AARHUS UNIVERSITY

Coversheet

This is the accepted manuscript (post-print version) of the article.

Contentwise, the accepted manuscript version is identical to the final published version, but there may be differences in typography and layout.

How to cite this publication

Please cite the final published version:

Derek Pardue (2018) Creole chronotopes: the convergences of time and place in becoming black, *Identities*, 25:4, 417-435, DOI: [10.1080/1070289X.2016.1260015](https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2016.1260015)

Publication metadata

Title:	Creole chronotopes: the convergences of time and place in becoming black
Author(s):	Derek Pardue
Journal:	<i>Identities</i>
DOI/Link:	10.1080/1070289X.2016.1260015
Document version:	Accepted manuscript (post-print)

General Rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognize and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

If the document is published under a Creative Commons license, this applies instead of the general rights.

Creole Chronotopes: the Convergences of Time and Place in Becoming Black

Abstract: The emergence of Kriolu or Cape Verdean Creole as a black identity should be understood in terms of chronotope, a dynamic iteration that combines time and place in the name of collective identity. The case of Cape Verdean migrants in Lisbon, Portugal contributes to current debates on blackness as a 'becoming' and a complex set of practices by underscoring the role of encounters, both mundane and structural, in racialized formations. I draw from my fieldwork with Cape Verdean rappers and archival research in Lisbon between 2007 and 2013 to suggest that the particularities of Kriolu hold general theoretical lessons on the importance of migrancy and, by extension, space and temporality, in the process of racialization.

Keywords: Creole, chronotope, blackness, Cape Verde, Lisbon

Acknowledgements: I want to thank John Burdick for his encouragement. I especially recognize Chullage, Jorginho and LBC for their patience in explaining various parts of black migrant life in Portugal. I also want to thank the tireless work of Cape Verdean sociologist and activist Redy Wilson Lima. Our conversations have always been engaging and instructive. These voices and actions provide the raw energy of the text. Of course, any oversights or missteps are my own responsibility.

The stiff gusts of wind coming off the Tagus river and penetrating rays of the Lisbon sun had gradually begun to wane and Jorginho's energy had dropped. Over the past few hours we had sat chatting about family, music and migration in a minuscule, dilapidated park central to the "social" or project housing neighborhood of Arrentela, located on the south side of the Tagus, the natural border that separates Lisbon proper from the *margem sul* (South side). The Cape Verdean rapper and producer had patiently recounted his migrant trajectories from Praia, the capital city of the Atlantic archipelago, to the margins of Mindelo, the main city on another Cape Verdean island, back to Praia, then to a downtown neighborhood of Lisbon and then to an improvised shanty called Pedreira dos Húngaros at the end of the 1990s. Pedreira was one of the many neighborhoods, which has been demolished as part of the PER (Special Program of Relocation), a public-private partnership formed in 1993 and still currently operational. After Pedreira was demolished, Jorginho moved to the planned neighborhood of Arrentela. With a gesture of closure, I asked, "so, with all that said, how do you feel about living in Portugal?" Jorginho turned, paused, studied my face and replied, '*Ami é Kriolu. Kel li é realidade.*' (I am Creole. This right here is reality).

'Kriolu'¹ refers to the hybrid combination of Portuguese and West African languages such as Temne, Wolof, Manjak and Mandingo. Cape Verde as a place and nascent identity resulted from the first Portuguese-West African contacts in 1460, beginning with the settlement at Ribeira Grande, located on the island of Santiago a few kilometers outside of the current capital city of Praia. Kriolu initiated during this period and was developed through the institutionalized violence of the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Green 2011). Creolization in religious practices was noted at the turn of the 16th century and Kriolu as a language was formally observed at least by the early 17th century (Green 2010). This approximate timeline makes Cape Verde the first creole society in the Atlantic world predating the Caribbean phenomena by over a century. Kriolu has continued as the national but unofficial language of

Cape Verdeans at ‘home’ on the archipelago, located four hundred miles west off the coast of Senegal, and abroad in the widespread Cape Verdean diaspora.

There are an estimated 65,000 self-identified Cape Verdeans living in the Lisbon metropolitan area.² The majority live outside of Lisbon proper in state-subsidized ‘social’ neighborhoods or improvised housing communities. While certain neighborhoods, such as Alto da Cova da Moura, may be described as Cape Verdean ethnic enclaves, most Cape Verdeans share space with other PALOP (African Countries with Portuguese as Official Language), including ‘white’ Portuguese *retornado* (‘the returned’) families from the former colonies and, more recently, Brazilian, Eastern European and South Asian migrants. Over the past several years I have heard similar summary statements as Jorginho’s from Cape Verdean youth in Lisbon. ‘I am Creole’ [and hence I am not Portuguese] seems to be an affirmation of identity politics, a commonplace sign of migrant subjectivity and a claim of difference between host and home cultures. However, transnational identities such as Black and Creole are not neat, separate categories and deserve a more nuanced analysis, one which foregrounds the unique properties of what Iain Chambers describes as ‘migrancy,’ an identification based on the “knowledge of an itinerary” (1994: 5). In this article I propose that the ‘itinerary’ is made meaningful through a series of selective time-space articulations or chronotopes.

From 2007 to 2013 I carried out four separate research visits to Lisbon, Portugal and Praia, Cape Verde. In sum, I spent a year conducting informal interviews with 34 Kriolu rappers and hip hop activists in addition to attending 20 live musical performances and 10 studio recordings. For the purposes of this article, I decided to use the actual artistic names of three of the five rappers featured including Jorginho, Chullage and Ghoya. Karlon and Def are pseudonyms. I based my choice primarily on the level of interaction during fieldwork and the general recognition by the public. I met several times with members of the former group and established a working relationship including an understanding that I could use their

artistic names in publications if they agreed to the basic content, while I only had the fortune to interview the latter group twice and we did not reach this level of rapport.

Overall, my interlocutors were predominantly young men who were born on the Cape Verdean island of Santiago and migrated to Lisbon as children in the late 1980s and early 90s. This period represents one of the last ‘booms’ of Cape Verdean migration to Lisbon, attracted by a relatively stable Portuguese economy and a healthy, informal labor market. In recent times, it is this age group that has become one of the most precarious after the global recession beginning in 2008 and the subsequent structural adjustment policies carried out by the Portuguese state (Weeks 2015).

