark the pulsation in the feet in a two by four measure and start a *miudinh*o, in a ternary division, that is, one, two, three, one, two, three, etc., where the one is equivalent to the relay, one once the right foot and once the left foot. (AMOROSO, 2009, p. 142)

Like Amoroso did in her research, to analyze the tap dance(s) of the Recôncavo, I started from my own bodily experiences, which are closely intertwined with *samba de roda*, a manifestation that I have been working on for about 40 years. Comparing my ways of stepping on the ground in samba, trying my mother's tap dance, who uniquely danced the samba, and seeing the different samba dancers, trying to imitate them, I realized that the little boy is not unique. Although many of them are similar, there are several ways to move rhythmically in samba, almost without taking the feet off the ground.

Aware of this diversity, I asked the samba dancers interviewed for this research to samba without music, so I could get the sound of the rhythms they produced with their feet. Then, with this material recorded on video, I joined the percussionists Sebastian Notini and Bira Monteiro, and together we analyzed the images of eight of these 13 sambadeiras and other videos, with them in performance with music, since both elements, dance, and music, are complementary and dialogue with each other in *samba de roda*.

Sebastian and I transcribed the rhythms produced by their feet into musical notation. The subsequent analysis of the images with and without musical orchestra gave us the dimension of the intimate relationship between body and sound. Also, between movement and the clefs of the tambourine, cymbal, knife, and, above all, the viola. So, when we study, for example, D. Jane's tap dancing, just by the sound and image of the feet, we transcribe the rhythm with a specific accent. However, when we saw her later dialoguing with the viola, we realized that what she was doing was

⁸ Edinilsa Joane dos Reis, known as D. Jane, samba dancer (*sambadeira*) of the group Filhos de Zé (São Francisco do Conde).

exactly the drawing of the stippling done by that instrument. This observation enlightened us to observe the other sambadeiras. Moreover, the analysis of what was observed from their sambar is what we will deal with throughout this text.

Translating the dance "miudinho."

The musical notation of the tap dancing of eight sambadeiras from the Recôncavo made us visualize the similarity and diversity of the rhythmic designs that the women perform within the samba circle. Among the sambadeiras analyzed, six of them perform, at some point, a tap dance that is very similar to each other. On the other hand, the video images of D. Nicinha, from Santo Amaro, and Any Manuela, from Cachoeira, show great diversity in the execution of their steps. The first practically drags her feet along the ground, and it is not very easy to decode what she does, as she rarely repeats the tap dance. Instead, she moves in space, spins, improvises, and makes rhythmic breaks in time. Any Manuela, in turn, has a clearer gait with repetitions but also uses a lot of improvisation and broken parts outside of a standard time metric.

The study of the rhythm of tap dancing led me to the conclusion that the rhythmic alternation between one foot and the other is what characterizes all the analyzed kids, but it differs according to the style practiced by the samba community or by the sambadeira herself. Relating this alternation of feet to the rhythm performed by the players, if we think in terms of musical pulses, it is performed at each beat of the compass. In an example of this alternation, I verified that in this single pulse, three movements are performed with the feet, as if they were in triplets (triplets), with emphasis on the first sixteenth note. If we start, for example, with the right foot, we hit the ground with the foot, distributing the weight of the body over the sole of the first step, then shifting the weight to the metatarsus of the same foot that rotates, placing the heel inwards, hitting it on the ground. This turn is performed with the

help of the metatarsal of the left foot. Then repeat the same thing with the left foot.

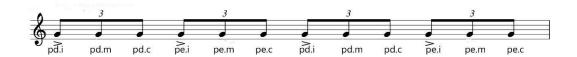


Figura 1. Alternation of feet 1. Source: Researcher's file. Transcription: Source: Author and Sebastian Notini. The figure shows the first alternation found in sambadeiras tap dancing (pd = right foot; pe = left foot; i = whole; c = heel; m=metatarsal)

Another example of alternation – and the most recurrent among the sambadeiras interviewed – is that which occurs with the transfer of weight from one foot to the other at each beat of the triplet. Generally, the first step is by dragging the metatarsal backward, the second is timed with the weight on the heel of the other foot, and the third time is timed with the entire foot that started the sequence. So, if we start with the right foot, we will have right foot metatarsal/left foot heel/whole right foot



(p = foot; es = left; di = right)

Figura 2. Alternating feet 2. Source: The author. Transcription: Source: Author and Sebastian Notini. The figure shows the rhythmic notation of the most recurrent variation) of the *miudinho* step.

Another alternation can be called "passinho," as if a free ride was made on the wheel. Widely used by Any Manuela, this step is the execution of two changes of feet on each pulse of the measure. The accent is on the second change made both by the feet and by the swaying of the hips. In music, if we divided the measure into four beats, we would have two sixteenth notes on each pulse, accentuating the second:



Figura 3. Any Manuela passinho. Source: The author. Transcription: Source: Author and Sebastian Notini. Rhythmic notation of the variation of the *miudinho* step performed by sambadeiras Any Manuela, from Cachoeira (BA).

