Figure 1. Stencil of Chullage 2007 album. Photo by author, 2007

Figure 2. Image of Amílcar Cabral next to a circled K on the front door of the Khapaz Association. Photo by author, 2007

Creole as Drama

Kriolu Rappers Extend a Cape Verdean Paradigm of the Encounter

Derek Pardue

In 2007 during my first fieldwork stint in Lisbon, Portugal, I hitched a ride to the “other” side of the Tagus river, more specifically, the “south bank” (*margem sul*) neighborhood of Arrentela. Pedro, a divisional leader in the main state agency responsible for immigrant assimilation and “intercultural dialogue” in Portugal, introduced me to Nuno Santos, better known as Chullage, a popular *Kriolu* rapper of Cape Verdean descent.¹ *Kriolu*, a hybrid of continental Portuguese and West African languages, is the unofficial but national language of Cape Verdeans both at “home” on the archipelago just west of Senegal and in the various diasporic locations abroad.

As I struggled to follow the code-switching between continental Portuguese and Cape Verdean Creole, I must have looked like a lost soul. Chullage turned to me suddenly and said, “Yo, nigga D, tell me what have you done? Why are you up in here? See this?” He pointed to the Khapaz Association building (fig. 2); *khapaz* is a *Kriolu* cognate of *capaz* (capable). “This is what *Kriolu* rap and we niggas have done. We made that. Again, what have you done?” Caught off guard, I tried to explain that while I had not lobbied for cultural centers or affected public policy, I was a teacher. I described the power of pedagogy and representation as my own brand of active performance. With my explanation tepidly received, I waited for another opportunity to prove some sort of cultural competence.

This article is a combination of two related arguments. Ethnographically, I argue that contemporary *Kriolu* rappers in Lisbon are motivated by an existential tension embedded in the concept of “*Kriolu*” resulting from complex patterns of migration and peculiar histories of Luso-African

colonialism. I deviate from scholarly common practice with regard to "performance," because rather than identifying aesthetic qualities of cultural practices per se that trigger memories or emotions,² I concentrate on the epistemological context of performance as a structuring force in public life. In this case, "performance" of/in Kriolu is not simply a genre of expressive culture but also a paradigm for meaningful action.

My interests in Kriolu as a language are ultimately oriented toward culture, power, and history. With that said, it is important to establish that Creoles and pidgins are juxtapositions of two or more linguistic substrata, for example, Portuguese vocabulary and Wolof pronunciation. A range of intellectuals, artists, and political actors has interpreted the basic linguistic fact that creole represents encounter in complex and often contradictory ways.³ Bracketing the intense regionalism embedded in the debate on creole, the two organizing discourses are: creole as a substitute for cultural mixture and creole as historical particularity. The evidence from daily interactions and popular culture in Lisbon suggests that one must combine these two approaches to creole strategically in order to exercise social agency and gain recognition. In the words of Edouard Glissant, a paradigmatic figure of *creolité* literature and scholarship, creole captures the "striving for a cross-cultural relationship without universalist transcendence."⁴

Kriolu is a hermeneutics for (inter)cultural understanding.⁵ More specifically, it is the medium through which local youth of Cape Verdean heritage reckon the ambiguous but nonetheless powerful discourses of being "African," "Cape Verdean," "black," "European," "Portuguese," "an immigrant," or part of the "Lusophone community" (*lusofonia*). My perspective is complementary to scholars such as Akin Hubbard, who in his work on Cape Verdean *batuko* music interprets Kriolu to be a "signifying economy that produces differing racialized (and gendered) forms of 'creole' personhood, politics and aesthetics."⁶ Unsurprisingly, such discursive categories are hierarchical in social practice, and thus Kriolu rappers in their performances are doing identity work as they contribute to cultural production. While I provide some descriptions and interpretations of rap "publics" or "interpretive communities,"⁷ I concentrate my analysis on a selection of historical texts, rap lyrics, and fieldwork conversations.

In this article *audience* refers to live performances most commonly held in Cape Verdean neighborhoods or cultural centers in the Lisbon metro area. Occasionally, nightclub promoters book Kriolu rappers to perform in places that are part of the more conventional circuits of urban popular culture. Usually these gigs occur on a theme night of "Luso-African" pop or some other "special event." *Audience* also indicates smaller-scale, intimate professional get-togethers with other rappers. These include hanging out in recording studios where Kriolu rappers perform in front

of other Cape Verdeans and *tuga* (white Portuguese) hip-hop performers and aficionados. Finally, *audience* refers to YouTube, Facebook, blogs, and other social media sites where Kriolu rappers since the late 2000s have increasingly invested time circulating their lyrical skills and organizing themselves into political and cultural interest groups. Examples include *plataforma gueto* (ghetto platform) and *nos k nasi omi k ta mori omi* (literally, we who were born as men die as men). Both Chullage and LBC, key actors cited in this article, are members of these groups and are particularly active in generating visibility for Kriolu and Cape Verdean concerns by expanding audiences in the diaspora.

In addition, Kriolu contributes more generally to a cultural critique of drama by focusing on not only the performative nature of identity and collective belonging but also the role of the encounter in such formations. Generally speaking, attraction to "drama" comes from its intensity. *Drama* has become almost metonymic in its relation to theater and popular forms of representation. However, the term's increasing popularity in parlance has resulted in a relative paucity of scholarship. Here, drama shares something with hip-hop, two phenomena thought to be too ubiquitous for any sort of sustained scrutiny outside of particularist camps of theater buffs and trend followers, respectively.

Such a review is an unfair generalization. Certainly, hip-hop itself has been taken up by scholars from various disciplines to make arguments regarding education, citizenship, gender, race, religiosity, and postmodernism.⁸ However, despite the fact that rappers and hip-hoppers more generally have employed "drama" as a way to draw attention to their stories and artistic expressions, hip-hop scholars have done virtually nothing with the term as a theoretical tool.

Kriolu rap is dramatic in the way that it stages an aesthetic encounter between performer and audience that acknowledges and challenges the dominant social frame of power, in this case, "Lusofonia," a particular version of multicultural citizenship in which difference is recognized under a supposed organizing rubric of "Luso" or Portuguese politics and culture.⁹ While different in intent, Lusofonia draws from "Lusotropicalism," the nationalist ideology of Portuguese exceptionalism defined by the belief that the Portuguese are naturally understanding in intercultural situations and thus were excellent colonizers and accommodating postcolonial partners. In the rhetoric and performances of rappers such as Chullage, Jorginho, LBC, and Hezbollah, Kriolu-as-encounter facilitates the enactment of a new self and public that leads the audience to new insights on lived experiences of migration and cultural practices of emplacement or making place. This brand of creole resists Luso discourses even as it necessarily depends on them for historical depth and performative punch.

