

■ **Derek Pardue**  
 Washington University  
 dpardue@artsci.wustl.edu

## Cape Verdean Creole and the Politics of Scene-Making in Lisbon, Portugal

*The performance of Kriolu rap in Lisbon, Portugal has emerged at a time when Western European countries are reassessing the relationship between national territory and identity. Attractive to some and disturbing to others are the attitude and flair of Kriolu rappers. A group of mostly young men of Cape Verdean descent, these rappers insist on speaking and singing in Kriolu, a creole language that lacks official-language status in both Portugal and Cape Verde. In this article, based on analyses of rap lyrics, excerpts from my fieldwork conversations with rappers, and structural features of the Kriolu language itself, I propose that Kriolu rap is a renewed interrogation of diaspora and of place-based identity. More generally, I propose that, when contextualized in terms of cultural history and (post)colonial politics, Kriolu rap offers insight into the relationship between words and music as part of a process of combining aesthetics with social claims. [creole, rap, diaspora, chronotope, Cape Verde, Portugal]*

“It’s something natural. My parents only spoke in *crioulo* with me. So, it’s obvious that I would sing some lyrics in *crioulo*. It means that I invest all of myself in the product.”

– Rapper Núcleo, from an e-magazine interview (2008); translated by the author.<sup>1</sup>

“In my view, what happened was that hip hop got exported and imported all around the world, usually without its history, its culture. So, people appropriate characteristics and nationalize it. [They] negate the multiracial, multiethnic and democratic part of it. They whiten it. The term *tuga* emerged around the year 2000 in this context.”

– Kriolu rapper LBC, from a conversation with the author (2010); translated by the author.

This article departs from two observations. The first, following Alastair Pennycook (2010:4), is that the social context of language involves a “locality of perspective.” The second, which follows on the first, is that such a perspective often informs an ideology of linguistic differentiation (Irvine and Gal 2000). In the case of Portugal, the ideological positioning of Kriolu, the European-West African creole language of Cape Verdeans, centers on its iterative differentiation from (and distinctiveness vis-à-vis) Portuguese.<sup>2</sup>

In the idiom of global hip hop, “perspective” generally means a position on the “real” as a complex performance of the *relationship* between local and global, rather than an either-or formulation. This relationship, involving processes of underscoring place (locality) and highlighting history (temporality), must emerge in rap language and circulate through recognizable media outlets in order for the expression (e.g., the song or statement) to be effective (Terkourafi 2010; Alim 2009). To be effective is to be “real,” the original *raison d’être* of hip hop: to represent lived experiences of margin-

alization in an honest and informed manner. In the case of Kriolu rap in Lisbon, situations of neighborhood hanging-out and studio recording are the principal sites where rappers do the identity work of connecting Kriolu to a set of place-time formulations. The main message is one of distinction: to be or to speak *kriolu* is *not* to be or to speak *tuga*, or Portuguese.<sup>3</sup>

In this article, I argue that the local language practices evident in Kriolu rap illuminate an essential component of identity formation, namely, the ideological force of time-place articulation, or chronotope. As made clear by Bakhtin, the primary figure who translated this concept of mathematical physics for the humanities, the significance of chronotope is not simply the articulation of time and space, but the existence of a certain relationship between time and space that organizes experience (see Dent 2009:63). In Bakhtin's formulation of the chronotope concept, there is an emphasis on time in the search for the "generic significance" (Bakhtin 1981:84–85) of literature, but I foreground instead issues of space and place in order to examine processes of identity formation. 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. Kriolu rappers are not just ghetto-centric poets or diasporic griots nostalgic for African homelands. They sing the improvised neighborhoods and housing projects of Lisbon into existence, implying a density or a "flesh" (borrowing from Bakhtin) of time in their invocations of "drama." Kriolu rappers use Kriolu as a provocation to Cape Verdeans and to non-Kriolu-speakers alike to consider categorical alternatives—in particular, an alternative to *tuga*, that is, Portuguese—within the social and ideological dynamics of language in Portugal.

