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### **“O Negro No Poder -The Power in Black”**

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**Language forms in lyrics from different *Blocos Afro* reflecting Afro-Brazilian identity work in the city of *Salvador, Bahia, Brazil* thematically connected to *negritude*.**

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**Abstract:**

The present study aims to test my hypothesis that the language forms found in the *Blocos Afro* discourses in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil can be seen as expressions of Afro-Brazilian and/or *Blocos Afro* identity work and can also be seen as being, at least thematically, connected to the negritude movement.

The study is based on samples created of *Blocos Afro* lyrics. As a selection of *Blocos Afro* I chose *Ilê Aiyê*, *Cortejo Afro* and *Olodum*, which are all well recognized and with a long tradition presenting themselves in Salvador. In total the analysis was made from 31942 words and/or 250 lyrics.

A pilot was used to create a framework to select and identify expressions and language forms attested to be associated with the Afro-Brazilian identity. I relied on quantitative and qualitative approaches to the analyses. First, I categorized the expressions from the different lyrics by using a word cloud application which provides an overview of word frequency in a given corpus and can be used to underpin qualitative analyses. By using word cloud the frequency of words in the total corpus of 250 lyrics and particular lyrics was analyzed. Based on this analysis of the frequency of use of expression and language forms, I carried out a thematic analysis of the discourses and compared the themes to salient themes of negritude.

The results show that the Afro-Brazilian identity in Salvador is thematically connected to the negritude movement and that the Afro-Blocos lyrics analyzed show identity work a strong ingroup perspective.

**Keywords:**

Sociolinguistics, identity, belonging, Brazil, Bahia, *Blocos Afro*, Afro-Brazilians, *Olodum*, *Ilê Aiyê*, ingroup, outgroup, Negritude

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Aim and research question

My aim in this thesis is to trace language forms used by a particular group of Afro-Brazilians, the *Blocos Afro* in Salvador de Bahia. I would like to examine how these language forms can express the *Blocos Afro*'s identity work and if they thematically can be connected to the negritude movement. The focus is put on themes and on the lexical phenomena attested in the situated discourses of a sample of lyrics of the *Blocos Afro*.

The research questions are:

- How does the *Blocos Afro* use various lexical forms to express an Afro-Brazilian belonging and identity?
- Are the themes attested in the situated discourse of the *Blocos Afro* connected to the negritude movement?
- Are the language forms used to express the specific sociocultural realities of Afro-Brazilians in Salvador de Bahia?

The purpose is to test my hypothesis that the language forms found in the *Blocos Afro* discourses can be seen as expressions of Afro-Brazilian identity work and can be seen as being, at least thematically, connected to the negritude movement.

### 1.2. Theoretical framework

The study is theoretically positioned within sociolinguistics of the mobility paradigm, which is also called the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert, 2010, p. 5). This strand of sociolinguistics provides tools with which to approach the question of how forms of speech acquire social meanings and can become associated with social categories and signal that the person belongs to these categories. With this theoretical lens I have investigated how the *Blocos Afro* discursively negotiate their identity through their language use and language choices (Handford & Gee, 2012, pp. 9-20). It allowed me to examine how language variation, such as particular lexical phenomena, can relate to a person's self-position in relation to the social environment. The language variation in an intersectional discourse at a specific moment in time creates a relationship to others (Handford & Gee, 2012, pp. 9-20). Aitchinson (1991, s. 37-43) states that

language change is a slow process over time, but a variation reflects the occasion, or an accommodation that can be relevant in the area of sociolinguistics, equally important can specific vocabulary be for a particular identity. My focus is therefore on variation by looking into the lexical phenomena and additionally by doing a thematic analysis of the situated discourses of the sample of *Blocos Afro's* lyrics.

Since this thesis is about analyzing a language usage connected to identity, my starting point is Aitchinsons's definition, a specific use of language can demonstrate a positioning in the environment of a group through distancing and connecting, their language is an inventive way of demonstrating a relationship between their social categories and cultures (Aitchison, 1991, pp. 40-52).

In *Multilingual Brazil – language Resources, Identities and Ideologies in a Globalized World* identity, culture and belonging presented by the language, show how Brazil has a complex sociolinguistic context by the fact that it is influenced by indigenous, colonization and high migration (Cavalcanti & Maher, 2018). It can also be seen as language development and a connection between vulnerable groups affects both language, culture and how this collective identity can be linked to linguistic codes (Cavalcanti & Maher, 2018).

According to Eckert (2012, p.89) a connection can be made between language and social class, markers can be seen on which an empirical study can be made to connect variation to social/economic class. Another aspect to consider is that native class affiliation does not have to reflect the language use, but it is practice and ideology that govern their linguistic affiliation, and that linguistic belonging is not just something you are born into; it is something you can actively consciously or unconsciously change (Eckert, 2012, pp. 89-90). The connection between language and social class might be translated and might apply to the linguistic belongings for the *Blocos Afro*.

In identity work, research connected to social position is often inevitably overlooked, so that we humans need to be able to categorize ourselves to be able to position ourselves in the surroundings (Shkurko, 2014). To position yourself you can use the term ingroup “we” towards “them” the outgroup, the expressions ingroup/outgroup categorize the user of the expression as belonging to the group (ingroup) or not

(outgroup) (Shkurko, 2014). The position between “ingroup” and “outgroup” can be used in both positive/non-judgmental terms or to emphasize their own excellence or present themselves as victims by blaming the outgroup (Shkurko, 2014). As an example, it can mean that Afro-Brazilians use an ingroup perspective by stating that black is power referring to their skin color and then refer to the oppression historically to which they were subjected by the slave traders who were mostly white.

### 1.3. The context of *Blocos Afro* in Salvador, Bahia

Salvador is the capital city of Bahia, Brazil. It is one of the oldest cities in Brazil, founded by the Portuguese and in 1549 it was appointed capital city until 1763. Before the city became Salvador, the area was inhabited by the Indigenous tribe Tupinambás. It was the main seaport in Brazil and an important commercial place; hence it became the economical center for the slave trade, and it was the primary slave market in the New World. There exist different figures of how many slaves that were handled but approximately 10 million Africans were brought to the American continents during the European colonization period, of which 40% came to Brazil (Lucchesi, Baxter, & Ribeiro, 2009).

The fact that Salvador is a port city has created a melting pot as the population is a mixture of different nationalities, most of which originate from Europe, Indigenous tribes in Brazil and Africa, subsequently the Afro-Brazilians have formed their own culture and most of the population in Salvador are Afro-Brazilians (Bahia, n.d.). Since Brazil is a segregated country the largest proportion of Afro-Brazilians lives in so-called Favelas, which is the collective name mostly associated with lower class standard and poor people (Boehm, 2020).

There are about fifteen million inhabitants of Bahia, of which almost three million live in Salvador (Estatística, n.d.). There are 2.1 million Afro-Brazilians and about half a million whites (Estatística, n.d.). The average wage in Salvador is 3.3 times the minimum of R\$ 1,302 (Ministério da Economia, 2022). 91% of the Afro-Brazilian population have an income of up to three times the minimum wage and 66% live on up to one minimum wage (Estatística, n.d.). Whereas 39% of the

white part of the population has an income up to one minimum wage and 67% up to three times the minimum wage (Estatística, n.d.).

In the age group 6-14 years, 99.2% go to primary school, however, on average 19.9% skip school in the age group 11-14, after that only 56% in the age group 15-17 years continue studying (Correio, 2019). At the age of twenty-five, in average, a person born in Bahia has completed 7.9 out of 9 years of primary school, which places Bahia at the bottom in Brazil since only about 39% of the population complete primary education (Correio, 2019). The difference between whites and Afro-Brazilians that complete university education at the age 25 is significant as 17.9% of whites complete compared to 8.4% of Afro-Brazilians (Correio, 2019).

The *Blocos Afro* in Salvador de Bahia started to be recognized as societies in the 1970's under the military dictatorship and have ever since been associated with the start of the political movement for the Afro-Brazilians in the city of Salvador, Bahia (Dixon, 2016, pp. 45-62). During the 1980's the Afro-Brazilian movement grew and started to request equality and black civil groups were formed with the aim to change the political landscape creating the foundation for the afro-civil society seen today (Dixon, 2016, pp. 45-62). Brazil has a long tradition of systematic racism sanctioned by the government and the liberalization of the country kicked off different social movement groups that sought racial and gender equality (Dixon, 2016, pp. 45-62). As a response to the profound and structural racist repression *Blocos Afro* were created by Afro-Brazilians as carnival groups presenting black consciousness and their afro-identity by changing style and wore traditional African costumes, closely connected to the political movement (Dixon, 2016, ss. 45-62; Gómez Vergara, 2017). The drums and the rhythm called *batuque* are inherited by the black culture and incorporated into the samba schools where they paraded in different blocks, representing different stories (Gómez Vergara, 2017). The *Blocos Afro* in Bahia mainly consist of people from marginalized areas where there is a mix of indigenous and African origin with less focus on education and welfare from the government (Dixon, 2016, pp. 45-62).

In Brazil you can still see that the African heritage has an influence, especially in the region of Bahia where the food, religion, dance, language, and music show



influences from the African continent (Gómez Vergara, 2017). In addition to the social position of the Afro-Brazilians, the *Blocos Afro* are a cultural phenomenon, and I will explore to which extent the *Blocos Afro* have a connection to the negritude movement.