To have a visual idea of the variety of *miudinho*(s), here are nine variations of the tap dance we filmed by Any Manuela, performed without a musical orchestra, captured in the backyard of her parent's house:



Figura 4. Any Manuela's rhythmic variations Source: The author. Transcription: Source: Author and Sebastian Notini. The figure is the rhythmic notation of the *miudinho* steps variations of the *sambadeira* Any Manuela.

In the images we recorded of Dona Cadu⁹, a *sambadeira* from the municipality of Coqueiros/Maragogipe, we can see that she draws another rhythmic pattern in tap dancing, which corresponds to one of the clefs of the cymbal and knife when played by the *sambadeiras*:

⁹ Ricardina Pereira da Silva, known as D. Cadu.



Figura 5. Rhythmic alternation 4. Source: The author. Transcription: Source: Author and Sebastian Notini. The figure shows the rhythmic notation of the feet of D. Cadu's *miudinho* step.

In her many variations that make her samba unique, D. Cadu mixes a few small jumps from one foot to the other with a tiny step, then lean back on the foot that started the movement, giving the feeling that she is performing small flights. Next, the jump is performed to one side and the other, maintaining an upright posture, despite the spine leaning slightly forward, forming a pronounced arch, probably due to work carried out over its 98 years of age. The jumps are followed by turns in an anti-clockwise direction, to then return to the initial tiny step. She says she created her style of samba, but when I asked her if there was any connection with the caboclos' samba in the Candomblé *terreiros*¹⁰, she told me: "It was in the Candomblé that I saw the people give the saint there, they took it, and then I saw those jumps.

As D. Cadu does, sambadeiras usually include turns in their performances, which slightly alters the rhythmic accentuation of the feet. Usually, these turns are performed in an anti-clockwise direction, but some turn in both directions, such as D. Rita da Barquinha. Let us see her little boy and the spin below:



Figura 06. The rhythmic alternation of feet 5. Source: The author. Transcription: Author and Sebastian Notini. The figure brings the rhythmic notation of the *miudinho* variation in the step and turn of D. Rita da Barquinha.¹¹

¹⁰ The *terreiro de candomblé* is the community space where people who practice the Afro-Brazilian religion called Candomblé, where ancestral memory is preserved and materialized.

¹¹The rhythmic reading can be viewed in https://youtu.be/0k12WEInpAk

Among the sambadeiras observed, D. Biu¹², from São Francisco do Conde, does another type of tap dancing that differs entirely from *miudinho*. The *sambadores* and *sambadeiras* of his locality call him *corta-jaca*. The step consists of keeping the left foot wholly supported on the ground as a base, and the right foot repeatedly strikes the ground as if it wanted to cut something (in this case, the jackfruit). After these blows, still maintaining the base, the right foot passes in front of the other, goes to the left side, and returns to the place of origin. As if smoothing the ground, which means removing the "mess of the jackfruit," remove the core, the edible part of this fruit.

I also found another version of the *corta-jaca*¹³ performed by a sambador¹⁴ from the municipality of Conceição de Almeida, known as "Chegado." His tap dancing is entirely different from D. Biu's, although, like hers, it reminds him of removing the "berries" from the jackfruit and cleaning the mistletoe from his feet. Emília Biancardi (2006) choreographically describes these steps and comments that they are traditionally known. In addition, to what D. Biu calls "removing the mess from the jackfruit," she uses the term found in the Recôncavo as *separa-o-visgo*¹⁵ and describes it: "the dancer suspends and lowers one of his feet, then makes a lateral movement, like that of someone who separates something." Furthermore, it associates a third step called *apanha-o-bago*, in which the practitioner bends down as if he were going to remove the berry (seed) from the jackfruit. (BIANCARDI, 2006, p.278)

Many years before Biancardi, Oneyda Alvarenga, in the 1960s, highlighted the cut jackfruit, *separa-o-visgo*, and *apanha-o-bago* as fundamental steps of Bahian samba and commented that it was the first known since the second half of the 20th century XIX. He highlighted that only Manuel Querino had referred to the jackfruit cutter as a tap dance that required a lot of agility on the

¹² Berenice Borges dos Reis, a samba dancer from São Francisco do Conde, a municipality in the Recôncavo da Bahia

^{13 &}quot;Corta-jaca" means to cut the jackfruit

¹⁴ Person who dances samba.