The brief fieldwork account above demonstrates a number of salient

aspects of drama that are common to most rap representation and hold specific “keys” to certain Cape Verdean realities in Lisbon, Portugal. Following Bauman, excerpts from the dialogue between Chullage and me emerge as “keys to performance” or tropes of social action, which can be judged as relatively productive or insignificant.¹⁰ Returning to the vignette above, it is not the content of my work, that is, “what I have done,” that Chullage and his entourage dismissed so much as it was the way I presented it and the latent meanings I omitted in my response. I had downplayed the stake I have in pedagogy and erased any sort of insight my actions might hold. What I do seemed thin and petty. For Chullage, achievements are public and are shaped by an intense performer-audience dynamic based on the intricacies of the encounter. In short, Chullage’s critique was an example of what Dwight Conquergood identified as the role of power in performance: “Because it is public, performance is a site of struggle where competing interests intersect, and different viewpoints and voices get articulated.”¹¹

In this case, the Khapaz cultural center is not simply a public landmark in narrow terms; its significance comes from community debate, an ongoing evaluation about “what we niggas have done.” Implicit in this statement is a sense of racialized difference, judgment, and a kind of identity claim vis-à-vis other residents and Portuguese state agencies interested in “immigrant” issues. *Nigga* in this context refers to youth of African descent involved in hip-hop (later, Chullage would record songs critical of the flippant use of this term). Following the theoretical development of Victor Turner’s work, drama and, more generally, performance are not simply instantiations of social structure, but they generate culture.¹²

Rap music’s position in the global palette of expressive popular culture is an interesting one because often rappers juxtapose a driving urgency with a quotidian reality. Rappers excel at making a spectacle out of a humdrum sample. For example, the stenciled images in figure 1 show a kind of modernism in Chullage’s new musical recording logo, a symbol of symmetry and futurism. In effect, he has turned Luso-African blackness into a mark of technology rather than diasporic nostalgia. In figure 2, ubiquitous metal doors—the entrance to the Khapaz cultural center mentioned above and part of a state-subsidized project housing—frame the iconic representation of Amílcar Cabral, the revolutionary leader of African decolonization efforts in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

For scholars interested in globalized expressions such as hip-hop, this juxtaposition of urgent attitude and everyday life is what makes a “scene” or the locality of culture. However, locality is always influenced by the routes of migration and mediation.¹³ In 2007 and 2009 I met with rapper Jorge just across from the Amílcar Cabral stencil mentioned above. As we sat and watched neighborhood kids play on a dilapidated playground,

Jorge described what he called the “balance” necessary for Kriolu rappers in Lisbon:

Yeah, right, why rap in Kriolu? *Ami é kriolu*. I am Kriolu. So, that’s an answer. It means that there is something natural about it. It is me. But being me, here in this “social” neighborhood on the outskirts of a city that used us Cape Verdeans to help rule other Africans, . . . it makes Kriolu something else. Kriolu is a certain stance related to somewhere else. It’s Cape Verde; it’s America (*Merka*); it’s other parts of Europe; it’s Brazil; it’s Africa. Kriolu is a lot of things. I feel proud to be Kriolu.

Jorge was one of the founding members of Third World Answer (TWA), a group that began in the early 1990s and experimented with rapping in Kriolu mixed with English and Portuguese. Drama is about molding publics and collective selves, and, for the most part, scholars have located this influence in the “unit” or “model,” a structured performance of experience that involves creative risk taking.¹⁴ The work of Erving Goffman, Victor Turner, and Edward Bruner, among others, employed “drama” as a way to explain how people take raw, complex experiences and turn them into “an experience” and further shape them into “expressions.”¹⁵

Kriolu rap, then, exemplifies such a transformation, from experience to expression. “*Ami é kriolu*” sets the tone and stage as Jorginho begins his story of identity. He went on to braid stories of his changing artistic names to an emerging sense of control and autonomy. Jorginho structured his narrative of building a reputation by way of place, connecting identity formation to his migration trajectory from Cape Verde to various locales in the Lisbon periphery, including improvised squatter settlements (later demolished by the Portuguese state), hybrid residential infrastructures, and finally to Arrentela, a state-subsidized “social neighborhood.”¹⁶ Jorginho sipped a Sprite and summarized it all in these phrases: “Scenes catch folks and flows from all around [like me]; the scene is everything” (*A cena panha gentis e flows di tud kau [sima mi]; a cena é tud*).

Kriolu is an idiom of Cape Verdean local identity and also one that captures a sense of being comfortable elsewhere. TWA was one of the first rap groups to combine Kriolu and Cape Verdean diaspora in a tone of urgency to address a crisis of misrecognition made manifest in exclusive housing, education, and citizenship policies. This sentiment is echoed by rappers Hezbollah and LBC, whose names and rhetorical platforms address the experiences and processes of dis(en)placement. Yet, Kriolu in Lisbon is not just black, working-class spitfire. There also has been a tradition of Cape Verdean migration for those with hopes of transitioning into a cosmopolitan elite as more or less “European.”¹⁷ I will investigate such issues of class in the section of this article about the so-called Clarity (*Claridade*) movement. What connects the two is the paradigm of identity-

as-encounter. Creole historiography is necessary for a better understanding of this dynamic and will set the stage for a return to contemporary Kriolu rappers in Lisbon.

Rappers in Lisbon are the newest ciphers in the lengthy Kriolu drama shaped by historical and spatial dimensions of race, class, and gender. Following John Gumperz, Richard Bauman, Charles L. Briggs, Erving Goffman, and other scholars who foregrounded contextualization in the ethnography of performance, the encounter is not simply an objective fact apparent on the dramatic stage but rather a communicative formation with cultural specificity and particular epistemologies. The continuities or "sedimentations"¹⁸ as well as the dynamic substitutions or "surrogations"¹⁹ of blackness and marginality, along with racial mixture and colonial privilege, make Kriolu a dynamic symbolic process and a unique resource for Cape Verdean migrants in Lisbon.

A Kriolu Perspective on "Luso" History

Kriolu is a Cape Verdean and diasporic expression of language and identity within the larger "creole" category. Cape Verde, an archipelago nation-state located 350 miles (563 kilometers) west of Dakar, Senegal, in the Atlantic Ocean, was a significant early site of creolization. By "creolization" I mean the processes of intercultural identification and development made systematic in large-scale forms of hegemony such as colonialism, slavery, and geopolitical border life.

Historian Matthias Perl noted that Portuguese Creole was a language used beginning in the sixteenth century by non-Portuguese, such as the Dutch and English. It became a recognized trade language for doing business in West Africa and was disseminated to various parts of Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Kriolu contracted after the seventeenth century, but it was once a transcontinental language of trade and power.²⁰ Interpreted more generally, Kriolu as part of Creole was born in the intimacy of European-West African encounters and cultivated relationships as both African roots and Luso-African routes. As we will see, the tensions between Kriolu as difference and Kriolu as hybridity cannot be collapsed into a paradigm of nostalgic roots of a monolithic "Africa" versus a cosmopolitan mix of racial passing. The emotive responses of Portuguese and Cape Verdean intellectuals provide a key to understanding this dynamic when Kriolu returns as an asset in the later stages of colonialism.