The negritude movement originated in Paris, in the interwar period between the first and second world war, when three young, migrated intellectuals came together and founded the magazine *L'Étudiant noir* [The black student<sup>1</sup>]: the Senegalese Léopold Sédar Senghor, the Guyanese Léon Gontran Damas and the Martinican Aimé Césaire. The word negritude was coined by Aimé Césaire around 1936 (Davis, 1997). Césaire defines it as

La Négritude est la simple reconnaissance du fait d'être noir, et l'acceptation de ce fait, de notre destin de noir, de notre histoire et de notre culture... [Negritude is the simple recognition of the fact of being black, and the acceptance of that fact, of our destiny as black people, of our history and our culture...<sup>1</sup>] (Fanon, 1952, pp. 124-125).

In French, "nègre" is an adjective used in a derogatory sense. The noun "Negritude" is the counterweight where one has made a positive retraction of an adjective that had an insulting purpose (Senghor, 1977, pp. 269-270). The Negritude movement is an objection to the idea that the European culture was superior to African culture which proliferated in literature and poetry as a factor of the decolonization from France (Encyclopædia Britannica, Negritude, n.d.). Negritude is a positive response to reclaim the black identity expressed by passion for African life and history in connection to the ancestors as well as a protest against the previous colonization of African countries (Encyclopædia Britannica, Negritude, n.d.). As stated by Nascimento (2021, p.142) "[t]he decolonial history that crosses the literature discourse recreates the negritude history of the black people of Brazil, evidencing their fight, force and resistance in the official history"

Brazil's Portuguese is not linguistically homogeneous as Brazil is a large country with many inhabitants; this leads to variation and change, and the origin of these

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<sup>1</sup> The translation is mine.

variations can be disputed (Álvares Lópes, Gonçalves, & Ornelas de Avelar, 2018, pp. 14-20). It is very likely that modern European Portuguese had a greater impact in African countries than in Brazil, much as those of African descent in Brazil have been in isolated areas with a lack of education and/or public administration as Bahia (Álvares Lópes, Gonçalves, & Ornelas de Avelar, 2018, pp. 185-210). The modern Portuguese of Brazil is an expression of external factors more than the languages involved as European Portuguese and, above all, Bantu (Álvares Lópes, Gonçalves, & Ornelas de Avelar, 2018, pp. 185-210). Álvarez López, Gonçalves, & Ornelas de Avelar (2018, pp.185-210) emphasize the importance of the same grammar being used by the European Portuguese as well as in the African Portuguese, but that the grammar is applied to different extents in a language that has been acquired. Another important aspect to remember is that the creation of Brazilian Portuguese wasn't developed in a single process without a plurality (Álvares Lópes, Gonçalves, & Ornelas de Avelar, 2018, pp. 185-210).

The Afro-Brazilian Portuguese originates from the slaves that learned Portuguese as their second language and became the first language also influenced by indigenous languages (Álvares Lópes, Gonçalves, & Ornelas de Avelar, 2018, pp. 185-210). According to Reis & Gallotti Mamigonian (2005, p.77) many slaves came from the western parts of Africa and by creating a common language as Yoruba gave footprint in northeast Brazil with their cultural traditions creating an identity of their own. Nascimento refers to Fanon in his paper

... black people represent their own identities in language mainly by reproducing patterns of colonizers' language while trying to escape their own original identities as way of surviving through longstanding coloniality. In short, I conclude that language is not performed externally to power, but within power's own composition (Nascimento G. , 2019, p. 6).

I think this comment well defines the historical situation for Afro-Brazilians and their language development.

#### 1.4. Research method and material

The study is based on analysis of a sample of *Blocos Afro* lyrics. The primary selection was to focus on *Blocos Afro* from Salvador, Bahia. As a selection of

*Blocos Afro* I chose *Ilê Ayiê*, *Cortejo Afro* and *Olodum*. *Ilê Ayiê* and *Olodum* are both commonly known in Brazil and *Cortejo Afro* is small but well-known in Salvador, Bahia. The three *Blocos Afro* represent different styles and demographical areas, *Ilê Ayiê* represents the neighborhood *Liberdade*, *Olodum*, the neighborhood *Pelourinho* and *Cortejo Afro* the suburban area of Pirajá. From a socio-cultural perspective, Brazil is a mix of different nationalities and origins, hence it is relevant to add *Olodum* and *Cortejo Afro* to the data selection. The material consists of unique lyrics from authors associated to these *Blocos* and I chose all lyrics recorded by them regardless of the author; my assumption is that music and lyric played by the *Blocos Afro* have a meaning for them.

*Olodum* has so far released twenty-five albums, *Ilê Ayiê* has five. *Olodum*, *Cortejo Afro* and *Ilê Ayiê* are well known *Blocos Afro* in Salvador with a long tradition of representing the Afro-Brazilian culture. *Olodum* has also had collaboration with famous artists like Paul Simon and Michael Jackson and *Ilê Ayiê* and *Cortejo Afro* had collaboration with Björk.

According to Mesthrie & Wolfram (2011) the collected primary data should be transcribed to be able to make a systematic analysis. By analyzing lyrics from the *Bloco Afros*, *Ilê Ayiê*, *Cortejo Afro* and *Olodum*, the gathered data was already transcribed.

As the first step in the data collection and determination of the sample size, I chose lyrics from early and a recently released album from *Ilê Ayiê* and *Olodum* that I analyzed and compared the linguistic forms to identify differences. With this approach I focused on lexical phenomena to give the first input to the question, do the *Blocos Afro* use different lexical forms to express an Afro-Brazilian belonging and identity? Based on the experience from this pilot study I fine-tuned the methodological approach by adding more lyrics to broaden the input to identify similarities or recurrent themes connected to the Afro-Brazilian identity and the negritude movement. As the next step I categorized the expressions from the different lyrics by using a word cloud application. By using word cloud the frequency of words used was weighed together, a function that summarize data

and shows frequency or importance of words in a data selection (Korab, 2021). The word cluster created by Word Cloud is shown in figure 1 (p. 15). This created the foundation and selection for the analysis. To narrow down the selection I used a quantitative analysis to find focus areas to continue the thematic analysis with.

In order to gain an understanding of how humans create meaningful connections in real life, we need to understand how these paths develop practically (Blommaert, 2010, pp. 15-20). This statement from Blommaert explains why I use thematic discourse analysis to identify patterns and shows the connection between language usage, social structure, meaning and function (Mesthrie & Wolfram, 2011; Fairclough, 2010). The thematic discourse analysis provides the opportunity to analyze the characteristics of a language at a specific time considering the language construction originating from social, political, cultural, and historical situations (Blommaert, 2010, pp. 3-20).

Afterwards I carried out a thematic analysis of the discourse on the previously identified lexical forms to answer the research questions of the connection between Afro-Brazilian identity and negritude. The research process was conducted in the following steps: Identifying lexical forms, categorizing the lexical phenomena, data analyzing and analyzing of the results. My aim was to use an empirical approach and identify the vocabulary used in the transcribed lyrics to see how the identity of the Afro-Brazilians is expressed in the light of negritude.

In total the sample used to underpin the analysis consists of 31942 words and/or 250 lyrics. The sample size from the three different *Blocos Afro* represents different styles and demographical areas which together represent different stands of *Blocos Afro*.

### 1.5. Research limitations

Lyrics in other languages than Portuguese were excluded since only one of the chosen *Blocos Afro* (*Olodum*) uses other languages in their lyrics, meaning that eight lyrics was excluded whereof seven were lyrics in English.

This study focuses on the relation between language and identity and includes thematic analyses where both Candomblé and the carnival appear, but did not represent the main focus and was therefore only included to the extent considered relevant to respond to the research questions.

I chose not to analyze if there were any differences between the chosen three *Blocos Afro*.

### 1.6 Previous studies and findings

Findings from the previous research show that studies regarding *Blocos Afro* are mainly focused on a cultural or racial context for example, Gómez Vergara (2017) or Brasil & Siles Vargas (2020). The publication by Gómez Vergara (2017) mentions how the lyrics to *Que bloco é esse* is a way to position the situation of the Afro-Brazilians in the society and much research about *Blocos Afro* show the close connection to the Carnival and religion Candomblé. Gómez Vergara (2017) also presents how Blocos Afros are important for the Afro-Brazilian culture in a way that they honor and present the history and create a community for the Afro-Brazilians. Brasil & Siles Vargas (2020) present how the carnival educates by breaking the barriers and visualising sociocultural and socioeconomic challenges. One example used in the study is the lyric to *Madagascar Olodum* (Olodum, 1987) where apartheid is highlighted and compared to the situation in Brazil to demonstrate how the *Olodum* educated when parading the streets in the carnival (Brasil & Siles Vargas, 2020).

Both studies presented above gave me a good understanding for the analysis explaining the situation for the Afro-Brazilian population in Salvador.

My main source for the socio-historic and socio-demographic context is *Afro-politics and Civil Society in Salvador Da Bahia* (Dixon, 2016).