My consultants identify as *badiu*, which literally translates as a ‘derelict’ from the Portuguese cognate of *vadiu* but more pragmatically signifies both the Santiago island variant of Kriolu and a pejorative term for ‘black’ and ‘dangerous,’ not only among Portuguese but also Cape Verdeans from other islands in the archipelago. As sociologist Lima has described in his work in Praia, Kriolu rappers have been part of a general popular culture movement to subvert the negative stigma of ‘badiu’ and turn it into a symbol of racial and island pride (Lima, in press). In addition, I consulted archives at the SGL (Geographical Society of Lisbon), BN (National Library), the AHU (Historical Archive of the Overseas Territories) with particular attention given to the late colonial period after the Berlin Conference (1884-5) and Portugal’s role in subsequent European ‘reinvestment’ in Africa. Finally, I consulted community archives in Lisbon neighborhoods with large populations of Cape Verdean migrants, such as Alto da Cova da Moura and Catajal.

As described above, my interlocutors are not representative of all Cape Verdeans, or even Cape Verdeans in Lisbon, but rather represent specific characteristics. i.e., poor, black / badiu, male, politically active, usually 1st or 2nd generation immigrants and residence in marginalized suburbs. Nevertheless, given the historical and existential milieu of the great

majority of Cape Verdeans, meditations regarding location ('this right here') and reality ('realidadi'), borrowed from Jorginho, suggest certain general links between time and space in the process of identification.

I argue that the emergence of Kriolu or Cape Verdean Creole as a black identity can only be understood in terms of chronotope, a dynamic iteration that combines time and place in the name of collective identity. For linguist Jan Blommaert, "chronotope" enables us to avoid an analytical separation of behavior and context (Blommaert 2015) and create a more systematic inclusion of space and time as dynamic elements in social interaction. In this manner the forces of migration (space) and historicity (making sense of past events and, as the Haitian historian-anthropologist Michel Trouillot insisted, "the narrative of such facts"³) are central to the analysis. The challenge in chronotopic analyses, as implied by Dent (2009) in his work on Brazilian country music, is to integrate time-space and not simply juxtapose them as independent elements of experience. More specific to the case at hand, I show the articulations of problematic historicities of Portuguese nationalism with equally ambiguous identity practices of Cape Verdean creole. What brings these two fields together and produces national mythologies of mixture and inclusion as well as resistant difference of black politics is race, defined as encounter.

Over the next pages I describe critically what is at stake in claiming that Kriolu is a black identity. The point is not that contemporary Kriolu rappers simply embrace blackness and rail against racism during Portuguese colonialism or expose current police aggression in predominantly Cape Verdean neighborhoods. These personal and structural aspects of Portuguese racism are, of course, true and have been reported and analyzed by others (e.g., Meintel 1984; Ferraz 2013). Rather, I argue that the articulation of Cape Verdean blackness requires a complex reckoning of apparently contradictory histories and national identification narratives, due to what I call the 'rub' between 'creole' and 'black.' I suggest that movement,

migration, diasporic sensibilities and the encounter compose the dominant experiential frame with which Kriolu rappers give voice to paradigmatic chronotopes in Luso and Luso-African identities, including ‘tuga,’ ‘pretuguês/pretugal’ and ‘nigga.’

Creole, Blackness and the Rub

Creole, and the more processual “creolization,” focus our attention on the self-other encounter and the resulting creativity of new, multiple, hybrid cultural practices. The utterance of “creole” conjures several disciplinary paradigms and multiple histories of colonialism and postcolonialism. Creole is national identity in Haiti, Martinique, Cape Verde and Mauritius. It is regional identity in the US and Brazil. Historians have traced creole’s influence as one of the products of the European colonial encounter in particularly West Africa, South Asia and the Caribbean (Green 2011; Cohen and Sherringham 2008; Vaughan 2005; Benitez-Rojo 2003). Moreover, linguists have deployed creole as a category of analysis for micro-talk, socio-linguistic context and philological genesis (Alleyne 1971; Baptiste 2002; Chaudenson 1977). Within the discipline of anthropology scholars have recuperated creolization, along with other terms such as “hybridization,” “transculturation,” and “syncretism,” to explain the flexibility of contemporary globalization and thus resolve the problematic nexus of subjectivity, identification and social agency.

Unsurprisingly, “creole” is dynamic across time and space and the lack of dialogue between the linguistic and cultural theory camps has contributed to creole’s problematic status as an analytical category. Some scholars and cultural activists, particularly from the lesser Antilles (Glissant 1989; Bernabé, Chamoiseau and Confiant 1990), have tried to extrapolate local contexts to a global scale. Concomitantly, cultural critics have heralded creole as a “master metaphor/symbol” that links coloniality to current realities, more generally, under the paradigm of globalization (Hannerz 1987; Clifford 1994; cf. Khan 2001), while others insist that “creole” is meaningful only in terms of the local and must remain a

lowercase term of cultural relativism and historical specificity of power relations (Palmié 2006; Mintz 1998). As the debate is entrenched and interdisciplinary patience wears thin, the result has been a general abandoning of space in the use of creole / creolization as an analytical tool.

For its part, “blackness” has also undergone post-structural deconstruction, a systematic investigation into the heterogeneous processes by which people define and deploy this category. Just as with “creole,” the scales of application vary from individual and sub-national to the transnational and global, most often amplified through popular culture, including rap-as-black music, social media posts and hashtags (e.g., #blacklivesmatter, #somostodosalvos [‘we are all targets’]) concerning state violence. Blackness also mobilizes cadres of linguists and cultural critics to produce theories of expressive culture (Alim 2004; Wright 2003). However, while both creole and blackness have been opened up as identity categories to allow for process and variability, there remains a seemingly irreconcilable difference based on the notion that creole is necessarily about mixture and blackness, however mobile, is ontologically bounded and thus not dependent on the encounter.

Cape Verdean Creole as Identity/Language

Cape Verde shares with other archipelagoes an identification anxiety (Challinor 2008; Cohen and Sherringham 2008; Vergés 2007). Due to their multiple relationships of (inter)dependency, including but not limited to Portugal, England, Holland, Italy, the US, Senegal and Guinea-Bissau, which have shaped transatlantic migration trajectories since the 15th century, Cape Verdeans identify as “European,” “African,” “American” “black,” “crioulo”, “kriolu” or simply from the “good soil” (*di terra sabi*). Historian Toby Green explains that Africa’s spatial proximity influenced the creation and development of Cape Verdean Creole and, as such, was unique and “significant but varied from island to island” thereby making CVC “hybrid before it became diasporic” (Green 2010: 162, 163).