Cape Verdean intellectuals, such as Baltasar Lopes, a poet, foundational scholar in Cape Verdean Creole linguistics, and one of the founders of the Clarity movement, followed late nineteenth-century Portuguese scholars such as Adolfo Coelho in asserting that Kriolu was a black inflection on an otherwise Portuguese essence: "The creoles of that archipelago

[Cape Verde] are nothing more than, in essence, a Portuguese altered in the mouths of Blacks, whether it be phonetically, morphologically, semantically or syntactically.”²¹ “Enlightened” writers (*Claridosos*) such as Baltasar Lopes and Pedro Cardoso helped establish Kriolu as a “dialect” that, in the words of Portuguese writer Edmundo Correia Lopes, “possesses the normal elements for the resolution of [typical] linguistic issues [that might arise in practice].”²²

Portuguese officials and educators developed this paradigm of “Kriolu as dialect” and by extrapolation a “social fact” of positive colonial encounters in various inclusive ways throughout the twentieth century. As the popular Portuguese travel writer Augusto Casimiro wrote in the opening words to his collection of essays *Ilhas Crioulas* (*Creole Islands*), “To write about Cape Verde is a national obligation.”²³ For the most part, this mindset benefited Cape Verdeans and their life chances in the empire, since they often were afforded a higher level of formal education and recruited as intermediaries abroad in Lusophone colonies not only in Africa but also in Goa and Macao.²⁴

Members of the Luso-African lettered elite occasionally published in the periodicals of late colonialism to express a sense of self for reading publics in Portugal’s “Overseas Territories.” In 1971 Albano Neves de Sousa, an Angolan artist, wrote a curious obituary essay in tribute to Jorge Barbosa, the famous Cape Verdean poet of the Clarity movement. Sousa expressed an unusual tone of camaraderie compared with other essays in *Permanência* (*Permanence*), one of the most popular Portuguese magazines at the time. Normally, authors described their intercultural relationships as part of the liberal view of race and difference in Portuguese mythology. In contrast, Sousa identified with a Cape Verdean way of diasporic sentiment. Ultimately, he looked to Kriolu as a way to find his place in the world.

Sousa opens the essay: “I think I was born with this crazy anxiety to see the person who condemned me to feel well only where I am not present.” Later, he waxes more descriptively: “The painful, melodic *crioulo* of a sweet idiom that is not an African language nor is it simply Portuguese, *morna* that is not *fado* nor *batuque*. . . . It [Kriolu] is the taste of distance, in the crossroads of the world, a delayed farewell, a hesitant teardrop that has yet to fall.”²⁵ Sousa thus begins with a ponderous claim to a diasporic existence, as he feels compelled to get to the bottom of the persistent feeling that one is not exactly in the right place. Comfort only seems to come through the imagination of elsewhere. In this manner Sousa introduces the fallen poet Barbosa in terms common to many immigrants. Yet, it is Kriolu, or *crioulo*, where Sousa finds an answer to such an existential dilemma.²⁶ The Angolan artist identified the Cape Verdean idiom as that which succeeds in articulating the “taste of distance” not in terms of separation but as the trajectory resulting from the *encruzilhada* (crossroads). Kriolu is

not simply the drama ensuing a bitter farewell but the drama of a person/group/nation juggling the copresence of Cape Verde as intersection, a long-standing meeting point of interculturality, and of Cape Verde as one point in a history of migration.

Sousa's essay was a tribute to one of the leaders of a group of Cape Verdean intellectuals, predominantly from the island of São Vicente and the city of Mindelo. This elite group called themselves the Claridosos (the illuminated/enlightened) and published a landmark journal called *Claridade*. Poets, linguists, musicians, and scholars such as Eugenio Tavares, Manuel Lopes, Jorge Barbosa, and Baltasar Lopes are significant in the drama of Kriolu because they articulated language and geography as identity. Baltasar Lopes wrote, "These islands; creole, by the people's color, white, by the social conditions, and by the language, a Roman experience in the tropics."²⁷ The "Clarity" drama was one of cultural nationalism in an effort to rework the experiences of colonialism into an expression of high modern art, thereby establishing a relative distinction. Being Cape Verdean could be achieved without disrupting Portuguese conventions of racial and linguistic hierarchies.

While Portuguese officials praised Cape Verdeans in the array of colonial bulletins as hard workers, poetic artists, and capable managers, the cause of a distinct Kriolu identity inside Portugal seemed to go in the opposite direction. Even members of the privileged classes of Cape Verde, who emigrated to Lisbon for university education, supported Portuguese colonialism, and were invested in procuring middle-class employment for themselves in the metropole, remarked on almost Fanonian moments of misrecognition.²⁸ In short, the "Enlightened" were not being heard as they intended.

Where the humanities and social sciences have been thoughtful regarding drama theory has been in the realm of language and its relationship to subjectivity. For example, anthropologists have been quick to comment that "expressions" as part of a larger array of cultural narratives are necessarily enmeshed in power relations beyond mere semiotics. In her work on Egyptian television, Lila Abu-Lughod describes "drama" as a genre within a larger sociopolitical institution that is an effective part of "national development."²⁹ In the case of the Claridosos, complex vectors of colonialism and the roles of Cape Verdeans in Euro-African mediation make "creole dramas" necessarily but sometimes ambiguously connected to Portuguese cultural power and national sovereignty.

Part of this creole identity drama stemmed from the account of Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre. Freyre is widely known in anthropological scholarship in the English language as that former student of Franz Boas who returned home to Brazil during the rise of populist dictator

Getúlio Vargas in the early 1930s and helped shape what continues to be the dominant nationalist ideology in Brazil, that is, "racial democracy." Less known is his experience in the early 1950s as an invited guest by the Ministry of Culture of Portugal to visit and assess the Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia. Freyre went on to formulate a related theory of "Lusotropicalism," which argues that the Portuguese were historically exceptional, because of, in part, their Moorish and generally "mixed" stock, in cultivating the colonial encounter into a creative, Dionysian dance of order and progress.³⁰ As Antoinette Errante argues, the utility of the Lusotropicalism discourse was not only in service of an imagined antiracism but also, by the late 1950s and early 1960s, an attempt to essentially link Portugal to its remaining African colonies.³¹ For example, *Presença*, a propaganda magazine of the 1960s and 1970s, printed in color, often featured a pair of children, one a "black" native of Angola or Mozambique and the other a "white" native of Portugal. Ensuing interviews and reports framed the white youth as identifying with Angola and equating this sentiment with an overall Portuguese identity.

Freyre's comments on Cape Verde, published in *Aventura e rotina* (*Adventure and Routine*), surprised the Claridosos, since they fancied themselves the intellectual vanguard of a people who epitomized Lusotropicalism and could potentially share grandeur with Brazil as part of the success story of Portuguese colonialism. In contrast, Freyre wrote,

During my first encounter with Cape Verde, I thought initially about the racial mixture, which was rehearsed here in an intense fashion by the Portuguese with Jews and notably black Africans, only to be developed in tropical America, of course mediated by the Amerindian. The first cauldron was here on the island of Santiago, today so negroid: a sign that, unlike what has successfully been happening in Brazil, this place has maintained the African elements of origin. . . . They had told me that I would find a place reminiscent of the Brazilian northeast here in Cape Verde[,] . . . however, this kinship appears to me to be vague and not accentuated.³²

The Claridosos published editorials of dismay and pondered Cape Verde's place in the Luso scheme of things.³³ Were they a relative failure in Lusotropicalism due to underdeveloped practices of mixture, empirically present in Cape Verde's overemphasis of blackness? For Freyre, the Kriolu language was African gibberish. He quickly left for Guinea-Bissau, the next stop on his Luso tour. I now return to "drama" as a mode of expression that affords both Kriolu historicity and Kriolu performativity held together by the organizing dynamic of the encounter.