The book *Multilingual Brazil – language Resources, Identities and Ideologies in a Globalized World* added value to the previous research about language of identity and cultural practice involving language and also connecting language usage in music (Cavalcanti & Maher, 2018).

As sources for the African discourse, negritude, and identity work I used the work from Francis-Tan & Tannuri-Pianto (2015), Adeduntan (2019), Reis & Gallotti Mamigonian (2005) and Quirino de Oliveira (2017).

The main source for the position of the identity work is *Cognitive Mechanisms of Ingroup/Outgroup Distinction* (Shkurko, 2014)

### 1.7. Relevance of the research

This research will give an insight of how the *Blocos Afro* use language forms to position the Afro-Brazilian identity in the society and how the discourses are thematically connected to negritude

## 2. Analysis/Conclusions

When analyzing the background and history of the three *Blocos Afro* I have come to the conclusion they represent different themes. *Ilê Aiyê* is traditional and from the origin only allows pretos (blacks) as members and represents “African blackness” in the music style and performances (Dixon, 2016, pp. 45-62). *Olodum* is more a *Blocos Afro* with its origin from a working class and representing a more multicultural mix, *Cortejo Afro* is similar to *Olodum* in the set-up (Bloco Cortejo Afro, 2021). Both *Cortejo Afro* and *Olodum* represent the majority of the Afro-Brazilians in Salvador that comes from marginalized areas where education is not prioritized. When analyzing the background of the chosen *Blocos Afro* I found that alienation and marginalization are important shared experiences (Dixon, 2016, pp. 45-62) connecting the *Blocos Afro* together. The multicultural mix is exemplified in the lyric *Alienação* (Ilê Aiyê, 2005) “ser negro não é questão de pigmentação” [being black is not a matter of pigmentation<sup>1</sup>].

With Bakhtin’s quote “time, as it were thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible and where space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 84) as well as Handford & Gee (2012) and Aitchison’s (1991) thoughts that language variation creates a relationship and identity, I connect visibility together with history in this context and find that it represents the belonging and identity of the Afro-Brazilians and, in



was the cradle for humanity and one of the first empires (Encyclopædia Britannica, See how the study of evolution explores the differences between humans and apes, n.d.).

In the lyrics as *Um Povo Comum Pensar* by Olodum (1987) references can be found pointing to Cuba and Fidel Castro's revolution. From an identity perspective the usage of Cuba is a way to present a forerunner in one of the previously colonized countries recognizing Africans. As Reis & Gallotti Mamigonian (2005, pp.77-80) describe there is a close connection to the Yoruba identity in both Brazil and Cuba since the slave trade created isolated communities. Cuba and Fidel Castro's revolution and the government empowered the opportunity for practicing other cultures for the people (Reis & Gallotti Mamigonian, 2005, pp. 77-80). In both Brazil and Cuba there has been a great suppression of cultures, but when Cuba participated in the revolution of several African countries it showed solidarity and added a belonging to "Africaness" (Reis & Gallotti Mamigonian, 2005, pp. 77-80).

Nothing can be more powerful for a marginalized people than to refer to where the human was created and when the human started to walk on two legs; it was in Africa, our first motherhood on earth, it is a close connection to create an ingroup by showing the connection with their African roots and the greatness of having the same origin as the cradle of human. "Útero negro, prosperidade, Do negrume africano a humanidade, Senhora Ébano, DNA do mundo, célula materna, Primeira maternidade na terra" [Black womb, prosperity, From the African blackness to humanity, Lady Ebony, DNA of the world, maternal cell, First maternity on earth<sup>1</sup>] (*Cordão Umbilical*, Ilê Aiyê, 2001). "Envolvente história de cultura e tradição Ilê traz como tema a rota do tambores do maranhão, Tambores que tocam jeje, nagô, ketu e iouruba, Angola de congo, agô babá" [Engaging history of culture and tradition, Ilê brings as its theme for the route of the drums from maranhão, drums that play jeje, nagô, ketu and iouruba, Angola de Congo, agô babá<sup>1</sup>] (*Envolvente História*, Ilê Aiyê). "No ilê de mãe santinha de Oya, Nega tonha azuelo ajé um sa, O ogandi azuane azuelou, Ado ala olubaje já começou" (*Ajeumbo*, Cortejo Afro). "Acendo a chama negra viva da paixão, africana é a nação que conduz o meu



cantar” [I light the living black flame of passion, African is the nation that leads my singing<sup>1</sup>] (*Resistência Viva*, Ilê Aiyê). The previous quotes represent a pride of the African culture together with a cross-continental belonging. The usage of African language emphasizes identity in Afro-Brazilian society. It is also a way to present how the Afro-Brazilians managed to maintain their African traditions throughout the oppression. By using a specific language as Yoruba or Bantu the Afro-Brazilians created a connection between their ingroup with the African people in the countries that were colonialized and where the Afro-Brazilians have their origin. Among other countries that refer to the greatness of Africa as the first empire can be mentioned Egypt and Madagascar, with the reference to the empire in the form of Farao.

The second category of negritude is what the black identity and community requires and stands for, by using the most common language form of 1st and 2nd singular and plural in personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and possessives, these forms also reflect the conjugation of verbs. (eu, você, nós, meu, minha, mim and nossa). By using the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2nd singular and plural their Afro-Brazilian identity is shown and it sets the context of visibility. The visibility in a discourse perspective is then a statement for *Blocos Afro* to take place by their music, lyrics and performances and the visibility can also be a way to position the Afro-Brazilians in an ingroup disposition.

By using music, lyrics, and performances it is a reference back to the African history, sociocultural practices, and different traditions to pass on information as explained by Adeduntan (2019, p. 9). The ingroup disposition reclaims their power, freedom and celebrates their society by highlighting their achievements or key words as the following quote states. “Cultivando A Igualdade, Liberdade, Cultura, O Negro No Poder, Se O Poder É Nosso” (*Laço Fraterno*, Ilê Aiyê). The Afro-Brazilian identity has a strong ingroup in being proud of their origin as well as demanding the same rights that they historically have been denied as the quote in *Laço Fraterno* shows. By creating a sentence that says [cultivating the equality, freedom and culture, the black in power, if the powers are ours<sup>1</sup>] it shows the strength of the ingroup at the same time it reflects that having the power is not

obvious. By using “se” (in English “If”) in “Se O Poder É Nosso”, it becomes a reference that black people should have the ability to have the power because they are a strong people. Their history shows that they have the strength. Their built-in strength is also shown in the quote “Sou consciência coletiva que eleva autoestima” [I am a collective conscience that raises self-esteem<sup>1</sup>] in the song *Cetro de Mãe África* by Ilê Aiyê that connects back to the self-esteem, which demonstrates that the ingroup identity with the strengths that they have would benefit even more by raising their self-esteem. That they have the possibility to educate themselves and that they are not colonialized any longer and don’t need to suffer. They can be free and have the possibility to change their own lives. The naming of the song is by itself a symbol of power since cetro means scepter and a scepter is a symbol of rulership and dignity (Sceptre, 2014).

The following quotes reflect how the outgroup marginalizes the Afro-Brazilians by attacking their being, the ingroup positions themselves as a force by using their African culture. “Na História comenta-se fatos tão profundos quanto o nosso ser, olodum representa cultura, arco-íris, força e poder” [History comments on facts as profound as our being, olodum represents culture, rainbows, strength and power<sup>1</sup>] (*Força divina, Olodum*). “Com a força que emana da raça e o poder da canção” [With the power that spreads from race and the power of the chant<sup>1</sup>] (*Diferentes, Mas Iguais - Ilê Aiyê*).

There are several different ways in which the ingroup can describe themselves, one key is the visual connection as the color of the skin “Pra você minha crioula, minha cor, minhas verdades” [For you my creole, my color, my truths<sup>1</sup>] (*Deusa do Ébano, Ilê Aiyê, 1989*). The purpose of the sentence towards the outgroup is that if you don't have the same skin color as us, you can't speak about what is our truth.

All the references connected to locations in Brazil in the lyrics have a close connection to the Afro-Brazilian society, and still today has the largest population with afro-roots. The references include Salvador, Pelô, Pelorinho, Bahia, nordeste. “Dos Quilombolas, segue a resistência viva resistente na batida, na Bahia estendeu” [Of the Quilombolas, follow the resistance alive resists the beat, in

Bahia it extended<sup>1]</sup> (*Resistência Viva, Ilê Aiyê*). Since Quilombos was the name of areas where freed or escaped slaves lived whereof many quilombos existed in the northeast of Brazil it is closely connected to the Afro-Brazilian society meaning that ingroups today show their identity by referring to the beat of the drums, the same rhythms that are inherited in their DNA. But it can also be a cross-reference to the violence the ingroup was subjected to.

I can see that the text writers often use puns so the choice of words of the sentence has a double meaning. “Na cruz de Lalibela eu vou, Pelourinho Roma-negra é salvador. Jerusalém, Pelourinho, Roma na mesma unção” (*Lalibela, Olodum*). The meaning of this quote is [to the cross on Lalibela I go, Pelourinho is the black Rome and Salvador is Jerusalem, Pelourinho. Rome in the anointing<sup>1]</sup>. From an ingroup/outgroup perspective it is a strong identity marker since the colonizers tortured and crucified slaves in the square of Pelourinho. In the position of the identity towards the outgroup it also has strong references and similarities to Césaire's poem *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (1937-47, p. 19) about how the colonizers committed abuses against the ingroup.

