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“O Negro No Poder -The Power in Black”

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 Ayiê, 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 *Bloco 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 *Bloco 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 *Bloco 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 student1]: 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…1] (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

1 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 Ayìê, Cortejo Afro and Olodum. Ilê Ayìê 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 Ayìê 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 Ayìê has five. Olodum, Cortejo Afro and Ilê Ayìê 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 Ayìê 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 Ayìê, 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 Ayìê 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 carnaval 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 carnaval (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 Ayiê 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 Ayiê, 2005) “ser negro não é questão de pigmentação” [being black is not a matter of pigmentation].

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
Negritude is not a word that appears as highly frequent in the corpus of 250 lyrics shown in figure 1 the Word Cloud Cluster. It is only specifically mentioned nine times in all the lyrics, but the themes found in the enacted discourses of the lyrics are, as I show in the analysis, thematically connected to negritude as a movement.

I identified themes relating to negritude which I can categorize into three different areas. The first can be connected to the African continent with language usage connected to African languages as Yoruba and different epithets (Encyclopædia Britannica, Negritude, n.d.). The second category is connected to black identity and community (Encyclopædia Britannica, Negritude, n.d.). And the third category is connected to the colonialism (Encyclopædia Britannica, Negritude, n.d.).

What regards the first area, the connection to Africa and the African origin, the following quotes express negritude and identity by showing the ancestors’ origin with specific language and history “Africaness”. In the lyrics, exterior references to Africa are shown by using language as example Yoruba, by mentioning the names of various African countries, and pride of the ancestral history since Africa

Figure 1Word Cloud cluster

2 Created by me.
was the crate for humanity and one of the first empires (Encyclopædia Britannica, 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 crate 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] (*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 of Congo, agô babá] (*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] (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 1st 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] 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] 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] (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] (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] (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\(^1\) (Resistência Viva, Ilê Aiyê). Since Quilomobos 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\(^1\)]. 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\(^1\)] (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 race1] (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 Aro 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 axé1] (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 freedom1 or I am freedom1. “Liberdade é a minha casa” (Negro Alegre, Ilê Aiyê) - Freedom is my home1 or Freedom is my house1.

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 suppressions1] (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 Bahia1] (Eu digo Jah, Olodum, 2018). “Será que eles não ouvem o nosso grito de liberdade?” [Will they not hear our cry for freedom?1] (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 alive1] (Afirmação Ao Poder, Ilê Aiyê).

In Afirmação 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 sang1] (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
ovo 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
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 jah1] (*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 equality1] (*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 machismo1] (*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 machetes1] (*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] (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 1st 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 carnaval or shown in the quote “Pra você minha crioula, minha cor, minhas verdades” [For you my creole, my color, my truths] (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] (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
ó ó ó ó
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 não
Onde não tem mendigos
Nem tanto vilão
Aonde o dinheiro
Não é uma obsessão

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
África 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 tambores do maranhão
Tambores que tocam jeje,nagô, ketu e iouruba,
Angola de congo , agô babá
Fundou as casas das minas, aquotimé
Trouxe raizes 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 começou
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 começou
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 camecou  
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 bairar
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 Fraterno, Ilê Aiyê (Joccylee, Rufino, Odé, Nascimento, Wostinho & Toinho do Vale, year unknown)

No Laço Fraterno Da Democrácia
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 Ó... 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 tranças 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


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


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
invasindo 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 criola
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 jìtulu pedimos proteção
Ritmado dançando o ijexá
Roupas coloridas, sem descriminação
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 massapê
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


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… ó 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 heróiña Zeferina
Akotirene experiência e o saber
Aqualtune 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
Madeira Ôooo
Madeira Ôooo
Madeira Ôooo
Vamos exaltar a heróiña Zeferina
Akotirene experiência e o saber
Aqualtune 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 está 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. *Afirmação 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
Celebridades 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 ninguem esta ligado
Inscricao para trabalho
Em algum orgao publico
Voce paga a sua taxa
E eles comem tudo
Mas que pais esse estou entregue as feras
Ninguem resolveu o caso dos sem terras
E esse bombardeio de regioes
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 você 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. *Voices From the Macua Forest, 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
Shykuembut 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!