Kriolu Drama in Contemporary Lisbon

Lila Gray, in her convincing essay on Portuguese fado music and the geography of sound and sentiment, makes an interesting observation in the introduction to a section on “learning soul” and performing *saudade*, the encapsulating Lusophone term of nostalgia and longing. She begins with a vignette describing the happenings at Jaime’s *tasca* (pub), a renowned site of fado performance for the more purist of heart. Located in Graça, a historical neighborhood with busy, narrow streets set atop one of the several steep hills that constitute Lisbon’s downtown area, providing a seemingly endless stream of picturesque vistas, Jaime’s bar is typically *tuga*, an institution of Portuguese popular culture. As a manner of contextualization, Gray contrasts the deep listening and intensity of the fado going on inside Jaime’s bar with the outside “sounds of traffic—people talking on the street, the ringing and clanging of the electric trolley, the occasional boom bass blasting hip hop.”³⁴ A trivial point of contrast, an everyday scene. While booming sounds from passing cars are relatively ephemeral to sacred cultural establishments such as Jaime’s bar, Kriolu rap constitutes elsewhere a more solid interruption of Portuguese national sentiment of longing and belonging:

We try to send a message. Being an independent artist in the tuga [in Portugal] is screwed up. You gotta be smart. More than that, we rap in Kriolu. Tons of prejudice in the acceptance and distribution of Kriolu. . . . Same excuse as always, Kriolu is a different language. . . . Cesária Evora is a world-renowned artist and she sings in Kriolu. They love her in Portugal. She just happens to live in Portugal. . . . Singing in Portuguese is strange [to me]. Can we leave this stupidity behind? Hezbollah, right here muthafucka. Two kids to raise . . . Hezbollah on the path as an independent artist.

É a mensage man. Life, bida di ser artista independenti na tuga é foda. Bu ten ki ser intelegenti. Inda pro cima bu ta rima na Kriolu. Bu xinti txeu prekonzeitu na aceitason di son man. Es dizkulpi di sempri. É ki Kriolu é una lingua diferenti. Fuck dat shit. Muzika é una language universal. Cesária Evora é una artista nivel mundial. Respetadu internacional y el ta kanta em Kriolu. Ta txeu obidu na Portugal. Só pamodi ta na tuga. É komplikadu kanta em Portugues. Nos dexa di estupidez. Hezbollah ta na prokura muthafucka. Dos fidju pa kria. Tud dispeza pa paga. Hezbollah na kaminhada.³⁵

In his introductory song to his 2009 mix-tape recording, Hezbollah raps a shouting manifesto of independence and anticorporate sentiment over a sample of an operatic aria. Sonically, Hezbollah’s monotone verses of reality bites stand in stark contrast to the wide-ranging melodies of the sampled soprano. The melismatic echo represents an erudite society

against which Hezbollah struggles to find a voice. As time passes in the song, Hezbollah's voice gains volume and strength, and he reduces the conventional sign of high art to the background. Hezbollah thus becomes the undisputed figure of the narrative and soundscape.

For Hezbollah everyday life as a Kriolu speaker in Lisbon reflects a "crisis," a moment in which speaking and expressive culture become dramatic.³⁶ In his later work Victor Turner tried to clarify his conceptualization of "performance" and "social drama" by showing that crises are those felt moments by individuals and recognized by social groups when daily life practices (i.e., performance) require an urgency and a direction so that the state of affairs (i.e., "social drama"), for example, being Cape Verdean in the former metropole of Lisbon, can be better understood. Joseph Roach, in his work on Circum-Atlantic performances between London and New Orleans, calls this process "surrogation," when "actual or perceived vacancies occur in the network of relations that constitutes the social fabric."³⁷ Contemporary members of a community then attempt to fill the voids. In its very nature, such surrogation and corresponding re-membering/forgetting are always selective and open for critique.³⁸ The transgression into the dramatic then potentially results in a force intended to work against indeterminacy. Put simply, drama is a grasp for control.

The dynamics of drama in the contestation over what constitutes Cape Verdeanness is embedded in *Hezbollah* as both an artistic name and a sign of Kriolu circulation. Given the nickname as a teenager coming of age in the improvised Lisbon neighborhood of Cova da Moura (Kova M), Hezbollah reflected, "I guess that name came from me being militant about things, being active about changing the negative around here. If an MC [rapper] doesn't *do* anything, he's just a parrot [*papagaio*]." While Hezbollah insisted in other conversations that his name had nothing to do with the geopolitics of the Middle East, I believe that this nickname along with references made by some of the more radical and more bookish Kriolu rappers (e.g., "Palestine" references later in this article) do, in fact, assert an affiliation between Kriolu identity politics and anti-Zionist activists.

For example, during a visit to Lisbon in 2013, I accompanied a group of Kriolu rappers through the metropolitan downtown after a vibrant debate about Marcus Garvey, Afro-centricity, and Luso-African experiences in contemporary Lisbon. We passed the Rossio plaza, a center of tourist activity and public national memory filled with bustling commerce and historical monuments. Curiously, in the spot where Luso-Africans used to gather and discuss the fate of their home countries during the independence struggles of the 1960s and 1970s and where many survivors of that generation continue to gather to reminisce and show their ethnic customs of dress, there is a small monument installed on the mark where the dramatic torturing and slaughtering of hundreds of Jews took place as

part of the Inquisition in 1506. I confessed that I had passed this monument dozens of times and never noticed its significance. One particularly combative and articulate rapper immediately responded that while the massacre of the Jews was a horrible act, at least they have a home. He went on to say, "They were given Israel with all this protection and privilege. Why? There are so many with just as much claim to territory but with no home. Diaspora can be a bit like that. I feel that way." Kriolu as an identity of encounter and difference can be a medium of imaginary alliances with other displaced groups who publicly try to stake claims on territory and ownership of local histories. With that said, it is clear that the adoption of "Hezbollah" or favorable references to Palestine is in no way a call to arms. Kriolu rappers are discursive activists not underground militia men, rhetorical soldiers not military troops.

Hezbollah went on to detail where his music ends up:

I know they hear my music in Dorchester [Boston neighborhood with a large Cape Verdean community]. I sold fifty CDs there over the past couple of months. I have family out there. On the islands, in Praia I do well, especially in the Achada Santo Antonio [neighborhood in the capital city of Praia]. Some places like Santarém and Alcobaça [municipalities to the north of Lisbon] have invited me to headline cultural events. Not many Kriolu speakers out that way but I think it's because poor *tugas* [Portuguese people] hear me and get me.