Adjectives like negra/negro/preto/preta and the noun raça are words most likely used to show a belonging and specific identity in terms of the social construction of race, it is a statement to acknowledge Afro-Brazilian identity. The social construction of race is more connected to social status and appearance and how you and the society categorize you depends on these factors more than connected to biology (Francis-Tan & Tannuri-Pianto, 2015).

When using negra/negro/preto/preta with pride and in a distinctive perspective it creates a clear inclusive categorization based on physical appearance key factors. The key words and foundations negra/negro/preto/preta can be found in both negritude and ingroup. The power is regained in words that have been used to devalue and oppress by changing the meaning of the words. “Não somos negros dispersos não somos negro dotado ilê vem do curuzu liberdade aiyê invadindo a cidade negra” [We are not dissipated blacks, we are not gifted blacks, ilê comes from curuzu liberdade, aiyê invading the black city<sup>1]</sup> (*Cenário Negro Na Simpatia*

*Do Ilê, Ilê Aiyê*, 1996). The quote reverses the claim by the outgroup that Afro-Brazilians are not a divided or untalented group. Here, the in-group reverses the prejudice by reclaiming their own city through their presence on the streets and displaying their intelligence and community. “Protetor dessa, dessa minha raça negra” [Protector of this, of this my black race<sup>1</sup>] (*A Dança do Boi, Ilê Aiyê*). The usage of the word protector creates a focus on the ingroup that implies that they are unique and should be honored and protected. The quote from *Um Canto de Evolução* expresses how the ingroup uses positive trademarks in the words to show how resistant the Afro-Brazilians are by using the words *sacred force* (*forças sagradas*), *creativity* (*Criatividade*) and *elegance* (*elegância*).

Sou ilê o ano inteiro, Um canto de evolução, Somos o afro pioneiro identidade negra, Criatividade e elegância, Da Bahia para o mundo eu sou ilê aiyê, 45 anos de resistencia pois é aliados as forças sagradas do candomblé axé axé [I am ilê all year round, A chant of evolution, We are the Afro pioneers with black identity, Creativity and elegance, From Bahia to the world I am ilê aiyê, 45 years of resistance because it is united with the sacred forces of candomblé axé axé<sup>1</sup>] (*Ilê Aiyê*).

From an identity perspective the noun *liberdade* shows that Afro-Brazilians are reclaiming their voice and freedom, that they are free. But on the other hand, *Liberdade* is the name of one district in Salvador so the word usage can also be a reference to the district and used as a pun. Regardless, *liberdade* is an important statement since it means freedom and with an ingroup perspective the Afro-Brazilians are free. "Sou liberdade" (*Chão Sagrado, Ilê Aiyê, 2006*) - I am from freedom<sup>1</sup> or I am freedom<sup>1</sup>. "Liberdade é a minha casa" (*Negro Alegre, Ilê Aiyê*) - Freedom is my home<sup>1</sup> or Freedom is my house<sup>1</sup>.

The third category of negritude of the black identity and community deals with the oppression the population was subjected to. One way to position the oppression is to refer to “them” - the outgroup. The annotation of outgroup can be used in multiple ways; by creating a community in a group by differentiating one's own group from the other by creating a distance to the other group by highlighting

negative characteristics of the other group, however it can also be that the distinction between the groups is created more neutrally and objectively (Shkurko, 2014).

There are several observations in the lyrics that refer to the oppression that the Afro-Brazilians are subjected to, where it is made clear that it is the outgroup that exposes the ingroup by using the 3rd plural, as example “Foram tantos Doutores e bisturis cortando e sorrindo pra mim depois de grandes omissões” [There were so many doctors and scalpels cutting and smiling at me after huge suppressions<sup>1</sup>] (*Exclusão*, Ilê Aiyê, 1989). “Mas o Olodum, Grande Rei teve um sonho, profecia da esperança que mudará o negro da Etiópia e da Bahia” [But Olodum, Great King had a dream, prophecy of hope that will change the black people of Ethiopia and Bahia<sup>1</sup>] (*Eu digo Jah*, Olodum, 2018). “Será que eles não ouvem o nosso grito de liberdade?” [Will they not hear our cry for freedom?<sup>1</sup>] (*Negro de luz*, Ilê Aiyê, 1989). In these three quotes, the actions that the torture, marginalization or displacement of people subjected the out-group to the Afro-Brazilians are referred to, which creates a distancing between the ingroup and the outgroup. In this case, the ingroup uses current actions that they nevertheless used subtle references to torture instead of using the word torture.

I identified another subtle way in which the writers have positioned the outgroup by describing the battle for freedom and the resistance the ingroup shows towards the outgroup. They use references to countries and famous people as Mozambique, Zumbi and other famous Africans such as Nelson Mandela and Kofi Annan. As explained by Quirino de Oliveira (2017) Zumbi is known for being a symbol of resistance and perseverance as he led the fight for the Afro-Brazilians to be free.

Longa trajetória, Descortinando a história, Um marco de luta, um fato real,  
Hoje somos referência, Negros em evidência, Capacitados, político-cultural,  
Desde Ganga Zumba, em Palmares, A Nelson Mandela, A afirmação ao poder,  
Minha cidade eu quero ela, Personalizados, Sobreviventes nessa meta, No  
processo de escrita, Reescrita é a história dessa terra ... Sábias serão minhas  
idéias, Sócio-educativa, cultural, Ilê Aiyê, Exemplo, igualdade pra vida, Pomba

voa, paz na terra, Kofi Annan que o diga, Somos nós, Celebidades negras vivas [Long way, Unveiling history, A landmark of struggle, a real fact. Today we are the references, Blacks in evidence, Empowered, political-cultural, Since Ganga Zumba, in Palmares, To Nelson Mandela, The affirmation of power, My city I want her, Personalized, Survivors in this prison, In the process of writing, rewriting is the history of this land... Wise will be my ideas, Socio-educational, Cultural, Ilê Aiyê, Example, equality for life, Dove flies, peace on earth, Kofi Annan say it, It's us, Black celebrities alive<sup>1</sup>] (*Afirmção Ao Poder*, Ilê Aiyê).

In *Afirmção Ao Poder* the writers position the ingroup against the outgroup by using famous black champions and demanding what the outgroup has and that it should be obvious for the ingroup to have this as well in terms of power, equal rights and equality for life. In *Ilê Aiyê Nos Cinco Continentes* the reference to *Moçambique's* independence struggle is used as a factor to motivate the Afro-Brazilians in Salvador to keep their resilience because a similar ingroup has revolted against the outgroup. “Moçambique meu eu é você sua história o mundo marcou. Moçambique não posso esquecer a batalha que você travou. Ver seu canto traduzido discutido em Salvador. Pelo poder da resistência o transigente Ilê Aiyê cantou” [Mozambique my self is you, your story the world noticed. Mozambique, I cannot forget the battle you fought. See your transferred song discussed in Salvador. By the power of resistance, the compromised Ilê Aiyê sang<sup>1</sup>] (*Ilê Aiyê Nos Cinco Continentes*, Ilê Aiyê). Or as in the quote from "*Negro de luz*" when the reference to the outgroup is made by referring to the fact that Zumbi's struggle is not over even though the slave trade is formally abolished. In reality, racism and marginalization are still so strong that Afro-Brazilians still are not free and cry for better living conditions without being heard.

Cem anos sem abolição Se tiver de ser, será sim! Nós faremos Palmares de novo Vamos escrever a nossa verdadeira história Zumbi não morreu! Ele esta vivo em cada um de nós Será que eles não veem? Será que eles não ouvem o nosso grito de liberdade? Valeu, Zumbi! [One hundred years without abolition It must be, it will be! We'll do Palmares again, let's write our true story Zumbi didn't die! He's alive in each of us, can't they see? Do they not hear our cry for freedom? Thanks Zumbi!<sup>1</sup>] (*Negro de luz*, Ilê Aiyê, 1989).

The third way the writers position the outgroup against the ingroup is by using the vindication and liberation as the chosen keywords as *let us protest, don't bow and straight ahead*. “Por isso povo brasileiro vamos protestar, De uma forma correta, sem violência, Vendo a pessoa certa, Pra voce votar ... Eu quero mais saúde, mais educação, Mais divisão de renda, mais alimentação, Vamos clamar por jah” [That's why the Brazilian people are going to protest, In a correct way, without violence, Seeing the right person, for you to vote... I want more health, more education, more income sharing, more food, let us call for jah<sup>1</sup>] (*Mundo Cão, Olodum, 1994*).

In the pride of their in-group, the lyricists inspire the Afro-Brazilians to keep fighting and show their power with a peaceful message. That they should continue to demand their place in society and to have the same rights as the out-group. The in-group is not violent when they demand their rights and this becomes an even clearer positioning against the out-group which likes to resort to excessive violence. This connection to violence is seen in the quote in *Ilê Aiyê Nos Cinco Continentes* where the writers use the word courage to position the Mozambicans against the outgroup as it takes courage to stand up against violence. “Coragem ao clamar por liberdade e igualdade” [Courage in demanding liberty and equality<sup>1</sup>] (*Ilê Aiyê Nos Cinco Continentes, Ilê Aiyê*).