Symbolically, Cape Verde exchanged the flag colors of red, green and gold, the dominant palette of the majority of sub-Saharan African nation-states, for the European Union-friendly blue with outlining stars. Politically, Cape Verdean leaders transit between ECOWAS (Economic Community of West Africa), most recently in pursuit of ‘special status’ in order to protect the archipelago from unrestricted West African travelers, and the EU, where since 2007 Cape Verde has benefitted from a ‘special partnership’ involving political and economic relations. This ambiguity, or at least multiplicity, in spatial and racial orientation exemplifies typical definitions of creole societies (Cohen and Toninato 2010) and helps contextualize the sweeping comments of, for example, Rodrigues, when she states that Cape Verde was established “in both continuity and discontinuity with Portuguese identity...” (2003:94).

As many scholars have demonstrated (Handler 1988; Malkki 1995; Herzfeld 2009), the contested imaginations of place are essential elements in national identification, which are then naturalized and reified as singular and unifying by state apparatus and national elites. Again, spatial variability is at the heart of identification processes. The case of Cape Verde is particularly remarkable when one considers the total population of the archipelago is approximately 500,000 with about the same number living in the widely dispersed diaspora.

Cape Verde is a diasporic nation in that the sentiment of collective identity includes migration and often serial migration. Anthropologists, such as Trajano Filho (2005), Lobo (2012), and Carling and Batalha (2008), have argued that diasporic frameworks engender a network of social relationships necessary to exchange gifts, information and personal items that in turn helps shape a recognized creole, Cape Verdean identity. Lobo, following Carreira (1977) and Bull (1989) among other West African cultural historians, makes the important observation that mobility has been a cultural value of Cape Verdeans from at least the time of the so-called *lançados*, those Portuguese and Cape Verdeans who ‘threw themselves’ (from

the verb *lançar*) towards the African continent during the 16th and 17th centuries with the goal of trade and general integration or Africanization (Lobo 2012: 30). Moreover, Fernandes (2002) argues that emigration and education, historically vis-à-vis the Catholic Church, functioned as complementary partners in structuring Cape Verdean cultural identity and socio-economic habits. It is clear that the flows of people and goods constitute an essential part of being Cape Verdean.

Depending on the historical moment and particular island affinity, a chronotopic formulation if there ever was one, “creole” as an identity formation has taken wildly different paths of social agency, all under the rubric of Cape Verdean, and, more often than not, the paradigm of creole-as-mixture. As Arenas, Fernandes and other scholars have argued, the cultural arbiters of creole in the articulation of *uma nação crioula*, a creole nation, have modeled themselves on the mixed or *mestiço* paradigm of Brazil through literary movements such as the *Claridosos*. Moreover, this emphasis on creole as serendipitous mixture strengthened by migration networks and articulated through discourses of *morabeza* (relaxed tranquility) and poetic musical genres of *morna* and *coladera* has “ultimately excluded or marginalized the African cultural elements as well as the black Cape Verdeans from an ideological and political standpoint, while exacerbating the cultural, regional, racial and class tensions operating with Cape Verde since colonial times...” (Arenas 2011:7; see also Fernandes 2002). In sum, the identity work of “creole” continues to be a political struggle.

Kriolu as the ideal (post)colonial subject

The identity work of contemporary Kriolu rappers in Lisbon is a rearticulation of a historical and spatial ambiguity involving creole and blackness in Portugal and its once expansive empire. The variability described below should be understood in relation to the Portuguese master narrative of cordiality, i.e., that all alterity, including black migrancy, has

a contributive role in Portugal under the frame of everyday social interactions and the roots of Moorish pluralism.

Unlike in the United States, whose public policies and cultural folklore historically denied the role of blackness in national formation, Portuguese writers and ideologues have consistently preached the values of racial mixture. For example, they created ideologies such as Luso-tropicalism (following the Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre, see Freyre 1953) to convey that interculturality, to use more contemporary European jargon, has always been fundamental to the Portuguese manner of being. In their report on interculturality in Portuguese colonial expansion, Costa and Lacerda explain that Portuguese kings such as the legendary Afonso de Albuquerque, whose military campaigns helped end Moorish rule in Iberia and initiate empire-building for a modern Portugal in the late 15th century, implicitly borrowed from the multiethnic and multi-religious Moors and made intercultural relationships part of state strategy. ‘The incentive regarding mixed-race marriages should be understood as a guiding light to his expansionist project...’ (Costa and Lacerda 2007: 97).

The paradigm of *ser português* or Portuguese-ness as inclusive and historically creolized was recuperated and given new rhetorical strength in the late 19th century and throughout the 20th century as a justification for extended colonial investments in Africa.

The blood and soul, the voices and histories, the music and longing, the love and verses—[all of this] roots Portugal and Africa, blessed by the same nostalgic exile, consoled and pained,—resigned, without revolt, on the islands that are prisons, convents and lookouts lost in the middle of the vast sea (Casimiro 1940, 27).

This passage from the Portuguese chronicler Augusto Casimiro exemplifies the typical story of blood and soul constitutive of Portuguese ‘roots.’ Moreover, Casimiro depicts what Eric Morier-Genoud and Michael Cahen call the ‘social space of migration [within the] imagined entity of the empire. And this is particularly true in the Portuguese case, with a historically deep integration of Africa into the national imagining’ (2012, 19).

Casimiro based his ideas of an intertwined Luso-Creole-Black blood and soul on the work of 19th century philologists such as Adolfo Coelho, who, for example, remarked that Kriolu lamentably indicated blackness but not necessarily an impenetrable alterity. ‘They [the Cape Verdeans] substituted a Moorish mixture of African terms and antiquated Portuguese pronounced with a reckless abandon with guttural stops. This was called *lingua creola*, without grammar or fixed rules. It spread from island to island...’ (Coelho 1882, 451-2). Coelho went on to state that: ‘The whites reinforce this, as they learn crioulo, use it in domestic relationships, and rear their children in crioulo almost to the exclusion of pure Portuguese...’ (ibid., 452).

By the end of the nineteenth century, Portuguese colonial officials and scholars as well as Cape Verdean local elite became more confident that Kriolu’s value as a language and a kind of person was best thought of as a transitional phase on the way to speaking and being Portuguese (Keese 2012). In the words of Casimiro, Kriolu was an ‘intermediary language’ of assimilation within what he described as the ‘colonial character’ of the Lusophone world. On the one hand, the ‘Creole dialect’ represented the ‘disfiguration and laziness’ inherent in the ‘encounter between those of the Kingdom and the African. . . . [On the other hand], some words gain a profound meaning and others better preserve, in either sweet or rude ways, the taste of the word’ (1940, 25).