¹⁵ Separar-o-visgo is to separate the mistletoe is to remove a kind of natural glue that exists in the fruit of the jackfruit

feet. He said, however, that he had never seen one in Bahia; only a black man in Minas Gerais had demonstrated this to her, and that the step consisted of a "quick advance and retreat of each foot alternately, with small jumps and body movements." (AL-VARENGA, 1960, p. 135)

D. Biu (2018) comments that he learned to make them from his mother:

It is my mother's tradition. My mother when she entered the circle, to be honest, had many suitors. In the past, samba de roda was not what we see today; it was all about the family, everything. People from the countryside, you know, people who made flour, olive oil, carried firewood, you know, shellfish gathering, they are all older people... so when she goes to call Nita over there, oh, without Nita, the samba is no good, she had to go. Then it came -the pestle waist - a waist of this size, with lovely chairs. When she arrived, she was already coming in here like this [squirms her shoulders, marks the samba with her foot]. Eta woman of a man, look at your husband, Mam! Furthermore, she was there in the middle of the samba dancing, you know, but that was when she started trying to do the jackfruit cutter, this one, oh [she does the step described above], and here she is cutting the jackfruit. Then what she does [shows the other step] here is called "cortando-o-bagunço" [cutting the mess], and here [she repeats the jackfruit cutter]. And her little foot was so thin; you had to see it, there to see her foot flying over the foot, flying; it looked like she was dancing on one foot. I learned this part and we do the jackfruit cut here like this [does the step that simulates cutting the jackfruit] and release the shoulder, right? I do not know if you noticed, but there is a baticum on our last foot, which looks like we are playing the drum. So, this one, we go for the rhythm of the samba. If it is faster there, we will go quicker, man; give this peal here, look, and we will leave. (Reis, 2018)

In fact, the step she shows as a "corta-jaca" is the same one that we know under the name of xaxado, so popular throughout the Brazilian Northeast. The baticum she asks for my attention so that I can notice is exactly the rhythmic pattern the zabumba¹⁶ makes when the xaxado¹⁷ is played.



¹⁶ The *zabumba* is a cylindrical drum with a double membrane, whose origin is uncertain and may be a European, African or Middle Eastern heritage of long tubular drums.

¹⁷ Xaxado is a rhythm and dance typical of northeastern Brazil, originating in the interior regions of Pernambuco and evident characteristics extracted from indigenous cultures.

Figura 07. The rhythmic pattern of D. Biu's jackfruit cutter. Source: The author. Transcription: Source: Author and Sebastian Notini. The figure is the rhythmic notation of D. Biu's feet when executing his mother's "cut jackfruit" step.

It provides us with evidence of dialogues between north-eastern popular manifestations. D. Biu's mother – Dona Nita – was born in Olinda, Pernambuco, in the same state as the singer and composer Luiz Gonzaga, who so popularized this rhythm, whose origin is associated with dance practiced in the Alto Sertão of Pernambuco, performed by men who, without musical instruments, sang and marked the rhythm by hitting the ground with rifles. The word *xaxado*, in turn, comes from "*xaxar*", which meant for the rural men to remove the bean seed from the pod by hitting it with a stick.

It is possible that when D. Nita moved from Olinda to São Francisco do Conde (BA), she brought her experience with xaxado in her luggage in the locality where she lived or, still in Bahia, she got to know the dance of "fashion" at the time. In his dance, the Pernambuco rhythm appears associated with the Bahian samba chula in a precise and quite unique combination. As the only opportunity I had to see the corta-jaca was with the sambador "Chegado," who does not use the same foot rhythm as her, I cannot compare the tap dancing of these steps to see if she joined the two rhythms in her practice or if this dialogue of expressions has also occurred by others in the region. It seems more likely to me that she created her jackfruit cutter. His daughter inherited this knowledge and preserved it with great respect and pride. Moreover, he continues to spread it with great ease in his performances or in the public presentations of the Raízes de Angola Group, of which he is a member.

Learning to read with friends

The study of the rhythm of tap dancing in *samba de roda*, based on learning with the master sambadeiras and its subsequent transcription into musical notation, pointed to the inexistence

of a single *miudinho* pattern. The rhythmic way of alternating one foot and the other differs according to the style practiced by the samba community and the individual perceptions of practitioners about the sound layers of samba. There is a more recurrent rhythmic pattern among these women's tap dancing (Figure 06). However, it is not the only one and undergoes variations and alternations during the performance.