In most cases, the text writers position the in-group against the counter-group with pride, joy and strength in a peaceful way, or how Zumbi led his troops in the fight for freedom. But there are other references to when the in-group did not stoop to violence, or alternatively responded with violence. In these two cases, it is the women who are the references, which gives another dimension to the struggle that the Afro-Brazilians have. “Onde Negras mulheres não se curvam ao machismo universal” [Where black women do not bow to universal machismo<sup>1</sup>] (*Vozes Da Floresta Macua, Ilê Aiyê*) “E as mulheres nas Machambas Logo em frente com catanas” [And the women in the Machambas, straight ahead with machetes<sup>1</sup>] (*Ilê Aiyê Nos Cinco Continentes, Ilê Aiyê*). In all the three subcategories of positioning the ingroup against the outgroup my understanding is that the authors focus more on the strength of the Afro-Brazilians who lived under great oppression and are

still today exposed to a strong racism before creating outgroups by accusing the colonizers of what they subjected the Afro-Brazilians to, they are objective in their description of the oppression.

### 3. Results

My conclusions after having studied the relation between language forms and identity work and how *Blocos Afro* lyrics can provide an insight into how Afro-Brazilians express their identity and how their identity work can be connected thematically to the negritude movement are as follows.

How do the *Blocos Afro* use various lexical forms to express an Afro-Brazilian belonging and identity?

And are the language forms used to express the specific sociocultural realities of Afro-Brazilians in Salvador de Bahia?

The *Blocos Afro* use lexical forms to express the Afro-Brazilian belonging and identity. Examples of lexical forms used are different African words as shown in “No ilê de mãe santinha de Oya, Nega tonha azuelo ajé um sa, O ogandi azuane azuelou, Ado ala olubaje já começou” (*Ajeumbo*, Cortejo Afro). Other examples of the usage of African words are actually the name of two of the *Blocos Afro Ilê Aiyê* and *Olodum*.

The findings from the thematic discourse analysis is highlighting the fact that the Afro-Brazilians are a force to recognize, where the lexical forms are expressions consciously chosen by the writers to visualize the importance of the Afro-Brazilians in the society, shown by referring to Zumbi or as the quote by *Ilê Aiyê* “Protetor dessa, dessa minha raça negra” [Protector of this, of this my black race<sup>1</sup>] (*A Dança do Boi*). One of my conclusions from the pilot is that thematic discourse hasn't changed over time, one of the reasons for this might be because the situation has not changed so much for the black people. They are still marginalized even though they are the majority of the population in Salvador, Bahia.



Since the northeast of Brazil has historically been a poor area where most of the population identifies themselves as black, with a long history of oppression from the government, Afro-Brazilians have a challenge to gain the same rights as the white society described by Dixon (2016). Most of the identified language forms and expressions in the lyrics can be connected to an ingroup perspective. The discourses show that the most common language form is of 1st and 2nd singular and plural in personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and possessives, reflected in the conjugation of verbs. (eu, você, nós, meu, minha, mim, nessa, nossa and esse). The predominant use of 1<sup>st</sup> person singular and plural clearly states that the *Blocos Afro* primarily position themselves first with the main purpose to create visibility for the Afro-Brazilians. They are a powerful group, and they are ready to stand up for their rights, but not for resorting to violence. The fight must be carried out by making them visible and standing up for oneself, for example by performing in the streets during the carnival or shown in the quote “Pra você minha crioula, minha cor, minhas verdades” [For you my creole, my color, my truths<sup>1</sup>] (*Deusa do Ébano*, Ilê Aiyê, 1989).

The lexical phenomena identified in the study show an ambition to express a particular identity for the Afro-Brazilians in the northeast region by using positive trademarks for their identity. They are reclaiming their identity with love and peace when showing their resistance. The Afro-Brazilians actively choose to be seen as a social force through a peaceful and loving approach and this fact creates an even greater contrast and distinction between their ingroup and the outgroup where violence is common. The resistance is shown by positioning the ingroup towards the outgroup by using the 3rd plural, as example “Foram tantos Doutores e bisturis cortando e sorrindo pra mim depois de grandes omissões” [There were so many doctors and scalpels cutting and smiling at me after huge suppressions<sup>1</sup>] (*Exclusão*, Ilê Aiyê, 1989).

The Afro-Brazilian population has a strong identity that is reflected in the *Blocos Afro* lyrics and performance, they clearly present their heritage and show a great pride in their identity and belonging. The main focus for the *Blocos Afro* is to create the arena for the Afro-Brazilians to speak up about their identity and to be

present in the street as a statement showing their ingroup belonging and educating the society about their sociocultural situation.

Are the themes attested in the situated discourse of the *Blocos Afro* connected to the negritude movement?

The language usage has a strong thematic connection to the negritude movement. Negritude was founded in an intellectual culture and is expressed through literature and poetry. In *Blocos Afro* context, negritude is made visible and accessible through its music and performances in the streets. The difference is that *Blocos Afro* show the connection to negritude through the inherited traditions in the form of dance and rhythms rather than being constructed in the rooms of the intellectuals in form of written words. The *Blocos Afro* are using the same foundations as in the negritude movement with idolization of Mother Africa to position their identity from an oppression perspective as well as the clear black identity which are the key elements in the negritude movement.

What can be seen though is that the language forms used reflect the identity for Afro-Brazilians. The language usage is a both to a way to show the resilience and emphasize the kindness the Afro-Brazilian society reflects. It presents the African in heritage with the greatness from the early African empire, reminding society that Africa is the cradle of mankind and has a long history of supreme culture compared to other parts of the world, e. g. the pharaohs. The *Blocos Afro* also use the names of important black men that have an impact of the world politics today as Kofi Annan and Nelson Mandela. The *Blocos Afro* are a negritude movement made accessible to a large part of the population by their lyrics.

### **3. Discussion**

My hypothesis was that the language forms found in the *Blocos Afro* discourses can be seen as expressions of Afro-Brazilian identity work and can be seen as being, at least thematically, connected to the negritude movement.

The Afro-Brazilian identity is strong, the Afro-Brazilians have a strength and pride in their inherited traditions which they show by picking up African references via

language, historical events and creating a clear position while their ingroup and outgroup can be linked to the colonizers and their actions. My hypothesis is proved as the language forms has a close connection to the Afro-Brazilian identity and can be thematically related to the negritude movement.

The socio-political situation has changed since the 1970s but not to a great extent so the struggle for the black population is still a fact, therefore their identity work continues to be important. The political situation in Brazil remains unstable and will most likely continue to be unstable in the future. The instability favors the rich population over the minorities, if we can call the largest part of the population a minority. The minority will continue to have to fight and speak for their group and identity for a long time.

The previous studies as example Brasil & Siles Vargas (2020) and Gómez Vergara, (2017) have been focused on either a cultural, social or historical perspective when it comes to the *Blocos Afro* in Salvador, and I believe that the suppression that Afro-Brazilians have lived under during many years must be shown and presented. It would be in line with the Black Lives Matters movement to highlight other countries' struggle as well.

My expectation from the beginning when I started the thesis work was that I would find a change in the lyrics regarding the social situation over time when there were big changes in Brazil, because it was a military dictatorship when *Blocos Afro* started in the seventies and today's democracy. But it is with sadness that I see that topics that were relevant in the beginning are just as relevant today. That the struggle that Afro-Brazilians have fought with and for many years has almost gone backwards in time in today's political climate and that a large part of the population is marginalized

Afro-Brazilians have a great pride in themselves and a community where their skin color creates both a community and a barrier. Community with other dark-skinned people but a barrier that has been built by the colonizers and that never has been

torn down. But the text writers in these cases use subtle references to the past and their own political beliefs.

My own experience of Salvador is that it is a welcoming city with great generosity, but that skin color matters. I've also had experience of the fact that when Brazilians talk badly and in a racist manner about Afro-Brazilians in the north-east of Brazil and just take it for granted that I must agree with their opinions, which I can't because my only experience is that I met people who work hard for their survival.