Chronotope Data: *Tuga*, *Pretugal* and *Niggas*

As demonstrated above, Kriolu has been both a sign of proximity, the conventional connotation of creole, and a mark of denigration, a literal black otherness. Despite or perhaps because of this ambiguity, Portuguese social history has produced references imbued with space and politics to which Kriolu rappers position themselves as black, but in their terms.

For the Russian literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin, time-space conjunctures are resources with which people create ‘chronotopes’ and thus establish categories of production or textual

genres, such as the romance or novella (Bakhtin 1981, 84-5). Bakhtin's formulation has inspired scores of scholars to interpret other kinds of discourses as resources to produce identities. Following popular music scholars, such as Fox (2004) and Dent (2009), I use the concept of chronotope to interpret local strategies of subjectivity. Just as 'Brazilians sing the countryside into existence' (Dent 2009, 40) and rural working-class Texans 'evocatively grammaticize' (Fox 2004, 82) time through songs of country 'mem'ries' and 'feelings,' some Lisbon rappers assert themselves by means of Kriolu. They sing the improvised neighborhoods and housing projects of Lisbon into existence, implying a density or a 'flesh' (borrowing from Bakhtin) of coloniality and migration in their dramatic invocations. For the purposes of this article I underscore the chronotopes of 'tuga,' 'pretugal/pretuguês' and 'niggas.'

The example of 'tuga' provides insight into the construction of Kriolu blackness as an interdependent relationship involving migrancy and encounters. Tuga is an abbreviation of 'Portuga,' which itself derives from '*português* / portuguese.' The term indexes two pertinent socio-linguistic moments in Portuguese modern history. In the late 19th century, 'tuga' emerged in the Portuguese lexicon during a moment of intense nationalism, as Portugal struggled to legitimate its colonial presence in Africa in the face of British hegemony in southern Africa. In a second moment, during the 1960s, as decolonization wars began to escalate in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, local guerrilla forces used 'tuga' as a call to arms in resistance to the white Portuguese military forces. It is important to note that 'tuga' emerged as a response to the term '*turras*,' an abbreviated colloquialism of '*terroristas*' (terrorists) intended to mark resistant Africans as savage, irrational maniacs. Such symbolic intimacy between tuga and coloniality with respect to space and race, is important, because it is this history to which Kriolu rappers position themselves.

*Nu ta kanta na kriolu pamodi é revoluson y revolusom.
Es som é di imigrantes sima mi, sima nha gentis.*

Kanta na kriolu ka é pasadu, é di oji, li, gosi.

We sing in Kriolu because it is a revolution and revolu-sound (neologism).
This sound comes from immigrants like me, like my people.
To rap in Kriolu is not something of the past; it is right now, right here.
(live performance 2009)

Rapper Karlon opened his two-song set with these words. He and his partner, Def, were part of a large youth musical event sponsored by FNAC, the France-based international retail store. Since the demise of almost all underground music stores and many night clubs in Lisbon toward the end of the 2000s, the FNAC event was one venue for amateur artists to have a brief moment on stage. After the show Karlon explained that the phrase “immigrants like me, like my people” is meant to not only reach out to all the new families and communities in his neighborhood, i.e., Brazilians, Moldovans, Ukranians, but also to draw attention to race.

Karlon described the experiences of finding one’s way, reestablishing networks and building a new reputation, the social dimensions of what migration and diaspora scholars refer to as ‘displacement’ and ‘emplacement’ (Bettell and Reed-Danahay 2012; Narayan 2010), as *djuguta* or struggle. The sentiment of an ongoing battle for recognition is the force behind the seemingly ahistorical claim that ‘to rap in Kriolu is not of the past.’ The idea here is that Kriolu is not a gesture to ‘African heritage’, a reference to the temporally and spatially distant, but a continuous resource for identification. For Karlon and many Kriolu rappers, ‘struggle’ is best characterized as *sima black* (like black) because ‘blackness’ carries with it the promise of change over time.

Like Jorginho from the article’s introduction, Karlon is used to moving. His father left the family when Karlon was five to work on the docks in Rotterdam, Holland. Karlon’s mother left for Boston to work in a hair salon and then arrived in Lisbon when he was ten. Older sisters and aunties cared for Karlon and his siblings until he, his younger sister and older brother migrated to Lisbon soon after Karlon turned 14 years old. These days family

members reunite occasionally via skype, Facebook and other social media. While the father has been mostly absent, Karlon included him as he explained that all this moving has had different effects on his family but, yet, they all “balance their place and being Kriolu. Sometimes this becomes black and sometimes not. For me, this is important.”

Aware of Kriolu’s heterogeneous meanings in the diaspora, Karlon’s intentions on stage were to convey to the audience of mostly friends, family, social workers, and the occasional drifting Lisbon hipster and downtown bourgeoisie shopper that Kriolu is a vibrant language *here* in Lisbon. Kriolu occupies FNAC ephemerally but significantly, and Catajal, Karlon and Def’s neighborhood, more consistently. Def plays up the complex idea of place and belonging in one of the song refrains, *li na tuga, nu é di tuga* (Here in Portugal, we came from Portugal). The first utterance of ‘Portugal’ signifies the country, and the second refers to the encounter. The audience is left with a provocative question, “who are we/they [*nu*],” framed as a Creole implication of identity and place.

The implicit links between blackness, migration and struggle inside the geo-political borders of Portugal gain chronotopic breadth in other Kriolu settings. In 2013 I attended a screening of a documentary film about Marcus Garvey. The event was held in the improvised neighborhood of Alto da Cova da Moura, widely known as Kova M, inside a cultural center meeting room. We never did finish the documentary because every five minutes or so someone would stop the Youtube clip and offer commentary. Participants were not so much interested in the details of Garvey’s life per se or British colonialism of Jamaica and US racist policies; rather, they sought constantly to connect individuals, historical processes and categories to Portugal and ‘tuga.’ They did this by appropriating Garvey and his thoughts on labor, blackness, empire and Africa and applying them to the Portuguese context of ‘indigenous’ and ‘assimilated,’ the main categories used during the late colonial period to make sense of uncivilized and (potentially) civilized Africans, respectively. As scholars of

Portuguese history have noted, Cape Verdeans were overwhelmingly considered ‘assimilated;’ however, in practice, the distinction was often rhetorical and did not result in many material advantages (see, e.g., Meintel 1984).