The significance of this narrative of circulation is not simply about Cape Verdean diasporic connections; it also shows that Hezbollah's depiction of Kriolu drama as difference connotes a range of meanings. That narratives of misrecognition such as Hezbollah's manifesto cited above make their way to the small towns of Alcobaça and Santarém demonstrate the expansive potential of Kriolu, where the language symbolizes a subaltern confrontation rather than a mark of ethnic difference.

The evidence from Kriolu rap advances a theoretical position on drama and performance initiated by Goffman when he wrote that it is the *relationship* between the performer and audience that is an essential quality of performance.³⁹ The drama elicits judgment as a manner of "redressing" the situation at hand.⁴⁰ Dramas compromise those involved in a range of activities including what Victor Turner calls "definitional" positions. In the milieu of contemporary Europe, a "definitional" position as it relates to Kriolu involves questions such as, What is citizenship in Portugal really? Are "we" Portuguese or European or African or immigrants?⁴¹ After expressing surprise at his relative success in rural Portugal, Hezbollah turned the conversation back to sound and emphasized the value of "drama" in opera: "Kriolu [is] identity in a new way[,] . . . a marginal voice to Portugal [*tuga*], a marginal voice in Portugal."

Hezbollah's lyrical reference to Cesária Evora, the late Cape Verdean diva, deserves discussion as well. Singing in the same language, Evora also invoked a spatial dimension of Kriolu but in a very different tone and with a contrasting intention. The following lyrical excerpt represents such an alternative perspective:

Come to get to know this little Mindelo
 Come to get to know this country.
 Come to get to know this darling paradise
 That our poets sing with love in these immortal Kriolu verses.
 Who hasn't been to Mindelo doesn't know Cape Verde.
 Come and explore the beauty of these uniquely honest people
 Here we have no riches
 We don't have gold or diamonds
 But, we have God's peace like nowhere else in the world
 And the wonderful climate that God gave us.
 Come and get to know this country.

Ben contxe es Mindelo pikeninu
 Ben contxe sabura di nos terra.
 Ben contxe es paradizu di cretcheu
 ki nos poeta canta cu amor nes versus na Criolu.
 Kem ca contxe Mindelo ca contxe Cabu Verdi.
 Ben disfruta morabeza, es povo franco sin igual
 Li nu ca ten riqueza
 Nu ca ten oro nu ca ten diamanti
 Mas nu ten es paz di Deus ci na mundu ca ten
 Y es clima sabi que Deus nos da.
 Ben contxe es país.⁴²

In contrast to the rough ride of Hezbollah, Evora effortlessly guides her voice across the melodic range in this emblematic song of the national musical genre of morna. Here, Kriolu is a national symbol, not a mark of immigrant marginality. The listener is placed in Cape Verde rather than Portugal, and the slow tempo lilt of the nylon-string guitar supported by a light string section suggests, particularly to the "world music" consumer, a time to travel, reflect, and discover a creole treasure represented by the regional hub of Mindelo on the island of São Vicente. Historically, both Portuguese and Cape Verdean artists have interpreted the drama of Cape Verde as a tragic but creative milieu of island ingenuity, mestizo fortitude, and remarkable resilience. The drama of Kriolu rap is an interruption as rappers remind us of the tense relationship between creole as difference (as signaled by Hezbollah) and creole as the nostalgic product of the colonial encounter (Evora).

Kriolu Dramatizes Race and Space

While the myth of creole as colonial serendipity continued on in the minds of many Portuguese and some Cape Verdeans, as exemplified in the citations above, two new factors contributed to the contemporary state of Kriolu drama and the formation of contemporary Kriolu rap in Lisbon. Portuguese political economic policies following World War II, in particular by the 1950s, influenced labor markets and demographic patterns. Consequently, the "idea of Portugal" began to change. As Errante asserts in her thorough treatment of twentieth-century educational pedagogy, the Portuguese state continued to represent the nation and its "imaginary standing" in the world vis-à-vis its territories and a romantic view of traditional, rural life. The cordiality of an intercultural, Lusotropical Portugal was depicted as always "over there."

After 1960 with state investment in infrastructure, and again after 1986 with Portugal's entry into the European Union, Lisbon became increasingly a stage for "black" immigrant presence and cultural performance. In effect, then, the issue of creole, serendipitous or woefully "negroid," in the words of Freyre, was now *here at home*, as Cape Verdeans, along with immigrants from other PALOP nations (Países africanos de língua oficial portuguesa, African countries with Portuguese as official language), the overseas "white" Portuguese "returnees" (*retornados*), and gypsies or Romani and internal migrants, created improvised neighborhoods around the periphery of Lisbon.

In addition to creole being increasingly located in the former metropole, the Kriolu-speaking person is predominantly poor, underemployed, and from the island of Santiago, a far cry from the "illuminated" Cape Verdean from Mindelo looking for cosmopolitan status in Lisbon. The islands of Cape Verde differ greatly in terms of geology and demography. Most pertinent in this case is the perceived and performed Africanity of Santiago. The dramatic keyword here is *badiu*, Kriolu for the Portuguese term *vadio* (vagabond). To be or speak *badiu* is a reference to Santiago and blackness. Cape Verdean sociologist Redy Wilson Lima writes about *badiu*, in his work on rap music in Praia city, as akin to "nigger, wild, idle" in English.⁴³ *Badiu* reveals the tension of Kriolu as both a practice of literal denigration and criminalization of some Cape Verdeans as well as a prideful politics of difference. For example, Kriolu rappers among others have recuperated *badiu* as a symbol of racial and linguistic pride to remind listeners that the island of Santiago was also a place of maroon rebellion during the twentieth century.⁴⁴

In sum, the increased presence of Cape Verdeans from Santiago in Lisbon resulted in Kriolu acquiring a more indignant tone constituting a more brash reflection on displacement and relocation in the land of tuga,

or Portugal. Rather than the articulation of diasporic connections to Cape Verde, in the case of Cesária Evora, local rappers make claims for Kriolu legitimacy inside Lisbon as part of a new Portugal.

It is important to note that few Kriolu rappers employ any of the wide variety of Cape Verdean musical genres, such as *morna*, *koladera*, and *funaná*, in their beat mixes.⁴⁵ This absence is curious given the fact that due to the international success of artists such as Evora along with a new cadre of divas, including Sara Tavares, Lura, and Mayra Andrade, such musical genres have become virtually synonymous with Cape Verdean identity abroad. LBC, a Kriolu rapper whose name is an acronym for “learning black connection,” best described this apparent contradiction:

Sometimes people, normally *tugas* [“white” Portuguese], ask me why I don’t sample, you know, more Cape Verdean sounding music. And, I say that I like listening to mornas and dancing to funaná. We always swing by my mom’s café here in Cova da Moura [Lisbon neighborhood] on Friday and Saturday night to check out the funaná. But, I think, and a lot of us Kriolu rappers believe that rap needs a different kind of drama. I mean, mornas are very dramatic; they are often sad and nostalgic, very emotional. I am dramatic and I like to choose the beats of rappers like 2Pac [Tupac Shakur]. He understood drama. But, this doesn’t make my music American or less Cape Verdean. In fact, it is not just Cape Verdean; it is immigrant music; it is a particular kind of resistance music and Kriolu is essential to that. Kriolu links us to Cape Verde but the content is about a drama here or maybe better said “not quite here.”