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## 5. Appendix – Quoted lyrics

### 5.1. *Alienação*, Ilê Aiyê (Pam, Mário & Teles, Sandro, 2005)

Se você tá afim de ofender  
É só chamá-lo de moreno, pode crer  
É desrespeito à raça, é alienação  
Aqui no Ilê Aiyê a preferência é ser chamado de negão  
Se você tá afim de ofender  
É só chamá-la de morena, pode crer  
Você pode até achar que impressiona  
Aqui no Ilê Ayê a preferência é ser chamada de Negona  
A consciência é o motivo principal  
Eu quero muito mais  
Alem de esporte e carnaval, natural  
Chega de eleger aqueles que tem  
Se o poder é muito bom  
Eu quero poder também  
Se você tá afim de ofender  
É só chamá-lo de moreno, pode crer  
É desrespeito a raça é alienação  
Aqui no Ilê Ayê a preferência é ser chamado de negão  
Se você tá afim de ofender  
É só chamá-la de morena, pode crer  
Você pode até achar que impressiona  
Aqui no Ilê Ayê a preferência é ser chamada de Negona  
O sistema tenta desconstruir  
Lhe afastar de suas origens  
Pra que você não possa interagir, construir  
Já passou da hora de acordar  
Assumir sua negritude é vital para prosperar  
Ser negro não é questão de pigmentação  
É resistência para ultrapassar a opressão, sem pressão  
Lutar sempre igualdade e humildade



Vou subir de Ilê Ayê  
E encantar toda cidade  
Se você tá afim de ofender  
É só chamá-lo de moreno, pode crer  
É desrespeito à raça, é alienação  
Aqui no Ilê Ayê a preferência é ser chamado de negão  
Se você tá afim de ofender  
É só chamá-la de morena, pode crer  
Você pode até achar que impressiona  
Aqui no Ilê Ayê a preferência é ser chamada de negona

## 5.2. *Um Povo Comum Pensar*, Olodum (Thee Suka, 1987)

Olha este som latino  
É de lá de Cuba  
Onde prá ter direitos  
Nada nos custa nao  
Latinamente um povo  
Negro carnaxe a cantar  
Bate em minha mente  
Um povo em comum pensar  
Rumba, Rumba  
Rumba Olodum  
Arriba vida  
Linda, Linda  
Pura e sem dor  
ô ô ô  
Com amor  
che che che  
che Guevara  
Mente  
Fontemente revolucionaria  
Fiel, Fidel  
Fiel, Fidel

Fidel castro  
Em pró de uma classe sofrida  
Proletária  
Leninista  
Olha este som latino  
É de lá de Cuba  
Onde prá ter direitos  
Nada nos custa nao  
Onde nao tem mendigos  
Nem tanto vilao  
Aonde o dinheiro  
Nao e uma obsessao

5.3. *Cordão Umbilical*, Ilê Aiyê (Bacalhau, Luís & Tavares, Juraci, 2001)

Da escuridão surge a Luz  
Útero negro, prosperidade  
Do negrume africano a humanidade  
Senhora Ébano, DNA do mundo , célula materna  
Primeira maternidade na terra  
Foi lá onde o homem começou na África  
Ilê Aiyê, África Fértil Salvador  
Ventreil fértil, sentimento profundo  
Mãe natural, fio inicial  
Africa do mundo eterno cordão umbilical  
Rebentos da mãe preta  
Europa, Oceania, Ásia, América  
Zumbi, Mandela, Egito  
Tecnologia de ferro, ilê aiyê ,Steve Biko  
Foi lá onde o homem começou na África  
Ilê Aiyê,África Fértil Salvador  
Colo de Ouro, Diamante, Marfim,  
Berço Gigante ... oralidade - veia essencial.  
África ilê , cantando o novo no ancestral

Filho baiano, Ilê Aiyê africano  
nobre consciente  
carrega a cor da mãe e dos demais consciente.  
Foi lá onde o homem começou na África  
Ilê Aiyê, África Fértil Salvador

5.4. *Envolvente história*, Ilê Aiyê (unknown writer and year)

Envolvente história de cultura e tradição  
Ilê traz como tema a rota do tambore do maranhão  
Tambores que tocam jeje, nagô, ketu e iouruba,  
Angola de congo , agô babá  
Fundou as casas das minas, aquotimé  
Trouxe raízes africanas e muito axé  
É majestoso seu brilho que resplandece  
A dança do bumba-meu-boi  
Todo mundo já conhece  
Odará ê odara  
Odará ê bumba-meu-boi, meu boi bumba

5.5. *Ajeumbo*, Cortejo Afro (Menezes, Aloísio & Portela, unknown year)

No ile de mae santinha de oya  
Nega tonha azuelo aje um sa  
O ogandi azuane azuelou  
Ado ala olubaje ja comecou  
Ae aje um bo  
Olubaje aje um bo  
No ile  
No ile de mae santinha de oya  
Nega tonha azuelo aje um sa  
O ogandi azuane azuelou  
Ado ala olubaje ja comecou  
Ae aje um bo  
Olubaje aje um bo

Aje um, aje um bo  
No ile  
No ile de mae santinha de oya  
Nega tonha azuelo aje um sa  
O ogandi azuane azuelou  
Ado ala olubaje ja comecou  
Ae aje um bo  
Olubaje aje um bo  
No ile

5.6. *Resistência Viva*, Ilê Aiyê (unknown writer and year)

Vem vem Vem  
Eu sou ilê Aiyê  
você poder ser também  
Vem vem Vem  
Eu sou ilê Aiyê  
você pode ser meu bem  
sou negro forte  
vou seguindo o meu caminho  
sei que não estou sozinho  
ilê vem me guiar  
Acendo a chama negra viva da paixão  
africana é a nação que conduz o meu cantar  
Vem vem Vem  
Eu sou ilê Aiyê  
você poder ser também  
Vem vem Vem  
Eu sou ilê Aiyê  
você pode ser meu bem  
Dos Quilombolas, segue a resistência viva  
resistente na batida ,na Bahia estendeu  
a bandeira da paz, da igualdade social

ilê Aiyê canta o seu ideal  
negro de paz e amor  
Vem vem Vem  
Eu sou ilê Aiyê  
você poder ser também  
Vem vem Vem  
Eu sou ilê Aiyê  
você pode ser meu bem  
Nos rufar dos tambores a mercê da negritude  
Levantando a galera para no curuzu bailar  
eu vou nesse swuinge com a banda aiyê  
minha beleza negra não me deixa só  
eu vou swuinge com banda aiyê  
eu sou ilê não me deixa só

5.7. *Laço Fraternal*, Ilê Aiyê (Jocylee, Rufino, Odé, Nascimento, Wostinho & Toinho do Vale, year unknown)

No Laço Fraternal Da Democracia  
Na Alma Desse Povo, Sentimento De Paz  
Ilê... Seu Canto É Forte A Todos Seduz  
Faz Renascer Das Cinzas Toda África  
Cultivando A Igualdade, Liberdade, Cultura, O Negro No Poder  
Se O Poder É Nosso, Ilê... Não Vamos Padecer  
Abidjan, Dakar, Abuja, Harare  
Ê Ô... Quem Dera Salvador  
Ter A Consciência Do Povo De Lá  
Ah, Ah, Se Você Fosse Assim  
A Cidade De Nossos Sonhos, É Só Deixar Fluir  
Abidjan, Dividida Em Dez Comunas  
Porém, Desenvolvida Em Termos Globais  
Arredores Do Ebrié, No Golfo Da Guiné  
Dakar, Um Importante Centro Cultural

Clima Agradável, Cidade Bonita  
Hedonística, Cosmopolita...  
Harare...Êh, Zimbabwe...  
Homenageia O Povo Shona, Ilê  
Abuja, Asokoro-Povo Vitorioso  
Se Espelhe Salvador!  
Abidjan, Dakar, Abuja, Harare

5.8. *Cetro de Mãe África*, Ilê Aiyê ((unknown writer and year)

Eu sou ilê  
Eu sou ilê  
Aiyê  
Entidade de matriz africana  
É lá que aprendemos a lidar desde menino  
Com os conflitos sociais  
E seus setores corrompidos  
Sou ilê  
Aiyê  
Sou consciência coletiva que eleva autoestima  
E eliminar desigualdades presente em nossas vidas  
Unidos os nossos militantes  
Um canto de reparação se mobiliza  
Ao som da orquestra percussiva  
Da minha banda aiyê  
É no axé  
Mãe jitolu  
Que cultuo a minha fé  
O meu santuário meu pilar  
Minhas forças vêm de lá  
Alcançamos a meta de uma aceitação satisfatória  
Jovens se autodeclaram negros  
Vivemos dias de glória  
Mas a segregação racial ainda assola

Seja no campo econômico  
Político até nas escolas  
Punho forte braços erguidos  
Caminhamos com olhar pra frente  
O cetro que herdamos de mãe África  
Ninguém irá tirar da gente  
É no axé  
Mãe jitolu que cultuo a minha fé  
O meu santuário meu pilar  
Minhas forças vêm de lá

5.9. *Olodum Força Divina*, Olodum (Matéria & Tonho, Betão, year unknown)

Supremo maior  
Da divindade da natureza  
No compasso do tempo  
Foi-se o bailar  
Desenvolvendo o mistério de Assis  
No firmamento das eras das luzes  
Malgaxe culto soberano  
Fertilizando o futuro de um sonho  
Melanésia leste do timor  
Florescente nascer do sol  
Um arco-íris na pura essência  
Tão cintilante supremo maior  
O que vai vai, O que vai vai Ahhh  
O que vai vai, O que vai vai Ohhh  
Diga lá, diga lá  
O que vai vai, O que vai vai Ahhh  
O que vai vai, O que vai vai o Olodum  
Deixa comigo...  
Oldum força divina da fonte da vida  
Que com seus mistérios trazem encantamento  
Pro nosso cantar, Hanavalona rainha primeira

Derradama revolucionou e com seus gritos  
Porém resumidos, o império ele comandou  
Na história comenta-se fatos tão profundos quanto  
O nosso ser, Olodum representa cultura,  
Arco-íris, força e poder.  
O que vai vai, O que vai vai Ahhh  
O que vai vai, O que vai vai Ohhh  
Quero ouvir, quero ouvir  
O que vai vai, O que vai vai Ahhh  
O que vai vai, O que vai vai o Olodum

5.10. *Diferentes, Mas Iguais*, Ilê Aiyê (Pam, Mario & Teles, Sandro, year unknown)

Elevar a auto estima é a sua missão  
Consciência negra é a sua sina  
Fabricando interlocutores de cidadania  
Mostrando pra o mundo desigual a covardia  
Consciência é o fruto da nossa vitória irmão  
O futuro é nosso com certeza  
Cantaremos em prosas e versos essa nossa ascensão  
Com a força que emana da raça e o poder da canção  
Êa Ilê  
Êa Êa Ilê  
Êa Êa Ilê  
Ilê Aiyê  
Zumbi  
É o reflexo da nossa luta irmão  
Revela o poder da resistência  
E o Ilê vem mostrando a força dos seus ideais  
Ao clamar que somos diferentes, mas iguais.