Subsequently, several participants moved from dubious colonial classifications to contemporary incidents of police brutality in Kova M. The overarching relationship in all of the debate and personal anecdotes was race and space. While Cape Verdean creole may appear to move freely, Portuguese state agencies have frequently confined it to ‘indigenous’ Africanity and attempted to contain Kriolu black populations inside certain Lisbon neighborhoods (Global Voices 2015). ‘Tuga’ reaches back into the past and cuts sharply in the present. Nevertheless, Kriolu rappers do not jettison blackness nor do they discard ‘tuga’ or Portugal. Instead, they create new, critical expressions of time-place that are based on experiences of movement and contact.

The examples of Karlon, Def and the Garvey documentary discussion demonstrate ‘tuga’ as a complex chronotope that mobilizes Portuguese historicities and spatialities of colonialism and dialogues with the dubious Cape Verdean special status of ‘assimilated.’ Some Kriolu rappers link such geo-politics to contemporary realities of displacement and police aggression based on racism. The result is that tuga instigates emplacement, a claim to Portugal, Lisbon, involving a process that highlights phrases along the lines of Def, i.e., ‘tuga’ is made up of ‘us,’ those were on the margins of empire and now constitute cultural interventions in former metropolises inside multinational institutions of ‘civilization’ such as FNAC.

Similar to ‘tuga,’ the chronotope of “pretuguês / Pretugal” deconstructs conventional notions of Portugal and offers potential for alternative time-space articulations. Again, blackness as movement is a central theme. One example of this chronotope can be found in the work of Chullage, a rapper who performs in Kriolu and Portuguese. He has recorded

several albums, held political positions in cultural and education divisions in Seixal, a municipality on the “south margin” of Lisbon, and appeared in a number of academic conferences and documentary films. Chullage’s visibility is certainly not a result of shying away from identity politics. For example, in one hit song, “Pretugal,” Chullage fuses together black (*preto*) and Portugal (*gal*) to describe and evaluate Kriolu as a form of black, migrant subjectivity in Portugal. “Pretugal” plays on a well-known historical neologism, “Pretuguês, a juxtaposition of “preto” and “português.”

As mentioned above, the intersections of race, education and language established cultural precedents and acted as memory points in discussions of Portuguese ‘civilization’ during the colonial period. Portugal utilized Cape Verde and the Guinean coast as ideological trophies in Portugal’s version of civilization. As expected, such myths depend on selective historiography and Jacques Raimundo, a Portuguese scholar of education writing in the early years of the Salazar-Caetano fascist regime (1933-1974), identified language instruction as an ‘adept instrument’ (*hábil instrumento*) of Portugal’s ‘soft conquest’ (*conquista suave*). In his short dissection of what he called ‘pretuguês,’ Raimundo describes Portugal’s ‘vocabulary patrimony’ as a cultural accompaniment to the civilizing process involved in African colonialism (1933; see also Duffy 1961b). In this respect, ‘black manners’ of speaking Portuguese were thoughtful imitations of culture.

Raimundo is one of several Portuguese intellectuals who recalled the theatrical plays of Gil Vicente, the canonical sixteenth-century dramaturge. Vicente scripted pretuguês, also called *lingual de guiné* (language of Guinea) *bozal/boçal* language (literally meaning ‘of a slave from West Africa’ frequently evoked in contemporary Portuguese vernacular to mean menial, stupid or a simpleton as both an adjective and noun), through minor characters in his plays. Vicente was later celebrated as providing remarkable insight into the linguistic and cultural imitations of the colonial subject residing in the metropole (Raimundo 1933, 14-19).

By contrast, the equally famous poet Bocage, active in the late eighteenth century, publicly denounced Portuguese Creoles as on the side of ‘blacks’ and, thus, inferior in speech and being (Henriques 2012). In selected sonnets from his prolific literary production, Bocage was explicit in describing visiting ‘Brazilian’ (code for mulatto or creole) dignitaries as ‘revolting’ and ‘*pardo de feições*’ (a cursed half-breed). In his poem ‘Os cães domésticos e o cão montanhês’ (domestic dogs and the mountain dog), Bocage uses the medium of a fable to convey his notions of race and social stratification. Toward the end of the poem, the domestic dogs are accused of a crime and are queried as to their justification; they respond, ‘O nosso jus é a força, O teu delito é a cor’ (Our justification is force; your crime is your color).

Examples of pretuguês in Vicente and Bocage are part of what Iain Chambers terms the “accents of Empire” (1994, 68). Periodically, pretuguês and other imperial accents represented racist theories aligned with Bocage, thus moving the idea of ‘black manners of speech’ far away from any sort of supposed Portuguese cordiality and the typical connotations of creole as civilizing mixture and transitional identification discussed above. Such racialized difference frequently surfaced in labor relations resulting from urban migration. For example, in the 1940s and 1950s, “pretuguês” as a term of ridicule was noted among temporary contract workers in the streets of Maputo, Mozambique, Luanda, Angola and an increasingly visible group of uneducated, poor Luso-African migrant men in Lisbon (Hamilton 1991).

Linguists have shown that creole languages, in general, are the result of two or more symbolic systems, which bend and create a new system of communication (pidgin) and, then potentially, identification (creole). While there continues to be debate about whether certain creoles demonstrate more of a superstratist or substratist pattern, i.e., a linguistic development determined from the European, colonial or non-European language, respectively, what is clear is that creole involves a politicized positioning on the notion of

language as an inheritance. In such discussions of language, power and colonial contact, Shakespeare's play *The Tempest* and, in particular, the character of Caliban provide useful analogies. One of the most cited phrases in postcolonial and Latin American Studies originates at the juncture when Caliban responds to Prospero and his daughter Miranda's affirmation that they are the source of all of Caliban's useful knowledge. Caliban counters: 'You taught me language, and my profit on't is I know how to curse,' (Act 1, Scene 2, lines 368-9).

Current Kriolu rappers such as Chullage have taken the idea of controlling linguistic inheritance by mimicking what the marginalized character Caliban referred to as 'cursing.' Chullage raps:

*Koraçon lá e korpo ká em pretugal / Mentalmente enkkkarcerados ká em pretugal / Sem pão,
mas kom veneno e armas p'ra morrermos em pretugal / Segregados p'ra n sermos ninguém
em pretugal.*

[Heart there and body here in Pretugal / Mentally incarcerated here in Pretugal / No food but with poison and arms for us to die in Pretugal / Segregated so that we are nobodies in Pretugal].