As I pointed out in the previous session, in the analysis of the *corta-jaca* step performed by D. Biu, I found the same rhythmic design that the *zabumba* uses to play the *xaxado*, which suggests possible dialogues between the practitioners of this northeastern manifestation and *samba de roda*. I draw attention, however, to the fact that, as with the tap dancing of other sambadeiras, the *xaxado* rhythm design presented in this article in musical notation cannot be seen as if it is unfolding in the samba scene was something rehearsed and not mathematical. Instead, the sambadeiras vary their feet' rhythmic/spatial designs in the circle within what they perceive and feel in the music. As in some other popular dances of African origin, there is a base step(s), but improvisation is inherent to the game, and there is a musical dialogue between the sambadeiras and the players, as D. Nicinha also emphatically comments:

[...] You must samba to the rhythm of the instruments. If the tambourine calls you, you go there to answer it; if the drum calls you, you will answer it; if the viola calls you either guitar or cavaquinho, you have the right to go there and say hello. (LUZ, 2018)

Or, as Mestre Celino, a guitarist from Terra Nova (BA) comments: "The *sambadeira* woman, who knows how to dance the samba, has been making string by string. Every voice that we do on the finger, it gives on the leg." They modify their tap dancing as they "answer" the players' calls. So, to think about the women's statements mentioned in previous paragraphs, tap dancing is something decisive for a sambadeira to be considered good at what she does. So we need to pay attention to other factors that come into play, such as the accidents that can occur and the "presence and sense of the moment, which depends on each woman's

wisdom and experience of surrendering to pleasure, while maintaining control of the situation and the dialogue of the 'conversation' with musicians and participants." (DÖRING, 2016, p. 124). It is also necessary to pay attention to the fact that the feet tap dancing while moving in space, whether walking forwards, backward, sideways or in turns, are just the triggers of a movement that involves the whole body.

This type of performance differs from those that use counting and choreographed movements, whether from academies, dance training schools, or even popular manifestations, which use stylizations and structured sequences. When I asked, for example, D. Rita da Barquinha¹⁸, what the difference was between the basic tap dancing of Bahian *samba de roda* and carioca or national samba, I got the following answer:

The difference between samba from samba schools to samba de roda is a big difference in the way to move, and you need to have a teacher to teach. Because a person who goes to a samba school does not know how to samba spontaneously, there he/she sambas by having a teacher to teach those steps, that samba. Moreover, in the samba de roda, we do not need a teacher. We samba because it is our thing; it comes from our roots. We do not need a teacher, and it comes from us. It is very different! (SANTOS, 2018)

Drawing differences between these two cultural, artistic expressions with such different aesthetic elements and purposes may seem frivolous but trying to do so by observing the mechanics of the body, it seems that the essential difference starts with the feet. Both occur rhythmically with three-step alternation within a binary (or quaternary) measure. However, passistas¹⁹ usually samba with their feet open and not nearly parallel as sambadeiras do. The first performs a circular movement backward, opening the feet. The samba de roda is direct, without this loop. Also, the body weight distribution is different. The dancers raise their heels and drop the weight entirely on the metatarsus with the help of high

¹⁸ Rita Silva Machado dos Santos, known as D. Rita da Barquinha, samba dancer from Bom Jesus dos Pobres, a municipality in the region of Recôncavo Baiano.

¹⁹ The *passista*, a very traditional figure in the parade of the samba schools in the states of the southeast region, such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, is a person who has a skill in samba dancing different from the other members of the parade during the parade. She or He has the role of enchanting and seducing the spectators, bringing joy and relaxation to the parade, always encouraging the participation of the audience following the live show.

heels. Women in *samba de roda* root their feet to the ground, with a minimal heel rise, sometimes almost imperceptible, barefoot, or with low sandals/slippers.

Another difference that is observed is in the torso, which, in Rio samba, there is a slight twist, aided by the movement of the arms, always in opposition to the legs, something that does not occur in *samba de roda*, which sambadeiras emphasize tap dancing, most of the time keeping her arms down or holding her skirts. Furthermore, as for the hips, in addition to the movement being more exacerbated in Rio de Janeiro samba, the dancers generally sensualize it, for example, sometimes performing stops in tap dancing while making circular movements clockwise and counterclockwise, placing a hand on the waist and the other on the hips.

As for the improvisation to which we refer, even if the sequences of movements are not the same, the *passista* generally do it within an established pattern of movements, which does not occur with the more experienced *sambadeiras*, who, as we have seen, seek in their tap dancers a relationship with the instruments, especially with the viola or the tambourine.

Finally, I consider that the rhythmic transcriptions of the steps of the sambadeiras are just references, which can help understand the similarities and differences between what they do when they tap, as well as help in the initiation of their learning. However, it does not even remotely cover the multiple bodily connections surrounding this tap dance. I am aware that this writing tool does not have enough elements to translate the whole rich universe of Brazilian popular music and, even more so, when it comes to a rhythm translated into the body. The hips, shoulders, and arms that move articulately with the feet, as well as the energy of the wheel, cannot be encoded in musical notation. Tap dancing carries with it the personality of each samba dancer who enters the circle and walks the path that their desire to communicate traces as if taking a trip back to their own world. They dialogue with the music, design the space with movement, and with the skirts, giving body and wings to the sounds that cross their ears. It's impossible to describe all this.

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