5.11. *Deusa do Ébano*, Ilê Aiyê (Do Rósario Lima, Geraldo, 1989)

Minha crioula  
Eu vou contar para você  
Que estás tão linda  
No meu bloco Ilê-Aiyê  
Com suas trancas muitas originalidade  
Pela avenida cheia de felicidade  
Deusa do ébano  
Ê, deusa do ébano  
Ê, deusa do ébano  
Ê, deusa do ébano  
Todos os valores  
De uma raça estão presentes  
Na estrutura deste bloco diferente  
Por isto eu canto pelas ruas da cidade  
Pra você minha crioula  
Minha cor  
Minhas verdades  
Deusa do ébano  
Ê, deusa do ébano  
Ê, deusa do ébano  
Ê, deusa do ébano  
Ê, deusa do ébano

5.12. *Lalibela Olodum*, Olodum (Lima, Alisson & Lima, Angelo, year unknown)

Na cruz de Lalibela eu vou  
Pelourinho Roma-negra é salvador  
Na cruz de Lalibela eu vou  
Pelourinho Roma-negra é salvador  
É Um Templo Sagrado que vem da Etiópia  
E essa história eu prometo te contar  
Com os pés descalços

Eu vou me curar  
E agradecer ao todo poderoso Jah!  
Na cruz de Lalibela eu vou  
Pelourinho Roma- negra é salvador  
Na cruz de Lalibela eu vou  
Pelourinho Roma- negra é salvador  
É terça-feira é domingo  
Que os tambores aquecem  
Logo que o sol vai sumindo  
Meu coração estremece  
É Pelourinho Olodum  
Com seu rufar magistral  
Sou pagador de promessas  
Sou um olodúnico espiritual  
Na cruz de Lalibela eu vou  
Pelourinho Roma- negra é salvador  
Na cruz de Lalibela eu vou  
Pelourinho Roma- negra é salvador  
Jerusalém, Pelourinho  
Roma na mesma unção  
Lalibela a capital da salvação  
Todos carregam a cruz cantando a mesma canção  
Lalibela, Olodum estão no meu coração  
Na cruz de Lalibela eu vou  
Pelourinho Roma- negra é salvador  
Na cruz de Lalibela eu vou  
Pelourinho Roma- negra é salvador

5.13. *Cenário Negro Na Simpatia Do Ilê*, Ilê Aiyê (Evangalista, Genivaldo & Fulô, Amiltonegro, 1996)

É que eu sou um negro dotado  
sou um negro dotado do que Ilê Aiyê  
sou um negro dotado

sou do curuzu venha me ver sim mãe  
oh venha me ver sim mãe no ilê aiyê  
é que o mundo hoje esta evolucionado  
e o Ilê Aiyê mamãe ,traz de volta o cenário negro  
Não somos negros dispersos não  
somos negro dotado ilê  
vem do curuzu liberdade aiyê  
invadindo a cidade negra  
o negro simpatiza com negra  
negra é pura firmeza  
raça negra ilê  
pega na minha mão  
vou mostrar o swingue ilê  
vou mostrar a beleza aiyê  
e as nossas danças  
Seu corpo tem gingado e balança  
negra de trança que me faz delírar  
deusa do Ébano  
Seu corpo negro, Seu corpo negra  
seu corpo negro do Ilê Aiyê  
seu corpo  
negro negro negro  
seu corpo  
negra negra negra  
seu corpo do negro Ilê Aiyê

5.14. *A Dança do Boi*, Ilê Aiyê (Robert'san & Santos, Duda, year unknown)

Disciplina, mistério e magia,  
Casa Fant Ashanti  
Rota do tambor  
Recebia o nome de Sofia  
Massinokou Alapong Cufô  
Mãe de santo bem sucedida

Assim chegou ao Brasil  
Vendida como escrava  
Muitas coisas ela assumiu  
Fundou o terreiro do Egito  
Tenda de São Jorge, Ourã da Nação  
E hoje assim se consagra  
Rota dos tambores no Maranhão  
Boi bumbar, boi bumbar,  
Zabumba, ê  
Meu boi bumbar  
Boi bumbar, boi bumbar,  
Olha a dança do boi  
Boi bumbar, boi bumbar,  
Zabumba, ê  
Meu boi bumbar  
Boi bumbar, boi bumbar,  
Olha a dança do boi  
Recebendo entidades de linha, Gegê e Nagô  
Dim, dim, dim do agôgô  
Vó Serena era considerada, ser mais forte,  
O som do seu tambor  
Se junta o sagrado e o profano,  
No cortejo de rara beleza  
Oh, divino Espírito Santo  
Protetor dessa dessa minha raça negra  
Oh, divino Espírito Santo  
Protetor dessa dessa minha raça negra  
Da uma punga, umbigada na outra,  
Faz parte da dança tambor de crioula  
Encosta barriga com barriga  
Girando, girando  
Passando uma pra outra  
Encosta barriga com barriga

Girando, girando  
Passando uma pra outra

5.15. *Um Canto de Evolução*, Ilê Aiyê (Mancini, Sid & Nascimento, Wostinho,  
year unknown)

Sou ilê o ano inteiro  
Um canto de evolução  
Somos o afro pioneiro identidade negra  
Criatividade e elegância  
Da Bahia para o mundo eu sou ilê aiyê  
45 anos de resistencia pois é  
Aliados as forças sagradas do candomblé axé axé  
Privilegiando a trajetória do povo negro  
A resistência da raça em pró liberdade  
A avenida escurece a negrada orgulhosa  
Chegou o povo preto da cidade  
Ilê aiyê templo da negritude  
É a África reapresentada  
Na beleza da sua história  
Suas lutas e vitórias  
Reflete em sua batucada  
Diz ai que bloco é esse  
Hipnotizante lindo de se ver  
Quem é é o ilê aiyê eu quero ouvir é o ilê aiyê  
Crença em cortejo afro descendente  
Um mundo negro somos, mas você  
Quem é é o ilê aiyê é o ilê aiyê  
Diz ai que bloco é esse  
Hipnotizante lindo de se ver  
Quem é é o ilê aiyê eu quero ouvir é o ilê aiyê  
Crença em cortejo afro descendente  
Um mundo negro somos, mas você  
Quem é é o ilê aiyê é o ilê aiyê

De torço black power ou trança  
Sem desigualdade ideologia do ilê  
Combate ao racismo sem perder de vista  
Histórias cultura e religião  
Batemos no peito cantamos em couro  
Mãe hilda jitulu pedimos proteção  
Ritmado dançando o ijexá  
Roupas coloridas, sem discriminação  
Diz ai que bloco é esse  
Hipnotizante lindo de se ver  
Quem é é o ilê aiyê eu quero ouvir é o ilê aiyê  
Crença em cortejo afro descendente  
Um mundo negro somos, mas você  
Quem é é o ilê aiyê é o ilê aiyê  
Diz ai que bloco é esse  
Hipnotizante lindo de se ver  
Quem é é o ilê aiyê eu quero ouvir é o ilê aiyê  
Crença em cortejo afro descendente  
Um mundo negro somos, mas você  
Quem é é o ilê aiyê é o ilê aiyê

5.16. *Chão Sagrado*, Ilê Aiyê (Boquinha, Milton, Lima, Martio & Moura, Roberto, 2006)

A minha pele é negra  
Tenho orgulho de dizer  
Sou do Curuzu  
Sou liberdade  
Sou do bloco Ilê Aiyê  
Abri as portas pro mundo  
Sou de descendência africana  
Respeito a minha ancestralidade  
De zumbi a Mandela  
Grandes guerreiros desigualdade

O mundo não quer desigualdade, não  
Pra vivermos como irmãos  
Esse chão sagrado  
É barro massapé  
Se chover escorrega  
Se segura no Ilê  
Pode pisar  
Pisa, pisa então pode pisar  
Que esse chão é meu  
Pisa, pisa então pode pisar  
Ele também é seu

5.17. *Negro Alegre*, Ilê Aiyê (Nascimento, Aldo & Nascimento, Joel, year unknown)

Deus santo  
É um negro alegre  
Que veio do parto  
Da mãe África  
Ritmando o que vem do infinito  
Encantando o nosso paraíso  
Sou Ilê Aiyê  
Faço parte dessa história  
Sou um negro lindo  
Deriva de angola  
Ilê Aiyê  
Riqueza da Raça Humana  
Ilê Aiyê  
Esperança soberana  
Liberdade é a minha casa  
Curuzu é a minha ala  
Senzala do Barro Preto  
Onde tudo começou