The use of pretuguês by canonic Portuguese literary artists represents an example 'of how the African presence inductively intervenes in the national poetic process' (Ferreira 1975: 47). Moreover, its invocation by colonial scholars and popular artists shows the penetration of blackness into the general Portuguese nationalist project and, potentially in a more subversive manner, into the contemporary urban geography.

For both Caliban and Chullage, the 'profit' emerges from master/slave, colonizer/colonized, or citizen/migrant relationships, and thus involves race, labor, language, culture, and social action. In contemporary Lisbon Kriolu 'cursing' is thus a medium with which rappers react to everyday experience of racial prejudice in Portugal. However, they enunciate their Calibanesque barbs through strategic references to Portuguese nationalism, Cape Verdean diaspora and migrant realities. For example, through a creative use of k,

indexing both *badiu* orthography and a U.S. black style of diacritics, Chullage combines the microstructure of language to the macrostructure of narrative as he makes explicit the realities of racism and spatial segregation.

Chullage depicts ‘Pretugal’ as displacement and implies a call to action. Other Kriolu rappers have been more explicit about Kriolu as emplacement and have linked Kriolu to locality and racial identification through discourses of ‘streets’ and ‘niggas.’ Rapper Ghoya explains his reality in plain terms: ‘what is left over is immigrants and poor whites, those who were already disenfranchised (*excluidos*). We are losing space. We don’t take it for granted’. Ghoya moved to the social neighborhood of Casal da Boba in the municipality of Amadora in 2001 (*margem norte* or Northside) when he was fifteen years old. He had lived previously in Benfica municipality in the improvised neighborhood of Fontaínhas. Similar to Pedreira dos Húngaros, mentioned in the article’s introduction, the demolition of Fontaínhas was part of PER and many of the residents from the Fontaínhas demolition ended up in Boba.

For Ghoya and his friends Kriolu facilitates spatial production and social networking both as part of small, everyday interactions and larger units of neighborhood, a scene or even, *Pretugal*. Kriolu is a linguistic practice that creates locality through social participation, that is, a ‘speech community,’ and a more literal connection of the discursive to the material of the city. In the case of moving from Fontaínhas to Boba, what was once done in the *becos* (labyrinth of alleyways) within shantytown living is carried out around the cement soccer court and in the nondescript courtyards between the residential buildings. Ghoya explains, ‘We start from the street. This is where we make ourselves. OK, it looks different here in Boba, but we make it work. That’s one of the powers of Kriolu. We link Kriolu with rap to speak.’

Kriolu emplacement is, in part, a linguistic practice. The point here is that there is a difference between Cape Verdeans and other Luso-Africans because the historicity of

‘pretuguês’ spatialized in the concept of ‘Pretugal’ continues to be embedded in Cape Verdean identification practices . Linguistically speaking, Angolans and Mozambicans compartmentalize Portuguese and other pertinent local or heritage languages; therefore, residents of Angolan descent, for example, either have left Kimbundu behind or code-switch depending on the context with little anxiety. There exists a break. In the case of Kriolu, the influence of the encounter remains strong and thus the concept of ‘preto’ continues to be salient and a chronotopic resource. Whereas colonial historiography shows us links between black manners of speech with a host of ‘contact zones’ in Africa and Portugal, in contemporary Lisbon we find a significant correlation between Kriolu and neighborhood. Hence, rappers like Ghoya talk incessantly about streets as a primary site of struggle for Kriolu emplacement.

For Ghoya emplacement continues to be a challenge because the ‘false nigga’ and the ‘system’ work against him and, by extension, all his ‘people’ in Boba and the ‘real’ Kriolu rap scene. Somewhat vague in his attempt to address suffering, Ghoya does locate it in a way that is both specific to the urban margins of Lisbon and general enough to include anyone with sentiments of marginality. Ghoya raps:

What we niggas have in common is suffering and solitude.
Recover that nigga in this place right now.
The other side is a movement that hasn’t fallen.
These are our suburbs and streets.
Disillusion is enemy number one.

The semiotics of “nigga” and “Kriolu” in contemporary Portugal are complex and contentious within the hip hop community. Unlike Brazil and somewhat more akin to the United States, “nigga” (term left untranslated by Portuguese and Kriolu speakers) is used ubiquitously in Lisbon hip hop. Rappers LBC and Chullage explained to me that “nigga” can be used strategically following American rap legend and martyr Tupac’s acronym N.I.G.G.A. (Never Ignorant about Getting Goals Accomplished). For example, in a 2012 recording,

Chullage entitled one song “N.I.G.G.A.” and created a new connotation for the acronym, “Black folks Impose Self-Esteem on themselves in a Gated Ghetto.” More than a quirky acronym with a critical message, “N.I.G.G.A.” is also a song featuring an empowered but conflicted protagonist. He [the nigga] is a product of migration and urbanization but he seems to know only the here and now. His life occurs in the neighborhood streets and Chullage depicts this life as a set of choices impacting positively and negatively the individual and the community. Still somewhat vague and open to interpretation, “nigga” does dovetail with Kriolu in the sense of labor history and a pragmatic politics.

Conclusion: Kriolu as black migrancy

Ami é kriolu. A simple phrase used to introduce oneself and to summarize a situation. It is a *noema*, as Trajano Filho characterizes, a conglomeration of sentiments of moral and spatial belonging (2012: 17). It is also a problematic niche of *quase*. Historically, Kriolu has meant almost white, almost black, almost European, almost African, almost indigenous, almost assimilated. In the case of Ghoya, Chullage, Karlon and others, Kriolu is a symbolic system that affords a structured way of routinizing imagination of community inside a society that historically has both recognized Cape Verdeans and the Kriolu language as productive intermediaries on the way to become Portuguese and marked them as dangerous and violent others in the late stages of empire as well as in the current milieu of citizenship.

In this article I have discussed the interlocking dimensions of time and place in the management of blackness and creole through the use of ‘tuga,’ ‘pretuguês/pretugal,’ and ‘nigga’ as terms of identification. I have suggested that Kriolu rappers highlight not only a difference between themselves and white Portuguese but also other Luso-Africans who have a more compartmentalized relationship with blackness and its spatial, historical and linguistic manifestations. In so doing, some Kriolu rappers demonstrate a complex, interdependent

relationship to Cape Verdean diaspora, Portuguese colonial and postcolonial histories and national sentiment in their claims to blackness.