The concept of chronotope is useful in the Kriolu case because it allows a rich investigation into the tension of identity politics coded in a form of popular poetics, namely rap music, not only by eliciting an appreciation of the space of identity formation as historically constituted, but also by drawing attention to the linguistic and narrative evidence for such identity work. Not unlike Kathleen Stewart's (1996) exploration into the dialectics of West Virginia "hollers," coal camps, and other "ruins" of postindustrial America as contested, emotive sites of signification about getting "pulled down," "letting go," and becoming "haunted," my investigation reveals the generative friction of places and remembering. *Kriolu* is a language and identity based on experiences of migration as well as certain kinds of expectations. Kriolu rappers rework notions of diaspora in terms of dis(em)placement as they wait for recognition from the state (in official forms such as citizenship) and from cultural and educational institutions. At the same time, they also hope for recognition among rappers abroad, wherever hip hoppers celebrate verbal skills and "real"-life narratives.

As the adage goes, rap began as a treatise on "who you are, where you're from, and the place to be." Rakim, the legendary U.S. rapper, extended hip hop's notion of place to include "attitude" in his popular mantra from the late 1980s, "it's not where you're from but where you're at." Rappers and scholars have demonstrated in detail that the combination of life experience and local knowledge is a powerful resource for poetic and ideological articulation (Forman 2002; Maxwell 2003; Fradique 2003; Condry 2006; Rose 1994; Gilroy 1993; Pardue 2010). Where one "is at" is a matter of positionality and of stance. Recent work by linguistic anthropologists interested in the intersections between moral judgment and code recognition in everyday speech (Keane 2011; Goodwin 2007; Kiesling 2001) informs my notion that "being [at] *kriolu*" necessarily implies a conscious sense of place that is somehow different from *tuga*, and that this position is "true," legitimate and valuable. For example, when asked about his song "Gerason di Gosi" (The Now Generation), rapper Kromo responded: "Kriolu is a way, a manner [of being]. It is Kova M [his neighborhood of Cova da Moura]. It is about coping with the ghetto life stress. That's what the song is about. People feel that

in the words and the way I speak the words." A kriolu stance, then, comprises specific locations of Lisbon, such as Kova M, as well as particular, recognizable manners of self-presentation. Kromo's comments on "coping" speak to the "truth" value of kriolu. It is a response to marginalization and daily anxiety. Rap music, in turn, acts as a vehicle to distribute a basic code of recognition, that is, *kriolu* as experienced right now in Lisbon, expressed in a language of historical encounters.

Throughout this article are brief descriptions of neighborhood and domestic settings that provide context for Kriolu rap. My analyses focus, however, on certain aspects of the Kriolu language, excerpts from my fieldwork conversations with rappers, and rap lyrics. Through these analyses, I show that "being [at] *kriolu*" is a position of difference for Lisbon rappers, one that addresses what Alastair Pennycook describes as the "ways in which language practices and language localities construct each other" (Pennycook 2010:10). This is not to suggest that *kriolu*-as-chronotope is an airtight alignment of time and place; it comprises variability, the challenges of scene-building, and the tensions between *kriolu* and *tuga*.

The case of Kriolu has implications for the current milieu of citizenship in Western Europe. High-profile cases involving the public visibility of the veil in France, and violent racial and ethnic riots in suburban England, have contributed to a crisis in identity politics that has challenged the legitimacy of migrant experiences as truly "French," "British," "Portuguese," and so on. Thoughtful dialogue and legislation regarding the dynamics of postcoloniality, reformulations of national identities, and recognized public spheres have been put on hold due to the current economic recession. After a period of celebration and sponsorship from the mid-1990s to 2007, European policy-makers have rejected projects organized around multiculturalism and interculturality. Such posturing has flattened the complexity of what Robert Stam and Ella Shohat (2011:20) have called the "multichronotopic frame," or what Terry Eagleton (2000:79) has termed the "geopolitical hybridity," of identity formations.

The case of Kriolu rappers in Lisbon is not simply a story about diaspora and linguistic creativity; it is a reminder of the processes involved in negotiating difference and crossover. When Kriolu rappers insist on a separation from *tuga* in the local scene, they are making a contingent call for distinction in regard to Portugal (and Portuguese); their expressions of time-place represent real experiences that tie Cape Verde to Portugal while demanding a racialized and stylized difference. In the sections that follow, after providing contextual information regarding Kriolu as a socio-linguistic formation, I turn to my ethnographic data and to analysis of Kriolu chronotopes as constitutive of a rap "scene" in contemporary Lisbon.

### Kriolu Emergence and Sustenance

Kriolu is a Cape Verdean and diasporic expression of language and identity within the broader category of "creole." 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. Language is a key area of human activity in which such processes come to the fore, and the case of Kriolu can contribute to ongoing debates about the roles of hybridity and difference in the formation and maintenance of creole language, culture, and identity.