Canta forte, canta negro  
Ilê se consagrou

5.18. *Exclusão*, Ilê Aiyê (Bispo Dos Santos, Adailton, 1989)

É difícil chegar  
Ultrapassar obstáculos dessa exclusão  
Eu sou breu,  
Eu sou Ilê Aiyê  
Eu sou Benedita da Silva o mundo sabe porque  
Foram tantos Doutores e bisturis  
cortando e sorrindo pra mim  
depois de grandes omissões  
Arrasta pé Curuzu-Liberdade  
e cai na cidade do Breu dessa multidão  
E o Ilê Aiyê que hoje é carnaval  
e o mundo cai na real e vive essa emoção  
Oh! Ya Laoré  
Oh! Nicotuluxê

5.19. *Eu digo Jah*, Olodum (Jauperi, 2018)

A realidade do negro  
na Etiópia é muito dura  
eles ferem nossos corações  
então sofremos sem ter cura.  
Negros a perecer  
gente sem água para beber  
como vão ficar  
sem o pão pra se alimentar.  
É de cortar o coração  
crianças deitadas no chão  
morrem de inanição  
sem forças pra se levantar



Mas o Olodum, Grande Rei  
teve um sonho, profecia  
da esperança que mudará  
o negro da Etiópia e da Bahia.  
Eu digo Jah  
Eu digo Jah  
Eu digo Jah... ô Jah, Jah (repete)  
Crianças vão ficar  
elas vão sobreviver  
e ao mundo alimentar  
os que de fome irão morrer  
Ganância impera  
Chernobyl, Angra dos Reis  
vamos falar de paz  
parar com isso de uma vez  
Firmar os pés no chão  
alegria vamos ter  
nasce uma nova geração  
e o negro no poder  
Nas esquinas do país o mundo pode ver  
que tem gente abandonada e de fome vai morrer  
preconceitos continuam na sociedade  
pois quem tem dinheiro compra tudo com facilidade  
os negros nos programas de televisão  
quando não é doméstico, só pode ser vilão  
e você preste atenção e leve fé no que eu digo:  
ladrão no meu país, só anda vestido

5.20. *Negro de Luz*, Ilê Aiyê (Carvalho, Edson, 1989)

Eu não tenho a força  
Só porque sou o primeiro  
E simplesmente por ser Ilê  
O Quilombo dos negros de luz

Saudando a força  
De todos os quilombolas  
Que lutavam bravamente  
Para manter viva  
A nossa história  
Vamos exaltar a heroína Zeferina  
Akotirene experiência e o saber  
Aqaltune guerreira princesa negra  
Negra Dandara rainha da beleza  
Ganga Zumba outro nosso grande líder  
A todo povo que a raça negra fez valer  
Esse quilombo que hoje completa 15 anos  
Ao líder Quilombola vovô do Ilê Aiyê  
A epopeia negra hoje é narrada  
E vai cantando o coral negro Ilê Aiyê  
Rei Zumbi D'Angola Djanga  
Rei Rei Zumbi  
Rei Zumbi D'Angola Djanga  
Rei Rei Zumbi  
Rei Zumbi D'Angola Djanga  
Rei Rei Zumbi  
Madeira Ôooo  
Madeira Ôooo  
Madeira Ôooo  
Vamos exaltar a heroína Zeferina  
Akotirene experiência e o saber  
Aqaltune guerreira princesa negra  
Negra Dandara rainha da beleza  
Ganga Zumba outro nosso grande líder  
A todo povo que a raça negra fez valer  
Esse quilombo que hoje completa 15 anos  
Ao líder Quilombola vovô do Ilê Aiyê

A epopeia negra hoje narrada  
E vai cantando o coral negro Ilê Aiyê  
Rei Zumbi D'Angola Djanga  
Rei Rei Zumbi  
Rei Zumbi D'Angola Djanga  
Rei Rei Zumbi  
Rei Zumbi D'Angola Djanga  
Rei Rei Zumbi  
Madeira Ôooo  
Cem anos sem abolição  
Se tiver de ser, será sim!  
Nós faremos Palmares de novo  
Vamos escrever a nossa verdadeira história  
Zumbi não morreu!  
Ele esta vivo em cada um de nós  
Será que eles não veem?  
Será que eles não ouvem o nosso grito de liberdade?  
Valeu, Zumbi!  
Madeira Ôooo

5.21. *Afirmção Ao Poder*, Ilê Aiyê (Cruz, Roberto, Maneiro, Jucka & Sandoval,  
year unknown)

Longa trajetória  
Descortinando a história  
Um marco de luta, um fato real  
Hoje somos referência  
Negros em evidência  
Capacitados, político-cultural  
Desde Ganga Zumba, em Palmares  
A Nelson Mandela  
A afirmação ao poder  
Minha cidade eu quero ela  
Personalizados

Sobreviventes nessa meta  
No processo de escrita  
Reescrita é a história dessa terra  
Eu quero ela  
O poder dessa cidade bela  
Quem me dera  
Odara  
Sábias serão minhas idéias  
Sócio-educativa, cultural  
Ilê Aiyê  
Exemplo, igualdade pra vida  
Pomba voa, paz na terra  
Kofi Annan que o diga  
Somos nós  
Celebidades negras vivas  
Hilda Jitolú, Stela Oxóssi  
Abdias, Inácio, Brito, Gil  
Sacramento, Alberto, Gilmar, Olívia  
Benedita, Edson Arantes  
Matilde, Narcélio, Neuza  
Santana, Venereda, Assunção e Antônio Carlos  
O nosso quilombola  
Eu quero ela  
O poder dessa cidade bela  
Quem me dera  
Odara

5.22. *Ilê Aiyê Nos Cinco Continentes*, Ilê Aiyê (Brito, Valmir & Santtus, Genilson, year unknown)

(Rei Gungunhana) teu povo negro declama  
E as mulheres nas Machambas Logo em frente com catanas  
Ilha de Moçambique era a velha capital  
Escala na rota da navegação de civilizações

Em busca do ouro no Oceano Índico Ocidental  
Iniciando ali a povoação Swahili com Árabes e Negros  
Hoje Maputo é capital mais antes ali chamava  
Baía de Lourenço Marques centro comercial  
Ali Diversas transações com tantas civilizações  
A economia era administrada com influências de Portugal  
O nosso grito ecoou pelos cinco continentes  
Coragem ao clamar por liberdade e igualdade  
Sempre será meu avô a riqueza desta gente negra

Vanwana vutari Moçambique Ilê Aiyê  
Acusaram consciência e poder com Dimbê  
E as mulheres nas Machambas Logo em frente com catanas  
Moçambique meu eu é você sua história o mundo marcou  
Moçambique não posso esquecer a batalha que você travou  
Ver seu canto traduzido discutido em Salvador  
Pelo poder da resistência o transigente Ilê Aiyê cantou  
(Rei Gungunhana) teu povo negro declama  
E as mulheres nas Machambas Logo em frente com catanas

### 5.23. *Mundo Cão*, Olodum (Veneno, Reni, 1994)

As encostas vão caindo  
Tudo desabando  
E o povo vai morrendo  
E ninguém está ligado  
Inscrição para trabalho  
Em algum órgão público  
Você paga a sua taxa  
E eles comem tudo  
Mas que país esse estou entregue às feras  
Ninguém resolveu o caso dos sem terras  
E esse bombardeio de regiões  
O país já esqueceu daquele sete anos

Mas que mundo é esse  
É um mundo cão  
Você paga seus impostos  
E não vê solução  
Por isso povo brasileiro vamos protestar  
De uma forma correta, sem violência  
Vendo a pessoa certa  
Pra voce votar  
Eu quero mais saúde, mais educação  
Mais divisão de renda, mais alimentação  
Vamos clamar por jah  
ô ô ô ô ô ô  
help, help, jah  
help, help, jah  
help, help, jah  
help, help, jah  
Olodum vem clamar jah

5.23. *Vozes Da Floresta Macua*, Ilê Aiyê (Guellwar, year unknown)

Vou de Ilê pra falar de Moçambique  
Pode até dobrar o repique  
Samora, guerreiro, Mashell  
Negra estrela a brilhar no céu  
Filha de África, maravilha de África  
Macondes resistência feminina  
Onde Negras mulheres não se curvam ao machismo universal  
E contra mão colonial  
Viva Samora Mashell  
Que em nome da Independência  
Botou Portugal no banco dos réus  
Gungunhana Vutlari  
Samora Mashell - Moçambique  
Vou de Ilê, pra falar de Moçambique

Pode dobrar o repique Banda Aiyê ...  
Maputo, Zambézia, Sofala  
Filha de África, maravilha de África  
Um Shangana me ensinou a ter orgulho dos meus ancestrais  
Quando a mão bela jogar o Tinholo  
Shykuembu vai responder e o Ilê Aiyê todo vai cantar:  
Nyereré, Nyereré ... a luz do Pantera Negra  
Nyereré, Nyereré ... Josina Muthemba Mashell  
Nyereré, Nyereré ... Deusa do Ébano de Moçambique  
Nyereré, Nyereré ... Negra, guerreira e feminista!