More generally, the case of Kriolu offers us a chance to reflect on the parameters of race. Conventionally, in the social sciences, race signifies a dynamic set of characteristics including phenotype, which are recognized as common to a certain group. Such a definition acts as a baseline from which scholars, politicians and activists discuss the particularities of context, symbolism and engagement. However, the argument presented in this article is that race depends on, and contributes to the definition of, everyday lived spaces and the sensibilities of mundane time and deep history.

Our understanding of race and racialization requires a chronotopic approach. The data from Portugal experienced through ‘tuga,’ ‘pretugal’ and ‘nigga,’ shows that Creole articulates two epistemological processes, which are at the basis of identity. One sees the world of contact and encounter, from colonial expansion to postcolonial migration as Creole in the sense of creative mixture. Creole is never black nor white, but rather a result of the Luso-tropical mythology of becoming a self-other, and in so doing, eventually erases race and, by logical extension, racism. The other Creole epistemology sees the world of identification as a set of declarations and assertions based on presence, the imagination of the self through the imprint of language and body and the occupation of everyday spaces. From this perspective, Creole reveals the tensions of contact and the misalignments of collective projections. It helps us understand the construction of differences in historical processes and the power struggle involved in discourses of displacement and emplacement. The chronotopes of tuga and pretuguês/pretugal, in particular, have been used by Portuguese and Cape Verdean actors to demonstrate both Creole epistemologies. With a more shallow history in Portugal, ‘nigga’ connotes a presentist marginality entangled in the “precarity” of life chances among particularly Cape Verdeans in the current labor market (Weeks 2015).

In the end, Creole is not an either / or proposition. Instead, Creole is both mixture and difference, positions that are based on the experiences of displacement and emplacement and thus are at the heart of migrancy. Such experiences expressed in forms of popular culture, such as Kriolu rap music, contribute to our understanding of blackness by suggesting that the deep sensibilities of everyday life, of being and becoming black, come from the resources of temporal (re)membering and spatial production and thus are more complex than contextualized ontology.

¹ It is important to note that Cape Verdeans use variable orthographies. I maintain ‘Kriolu’ instead of ‘Crioulo’ because the former is associated with Cape Verdeans from the island of Santiago, the island with the strongest presence in Lisbon. The value of the letter ‘k’ is briefly discussed in a latter section of the article. ‘Crioulo’ appears in many published text citations, even when referring to Cape Verdeans from Santiago, because Portuguese presses prefer the letter ‘C’ as ‘K’ does not formally exist in the Portuguese language. ‘K’ signifies a difference.

² Scholars and government-sponsored agencies vary significantly in their demographic reports related to Cape Verdean residents. Anthropologist Luís Batalha described the politics of demographics when he notes that discrepancies, i.e., between 50 and 80,000, often depends on who conducts the research. Thousands of Cape Verdeans have achieved official Portuguese citizenship status yet they self-identify as ‘Cape Verdean.’ Most government surveys fail to reach these people since they assume that if one has Portuguese citizenship then one identifies as Portuguese (Batalha 2008). See also Hofbrauer’s discussion of this variability (Hofbrauer 2011: 98, n.18).

³ See Michel Rolph-Trouillot’s *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1995, p.2.

References Cited

- Actividade da S.G.L. Series 56, January 1938, 1:135-145.
- Alim, Samy H. 2004. *You Know My Steez: An Ethnographic and Sociolinguistic Study of Styleshifting in a Black American Speech Community*. Publication of the American Dialect Society, 89. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Alleyne, Mervyn C. 1971. “Acculturation and the cultural matrix of creolization.” In *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages* (edited by Dell Hymes), 169–86. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arenas Fernando. 2011. *Lusophone Africa: Beyond Independence*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. 1981. “Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes towards a Historical Poetics.” In *The Dialogic Imagination*, edited by Michael Holquist, Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, 84-258. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Baptista, Marylse. 2002. *The Syntax of Cape Verdean Creole: The Sotavento Varieties*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Batalha, Luis. 2004. *The Cape Verdean Diáspora in Portugal: Colonial Subjects in a Postcolonial World*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Batalha Luís and Jorgen Carling (eds.). 2008. *Transnational Achipelago: Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Bernabé, Jean, Patrick Chamoiseau and Raphaël Confiant. 1990. “In Praise of Creoleness,” *Callaloo* 13(4): 886-909.
- Benitez-Rojo, Antonio. 2003. “Creolization and Nation-Building in the Hispanic Caribbean.”

-
- In *A Pepper-Pot of Cultures: Aspects of Creolization in the Caribbean*, edited by Gordon Collier and Ulrich Fleischmann, 7-28. Amsterdam and New York: Editions Rodopi.
- Brettell, Caroline B. and Deborah Reed-Danahay. 2012 *Civic Engagements: The Citizenship Practices of Indian and Vietnamese Immigrants*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2015. Chronotopes, scale and complexity in the study of language in society. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 44: 105-116.
- Bocage. (1799) 2007. "Os cães domésticos e o cão montanhês." In *Poesias*, edited by Daniel Pires. Porto, Caixotim.
- Bull, Benjamin Pinto. 1989. *O Crioulo da Guiné-Bissau: Filosofia e Sabedoria*. Lisboa: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa (Portugal) / Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa (Guinea-Bissau).
- Carling, Jørgen and Luís Batalha. 2008. "Cape Verdean migration and diáspora." In *Transnational archipelago: perspectives on Cape Verdean migration and diaspora*, Carling and Batalha eds, 13-31. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Carreira, Antonio. 1977. *Cabo Verde: Classes sociais, estrutura familiar, migrações*. Lisbon: Ulmeiro.
- Casimiro, Augusto. 1940. *Portugal Crioulo*. Lisbon: Edições Cosmos.
- Challinor, Elizabeth Pilar. 2008. Home and Overseas: The Janus Face of Cape Verdean Identity. *Diaspora*, 17(1):84-104.
- Chambers, Iain. 1994. *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Chaudenson, Robert. 1977. "Toward the reconstruction of the social matrix of creole languages." In *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics*, edited by A. Valdman, J. Reinecke and I. Hancock, 259-76. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Clifford, James. 1994. "Diasporas". *Cultural Anthropology*, 9(3):302-338.
- Coelho, F. Adolfo. 1882. "Os Dialectos Românicos ou Neo-Latinos na África, Ásia, e América." *Boletim da SGL* 3 (8): 451-512.
- Cohen, Robin and Olivia Sherringham 2008. "The Salience of Islands in the Articulation of Creolization and Diaspora." *Diaspora* 17(1):6-17.
- Cohen, Robin and Paola Toninato. 2010. "The Creolization Debate: Analyzing Mixed Identities and Cultures" In *The Creolization Reader: Studies in Mixed Identities and Cultures*, edited by Cohen and Toninato, 1-21. London: Routledge.
- Costa, João Paulo Oliveira and Teresa Lacerda. 2007. *A Interculturalidade na Expansão Portuguesa (Séculos XV – XVIII)*. Lisbon: ACIME.
- Dent, Alexander Sebastian. 2009. *River of Tears: Country Music, Memory, and Modernity in Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Duffy, James. 1961. "Portuguese Africa (Angola and Mozambique): Some Crucial Problems and the Role of Education in Their Resolution." *Journal of Negro Education* 30 (3): 296-301.
- Fernandes, Gabriel. 2002. *A Diluição da África. Uma interpretação da saga identitária cabo-verdiana no panorama político (pós)colonial*. Florianópolis: Editora da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina.
- Ferraz, Patrícia 2013. *The Colors of the Empire*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Ferreira, Manuel. 1975 *No Reino de Caliban: Antologia panorâmica da poesia africana de expressão portuguesa I, Cabo Verde e Guiné-Bissau*. Lisbon: Seara Nova.
- Fox, Aaron A. 2004. *Real Country: Music and Language in Working-Class Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Freyre, Gilberto. 1953. *Um Brasileiro em Terras Portuguêsas*. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio.
- Glissant, Edouard. 1989. *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
- Global Voices. 2015. Cova da Moura: A violência policial é a face mas visível do racismo