LBC’s reluctance to tap into the dramas of *morna* music, for example, may have something to do with his and others’ skepticism of Portuguese state attempts to “include” Cape Verdeans and other PALOP residents as part of Lusofonia. This brand of multiculturalism represents a current attempt by the Portuguese state to recognize cultural difference among citizens and long-standing residents. However, many “others” have yet to find much in the way of empowerment in Lusofonia because they tend to associate it with the former nationalist paradigm of Lusotropicalism, essentially an ideology of assimilation. For Kriolu rappers, part of their disbelief stems from their sense that the Portuguese state and immigrant outreach agencies limit their recognition of difference to homogenizing cultural symbols such as “traditional” music and cuisine.

Luso is limited in scope not just in style and genre but also in more basic terms of space. The great majority of Kriolu rappers in Lisbon were either born in the Lisbon area or immigrated with a family member when they were children. As LBC implies, Kriolu is part of daily socialization and it does, in fact, link them to Cape Verde or an idea of Cape Verde. However, Lisbon Kriolu reality narratives do not simply stop there; they

are not a “back to Cape Verde” mantra in complete opposition to Lisbon or Portugal as a whole. The neighborhoods of Cova da Moura, Arrentela, and dozens of others are grounded in Portugal. As LBC concludes, Kriolu mediates an experience of “drama” that is not totally “there” in Cape Verde nor entirely “here” in Portugal.

LBC attempts to convey his ideas on Kriolu identity as drama in live performances as well. On two occasions, one in an informal recording studio and the other in a cultural festival (mentioned by Hezbollah above), I was struck by the energy LBC created in the song “M.I.N.A.O.” In the following lyrical excerpt, LBC describes drama as dependent on the diasporic encounter:

What is that about “real thugs” and “real gangstas” in training who leave
their kids and women hungry in the ghetto?
When I arrived from Eugenio Lima in Kova M, I learned a lot of things
a badiu soldier right here
MINAO soldier is here to defend
all those that the state oppresses
fuck a nigga who isn’t with my ideas
who doesn’t know about Carlos Veiga
he barely maintains his legitimacy
he was down with the guy who killed Renato Cardoso
enough nigga
I became the soldier here
we must have a new kind of spirit
[Refrain] M.I.N.A.O.
black antioppression mental intellect
It’s all about preparing people for a world revolution.

Odja kuze real thugs y real gangsta li ki dexe kriansa y mudjer na gueta?
Kuandu n dexe Eugenio Lima y n txiga na Kova M, muthafucka mutu kuza
n aprendi
soldadu badiu li
MINAO soldja li ta defendi
y tud algen ki estadu oprimi
bai pa putu ki pariu
fuck a nigga ma ta sin imaji sin es ideia
ken ka sabe a história di Carlos Veiga
ken ta menti para povo
ken ta djuntu ku a genti ki mata Renato Cardoso
nigga txiga
soldadu li na mundu
nu sta ku espiritu muthafucka
é M.I.N.A.O.
é menti intellectual negro anti-oppreson
é pra prepara a genti pa revoluson.⁴⁶

In this song, LBC never seems to have enough time to get out all the words. His rhetoric style is one of rush-rush, mono-pitch chant culminating in an abrupt slow-down rising in pitch on the final two syllables. LBC brings an undeniable urgency to the microphone. The refrain is word play in which LBC juxtaposes a new moniker, "MINAO," an acronym meaning black, antioppression mental intellect (menti intelectual negro anti-opresson) and also a Kriolu phrase loosely translated as "not me" or "I don't want it."

Consisting of two main melodic samples of a siren and a repeated note, played on a synthesizer, "M.I.N.A.O." is unmistakably a song of drama. Unlike other kinds of expressions, dramas rely on emotion to elicit "redressive" practices and social investment in the expressive material itself. Scholars in performance studies have argued that dramas as public acts, taken from the Greek roots of the term, are effective when they direct participants toward a sentiment and ultimately to a sense that those involved gain an insight into life.⁴⁷ For example, in her work on the Portuguese music genre of fado, Lila Gray argues that the performance of fado, in terms of sound and style (e.g., the use of silence and tears), constitutes a field of knowledge around Portuguese feeling (*sentimento*) with which participants debate not only musical but cultural origins.

In this excerpt LBC locates his learning of the "black connection" (where *black* stands in for a trajectory of oppression to empowerment) in the Cape Verdean diaspora. It is when he moved from the impoverished neighborhood of Eugenio Lima in the capital city of Praia to the established Cape Verdean Kriolu improvised neighborhood of Cova da Moura (Kova M) that LBC began to reflect on Kriolu in Portugal. He quickly outlines encounters involving police brutality and racial profiling in the Lisbon periphery on his way back to references to Carlos Veiga and Renato Cardoso, two opposing political figures within the same party during Cape Verde's transition from a Marxist-style, one-party system to a neoliberal, multiparty system during the 1990s.

When asked about the song's message, LBC clarified: "I identify my place as a contemporary colonized person, who hasn't realized the revolution. The spaces are linked. Kova M is like Palestine is like Praia city in CV, and so many other places. I am a soldier of the third world inside Europe doing outreach." We are thus reminded of the opening phrases of Sousa's obituary of the Clarity poet Jorge Barbosa cited above. LBC uses Kriolu to try and work through the discomfort of distance and the sentiment of migration and encounter. As mentioned above, given the critical if not anti-Zionist stance of many Afro-centric Kriolu rappers, "Palestine" asserts an affinity not around race or class but decolonization or postcolonial struggles for recognition. For LBC, the value of Kriolu is in its dramatic force to create connections ("Kova M is like Palestine" and

so on) and not just to express, in Sousa's words, an isolation of "delayed farewells" and "hesitant teardrops."

As an expression of diaspora, class, race, and the postcolonial condition, *badiu* is a keyword in the social imaginary of peripheral spaces in Lisbon such as Kova M. LBC most directly relates *badiu* to his personal identity, "a *badiu* soldier," an identity marker that requires space to be meaningful. In his lyrics LBC qualifies *badiu* with two deictic expressions: "right here" and "arriving from Eugenio Lima." While the former refers to his current presence in Kova M, the latter refers to migration from the Cape Verdean island of Santiago and an "improvised" neighborhood in the capital city of Praia. Moreover, LBC articulates *badiu* as a spatial project of "outreach" through Europe for those who engage oppressive state regimes in a spirit of resistance.