-
- em Portugal. <https://pt.globalvoices.org/2015/02/16/cova-da-moura-a-violencia-policial-e-a-face-mais-visivel-do-racismo-em-portugal-diz-flavio-almada/> . Accessed 2/20/2015.
- Green, Tobias. 2010. The Evolution of Creole Identity in Cape Verde. In *The Creolization Reader: Studies in Mixed Identities and Cultures*, edited by Robin Cohen and Paola Toninato, 157-166. New York: Palgrave.
- Green, Tobias. 2011. *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589*. Cambridge University Press
- Hamilton, Russell G. 1991. "Lusofonia, Africa, and Matters of Languages and Letters." *Hispania* 74 (3): 610-17.
- Handler, Richard. 1988. *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Hannerz, Ulf. 1987. "The world in creolization." *Africa*, 57(4):656-559.
- Henriques, Isabel Castro. 2012. "Africans in Portuguese Society: Classification Ambiguities and Colonial Realities." In *Imperial Migrations: Colonial Communities and Diaspora in the Portuguese World*, edited by Eric Morier-Genoud and Michel Cahen, 72-103. New York: Palgrave.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 2009. *Evicted from Eternity: The Restructuring of Modern Rome*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hofbrauer, Andreas. 2011. Crioulidade versus africanidade: Percepções da diferença e da desigualdade. *Afro-Ásia*, 43: 91-127.
- Keese, Alexander. 2012. "Imperial Actors? Cape Verdean Mentality in the Portuguese Empire under the *Estado Novo*, 1926-1974." In *Imperial Migrations: Colonial Communities and Diaspora in the Portuguese World*, edited by Eric Morier-Genoud and Michel Cahen, 129-48. New York: Palgrave.
- Khan, Aisha. 2001. "Journey to the Center of the Earth: The Caribbean as Master Symbol." *Cultural Anthropology* 16 (3): 271–302.
- Lima, Redy Wilson, in press. "Rap and representation of public space in Praia City". In *Lusophone Hip-Hop: "Who we are" and "Where we are": Identity, Urban Culture and Belonging*, edited by Rosana Martins and Massimo Canevacci, London: Sean Kingston Publishing.
- Lobo, Andréa de Souza. 2012. "Mantendo Relações à Distância: O papel do fluxo de objetos e informações na configuração de relações familiares transnacionais em Cabo Verde." In *Lugares, Pessoas e Grupos: as lógicas do pertencimento em perspectiva internacional*, org. Wilson Trajano Filho, 29-46. Brasília: ABA Publicações.
- Malkki, Lisa. 1995 *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*. Chicago University Press.
- Meintel, Deirdre 1984. *Race, Culture, and Portuguese colonialism in Cabo Verde*. Foreign and Comparative Studies/African Series, no. 41. Syracuse, N.Y.: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.
- Mintz, Sidney. 1998. "The localization of anthropological practice: from area studies to transnationalism" *Critique of Anthropology*, 18 (2):117-33.
- Morier-Genoud, Eric, and Michel Cahen, eds. 2012. *Imperial Migrations: Colonial Communities and Diaspora in the Portuguese World*. New York: Palgrave.
- Narayan, Kirin. 2010 Placing Lives through Stories: Second-Generation South Asian Americans. In *Everyday Life in South Asia*, edited by Diane P. Mines and Sarah Lamb, 472–485. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Palmié, Stephan. 2006. Creolization and Its Discontents. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 35:433-56.
- Raimundo, Jacques. 1933. *O Elemento Afro-Negro na Língua Portuguesa*. Rio de Janeiro: Renascença Editora.

-
- Rodrigues, Isabel Feo. 2003. "Islands of Sexuality: theories and histories of creolization in Cape Verde," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 36(1): 83-103.
- Shakespeare, William. 2004. *The Tempest*. Edited by Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- 'Subsidio para o estudo comparativo do ensino colonial no estrangeiro.' 1910. *Boletim da SGL* 10 (October), 312.
- Trajano Filho, Wilson. 2005. A sociabilidade da diáspora: o retorno" *Série Antropológica* 380, UnB, Brasília.
- Trajano Filho, Wilson. 2012. "Introdução" In *Lugares, Pessoas e Grupos: as lógicas do pertencimento em perspectiva internacional*, org. Wilson Trajano Filho, 7-26. Brasília: ABA Publicações.
- Vaughan, Megan. 2005. *Creating the Creole Island: Slavery in Eighteenth-century Mauritius*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Vergès, François. 2007. Indian-Oceanic Creolizations: Processes and Practices of Creolization on Réunion Island. In *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory*, edited by Charles Stewart, 133-152. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Weeks, Samuel. 2015. "Longing for 'Normal' Post-Fordism: Cape Verdean Labor-Power on a Lisbon Periphery in Crisis. *Anthropology of Work Review*, 36(1): 13-25.
- Wright, Michelle M. 2003. *Becoming Black: Creating Identity in the African Diaspora*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.