As this example of *badiu* demonstrates, the production of locality involves a range of spatial references and necessarily involves dynamics of contact, what Goffman referred to as the "relationship" or what Kriolu rapper Jorginho called "stance." In the case of most Kriolu rap, it is not only the relationship between performer and audience but also the existential relationship embodied in Kriolu that invites evaluation or "redressing" in the hope of making "definitional positions" public. Historically, Kriolu and Cape Verde emerged as a dynamic relationship between Jewish and Muslim migrants (expelled during the Iberian Inquisition) and Portuguese and West African traders. Over the past generations, Kriolu has become a drama of judgment on the encounter between the postcolonial resident and a set of state agencies with implications on notions and laws of citizenship (e.g., Chullage and the Khapaz community cultural center). For his part, LBC (as well as Hezbollah) provokes audiences to reflect on the class tensions of Kriolu in a drama of *badiu* soldiers in the archipelago and abroad against an established Cape Verdean cadre of conciliatory elite (e.g., the reference to Renato Cardoso). Such heterogeneity complicates the straightforward notion of place as an easily demarcated locale rooted in autochthonous or even unidirectional diasporic practices.

Conclusion

A "drama perspective" on expressive culture is more than an interpretation of performative semiotics. Using historical and ethnographic material that addresses Cape Verdean life experiences, I have argued that the intensity of Kriolu dramas depends on the encounter, the *raison d'être* of creole, which Kriolu speakers revisit repeatedly to foster belonging and gain recognition. More generally, drama is emotive and depends on certain "sedimentations" and "surrogations" of meaning over time to have the desired effect of persuading the audience and performers to invest in

a slice of life. In the case of Kriolu, dramas are essentially migration and encounter narratives presented as artistic expressions of identity through a distinct language. My discussion of badiu and Hezbollah exemplifies such processes, respectively.

Rap music performance “keys” participants into a potentially provocative state of ambiguity, somewhere between the “frames” of aesthetic play, biography, and reported indictment. Rap is rhetorical performance, but its content and style often direct the listener to the banality of everyday life. Kriolu is not simply a linguistic code to convey an otherwise globalized message; rather, it is a metadiscursive device that stirs emotions and transforms mundane narratives into dramas of identity.

Given the politics of language and space during colonial and post-colonial Portugal, Kriolu rappers are distinct from other visible communities challenging the paradigms of citizenship in “New Europe.” Cape Verdeans and Kriolu have never been completely “other” and thus fit nervously in between mimesis and alterity. Kriolu rappers therefore complement the *verlan* yahoos in the *cités* of Paris, the *negersprache* Turks underemployed in Berlin, and the intellectual “colored” of London’s *Windrush* generation in pushing the conversation around contemporary citizenship forward. All of these groups ask the questions, What does it mean when an identity category is born in the encounter? What do “roots” mean when one’s foundation was “routes”? In the current milieu of economic recession and political uncertainty about citizenship, how do people establish legitimacy in a nation-state? Recall Chullage from the introduction, when he provocatively implored, “Look at what Kriolu rap has done.” The landmarks of the Khapaz cultural center and much of the neighborhood of Kova M are empirical proof of Kriolu labor in the land of tuga and a recognizable alternative to the assimilationist and nationalist discourse of Lusotropicalism as well as the multicultural paradigm of Lusofonia. Kriolu rap performances offer a drama of identity as contingent, a desire for distinction from tuga but aware of the geopolitics of their contemporary realities.

A product of colonialism, diaspora, and other forms of mass migrations, “creole” speaks to the human condition of contact, power, and cultural expression. Unlike other social categories, creole is necessarily a transgression, a “risk” of being. By this, I mean that, as discussed above, movement, contact, and, hence, becoming define *creole*. While I have focused on the so-called Lusophone world by bringing together voices from colonial scribes, local elites, and diasporic youth, I aim to make a more general point. Creole, when considered as an intercultural formation beyond hybridity, provides insight into the inspiring creativity and heterogeneous violence that emerge from the recognition of difference by showing us that identity is not only an arduous process of strategic essentialism but also, always, a drama of contact.

Notes

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1. Pedro is a member of ACIDI (Alta Comissariado para a imigração e diálogo intercultural, High Commission on Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue).

2. See, for example, Lila Ellen Gray, "Memories of Empire, Mythologies of the Soul: Fado Performance and the Shaping of Saudade," *Ethnomusicology* 51, no. 1 (2007): 106–30; and Jonathan H. Shannon, "Emotion, Performance, and Temporality in Arab Music: Reflections on Tarab," *Cultural Anthropology* 18, no. 1 (2003): 72–98.

3. See, for example, Jerome Camal, "From Gwoka Modènn to Jazz Ka: Music, Nationalism, and Creolization in Guadeloupe" (PhD diss., Washington University in St. Louis, 2011); Edward Akintola Hubbard, "Creolization and Contemporary Pop Iconicity in Cape Verde" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2011); Stephan Palmié, "The 'C-Word' Again: From Colonial to Postcolonial Semantics," in *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory*, ed. Charles Stewart (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast, 2007), 66–83.

4. Edouard Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*, trans. J. Michael Dash (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989), 98.

5. The term *intercultural* generally refers to a public policy, especially operative in Europe, that addresses cross-cultural relationships within one nation-state. "Interculturality" thus is an attempt to ameliorate the shortcomings of multiculturalism in Europe. I've placed "inter" in parentheses to emphasize the role of the encounter in cultural production such as language and music. The term *cross-cultural*, as used in this case by Glissant, is more anthropological in the sense of crossing borders, the cultural politics of Europe notwithstanding.

6. Hubbard, "Creolization and Contemporary Pop Iconicity," 8.

7. As discussed by Cheryl Keyes, *Rap Music and Street Consciousness* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

8. See, for example, John Burdick, *The Color of Sound: Race, Religion, and Music in Brazil* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); Greg Dimitriadis, *Performing Identity/Performing Culture* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009); Sujatha Fernandes, *Cuba Represent! Cuban Arts, State Power, and the Making of New Revolutionary Cultures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); Derek Pardue, "Hip Hop Occupations," in *Brazilian Music and Popular Citizenship*, ed. Idelber Avelar and Christopher Dunn (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 205–22; Russell A. Potter, *Spectacular Vernaculars: Hip-Hop and the Politics of Postmodernism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995); and Gwendolyn Pough, ed., *Home Girls Make Some Noise: Hip-Hop Feminism Anthology* (Mira Loma, CA: Parker, 2007).

9. See Keshia Fikes, *Managing African Portugal: The Citizen-Migrant Distinction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).

10. See Richard Bauman, "Performance," in *International Encyclopedia of Communications*, ed. Erik Barnouw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 262–66.

11. Dwight Conquergood, "Poetics, Play, Process, and Power: The Performative Turn in Anthropology," *Text and Performance Quarterly* 9, no. 1 (1989): 84.

12. See, for example, Victor Turner, "Aspects of Saora Ritual and Shamanism: An Approach to the Data of Ritual," in *The Craft of Social Anthropology*, ed. A. L.

- Epstein (London: Tavistock, 1967), 181–204, in contrast to his “The Anthropology of Performance,” in *On the Edge of the Bush: Anthropology as Experience*, ed. Edith L.B. Turner (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 177–204.
13. See, for example, Alistair Pennycook, *Language as a Local Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2010).
 14. Richard Bauman, *Verbal Art as Performance* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland, 1977).
 15. See Edward M. Bruner, “Experience and Its Expressions,” in *The Anthropology of Experience*, ed. Victor W. Turner and Edward M. Bruner (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 3–30.
 16. See Martin Eaton, “Foreign Residents and Illegal Aliens: Os negros em Portugal,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16, no. 3 (1993): 536–62; Anna Paula Beja Horta, *A Construção da alteridade: Nacionalidade, políticas de imigração e ação coletiva migrante na sociedade portuguesa pós-colonial* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2008).
 17. See Luís Batalha, *The Cape Verdean Diaspora in Portugal: Colonial Subjects in a Postcolonial World* (New York: Lexington Books, 2004).
 18. See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).
 19. See Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).
 20. Matthias Perl, “Acerca de alguns aspectos históricos do Português crioulo em África,” *Biblios* 58 (1982): 1–12. See also Keith Whinnom, “The Origin of European-based Creoles and Pidgins,” *Orbis* 14 (1965): 511–26; and Richard A. Lobban Jr., *Cape Verde: Crioulo Colony to Independent Nation* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1995).
 21. Baltasar Lopes da Silva, *O dialecto crioulo de Cabo Verde* (Lisbon: Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais, Imprensa Nacional de Lisboa, 1957), 18.
 22. Edmundo Correia Lopes, “Dialectos crioulos e etnografia crioula,” *Boletim Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* 1 (1941): 415–35.
 23. Augusto Casimiro, *Cadernos Coloniais*, No. 3 (Lisboa: Editora Cosmos, 1936).
 24. Luís Batalha and Jorgen Carling, eds., *Transnational Archipelago: Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008).
 25. Albano Neves de Sousa, “Hora di Bai,” *Permanência* 1 (1971): 10. *Morna* is a lyrical lament, a song genre with a long history throughout Cape Verde. It became the national music of Cape Verde because of the influence of the sentimental lyrics written by many Clarity artists. The voice in morna takes front stage and is usually accompanied by nylon-stringed guitar, clarinet and other wind instruments, occasional keyboard, and light percussion. *Fado* is the national music of Portugal. It is also a poetic lament narrating longing and separation. *Batuque* refers to a song genre in both Cape Verde and West Africa that emphasizes hand percussion.
 26. *Crioulo* is the spelling consistently used by Portuguese scholars and officials and by many Cape Verdeans from the Barlavento or Windward island group, including São Vicente, the home of the Clarity movement. Those from the Sotavento or Leeward group, especially inhabitants from the island of Santiago, prefer the *k*. For more on orthography in Cape Verde, see Dulce Almeida Duarte, *Bilinguismo ou diglossia? As relações de força entre o crioulo e o português na sociedade cabo-verdiana* (Praia, Cape Verde: Spleen Edições, 2003). The *c/k* difference is one of many dis-

crepancies among the variants of Cape Verdean Creole, which makes transcription particularly challenging. I am more familiar with the Santiago, or *badiu*, variant; however, in the case of the Cesária Evora transcription, I adopted a Barlavento, or *sampadjuda*, orthography.

27. Baltasar Lopes da Silva, *O dialecto crioulo de Cabo Verde*, 15.

28. Maria Margarida Mascarenhas, "Flagrantes Cabo-verdianos," *Presença Crioula* 1 (1973): 8.

29. See Lila Abu-Lughod, "Editorial Comment: On Screening Politics in a World of Nations," *Public Culture* 5, no. 3 (1993): 465–69; and *Dramas of Nationhood: The Politics of Television in Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). See also Cymene Howe, "Spectacles of Sexuality: Televisionary Activism in Nicaragua," *Cultural Anthropology* 23, no. 1 (2008): 48–84.

30. See, for example, Cláudia Castelo, *O modo português de estar no mundo: O luso-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa (1933–1961)* (Oporto: Afrontamento, 1998); Omar Ribeiro Thomaz, *Ecos do Atlântico Sul* (Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 2002); and Igor José de Renó Machado, "Imigrantes brasileiros no Porto: Aproximação à perinidade de ordens racias e coloniais portuguesas," *Lusotopie*, no. 1 (2004): 121–40.

31. Antoinette Errante, "Education and National Personae in Portugal's Colonial and Postcolonial Transition," *Comparative Education Review* 42, no. 3 (1998): 296.

32. Gilberto Freyre, *Aventura e rotina: Sugestões de uma viagem à procura das constantes portuguesas de caráter e ação* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1953), 290.

33. Baltasar Lopes da Silva, *Cabo Verde visto por Gilberto Freyre* (Praia: Imprensa Nacional, 1956).

34. Gray, "Memories of Empire, Mythologies of the Soul," 111.

35. Hezbollah, "Artista Independente," on *Entre Lagrimaz y Rimaz* (Lisbon: Independent, 2009).

36. See Isabel Paím de Bruges Fêo Rodrigues, "Crafting Nation and Creolization in the Islands of Cape Verde" (PhD diss., Brown University, 2002); compare to Hubbard, "Creolization and Contemporary Pop Iconicity." See also Samuel Weeks, "Marxian Crisis, Maussian Gift: The Mutual-Help Practices of Lisbon's Cape Verdean Labor Immigrants in an Age of Austerity," in "Afro-Portugal," special issue, *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos*, no. 24 (2012): 27–43.

37. Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 2.

38. Andrew Apter, "On African Origins: Creolization and *Connaissance* in Haitian Vodou," *American Ethnologist* 29, no. 2 (2002): 233–60.

39. Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959).

40. Victor Turner, "Dewey, Dilthey, and Drama: An Essay in the Anthropology of Experience," in *The Anthropology of Experience*, ed. Victor W. Turner and Edward M. Bruner (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 33–44.

41. See Kesha Fikes, *Managing African Portugal: The Citizen-Migrant Distinction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).

42. Cesária Evora, "Ess Pais," on *Cabo Verde*, RCA, 1997.

43. Redy Wilson Lima, "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*, ed. Rosana Martins and Massimo Canevacci (London: Sean Kingston, 2013).

44. See Françoise Ascher, *Os rabelados de Cabo Verde: Historia de uma revolta* (Paris: Harmattan, 2011).

45. *Funaná* is an upbeat dance music from Cape Verde. The instrumentation consists of accordion, bass, percussion, occasional brass, and the distinct scraping sound of the *ferrinho*, an iron slab. *Funaná* is native to the island of Santiago, but since independence in 1975, and more intensely in the past decade, the genre has become popular throughout the archipelago and the diaspora. *Koladera* is also a national genre. The tempo is usually faster than *morna*, and its lyrics frequently relate to social issues, while the *morna* consists of romantic, nostalgic ballads. *Batuko* involves only women and consists of a series of call and response over a steady poly-rhythm of hand percussion.

46. LBC, "M.I.N.A.O.," on *Lagrimaz di sangui hip hop revolucionario pa povu pobre na puder* (Lisbon: Independent, 2009).

47. Judith Lynne Hannah, *The Performer-Audience Connection: Emotion to Metaphor in Dance and Society* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983).