Based on slave-trade records, we know that, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Portugal was seeking to expand trade routes, most slave ships stopped in Cape Verde before making their way to the New World or back to Europe. By the sixteenth century, the Upper Guinea Coast and the Cape Verdean islands had been established as a place of fortified trading stations mediated by Kriolu-speaking *lançados*. These traders were the demographic result of the Iberian Inquisition (i.e., persons who had been *lançado* 'expelled' for religious reasons), Portuguese market development along the Western coast of Africa, and internal African migration. Along

with the versatile *grumetes*, a linguistically hybrid class of servicemen associated with ship navigation, the *lançados* constituted the group that would come to be known as “Luso-Africans” (Newson 2012:4). In general, “creole” as a set of languages, identity categories, and, later, national cultures emerged within contexts of trade, particularly the slave trade. The value of communication was measured in real currency; if an enslaved person had been *criado* ‘reared/educated’ in a pidgin or creole “version” of Portuguese, his or her value, as reckoned in the slave trade, was twice or three times that of a Fula-speaking counterpart.

Over time, the creole formations described here gave Cape Verde a distinct place in the *imago mundi* of the Portuguese. Kriolu has long existed in a relationship of structural and existential intimacy with Portuguese. Unlike Kimbundo, Umbundo, Fula, Mandjak, and other languages and speech communities under Portuguese dominion, the Cape Verdean creole language and its speakers were, for the Portuguese, a social fact of the colonial encounter and, indeed, a mark of Portuguese exceptionalism, indicative of their status as stewards of civilization; the Portuguese prided themselves on fostering cultural exchange under colonial rule. Portuguese officials prohibited Kriolu in public institutions, including schools, but they never entered homes or regulated street banter. The operative logic was that Kriolu was a remedial language of transition, part of the process of moving from a Cape Verdean identity to a Portuguese identity.

The Berlin Conference of 1884–85 is significant in the history of Kriolu because the renewed urgency of European colonialism in Africa rejuvenated philology as a utilitarian body of knowledge in the field of pedagogy. In Portugal, this led to the founding of the Geographical Society Library of Lisbon and subsequent linguistic investigations into the languages spoken in overseas colonies. For late-nineteenth-century philologists such as Adolfo Coelho, Kriolu lamentably indicated blackness, “a moorish mixture of African terms,” but not necessarily a wholly other Africanity. Coelho observed that the locals performed all facets of daily life in this idiom: “The locals don’t speak another language: [they] pray in crioulo; the parochial pedagogues teach the Christian doctrine in crioulo. Those who have traveled abroad understand Portuguese, but do not speak it” (Coelho 1882:452, translated by the author). 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.*).

The Portuguese continued to develop this paradigm of “Kriolu as a social fact” in various ways throughout the twentieth century. For the most part, it benefitted Cape Verdeans and their life chances in the empire. Writing in the “Propaganda and Information Bulletin” of Cape Verde in the late 1950s, state official Gabriel Mariano posited that Cape Verde was different from continental colonized African countries because it had produced a tradition of “cult poetry expressed and written in native languages” (Mariano 1958:7). For Manuel Ferreira, a Portuguese scholar and advocate of Cape Verdean culture, Kriolu was a poetic dialect for natural emotions and local folklore as well as a perfect medium for learning Portuguese and “modern” European reason and logic (Ferreira 1967). Ferreira had lived for years in Cape Verde and had witnessed the tragic deaths of hundreds due to droughts and famines during the 1940s, when he was stationed on the islands for military service. Ferreira considered Cape Verdean Kriolu to be the perfect modern African language; he mixed Portuguese and Kriolu in his writings as expressive of the natural mixture of local and global, and of sentiment and science. The legacy of philologists such as Coelho and colonial officials such as Mariano is that Kriolu and, by extension, Cape Verdeans were understood by Portuguese state officials and the Portuguese populace at large as simply maladjusted Portuguese.

This history and ideological perspective help to explain why, to this day, Kriolu is not recognized as an official language in either Cape Verde or Portugal. In Cape Verde, there are still other political obstacles to the formal adoption of Kriolu. Most obvious are the lingering divisions between the two dominant parties, PAICV (*Partido*

*Africano da Independência de Cabo Verde* ‘African Party of Cape Verdean Independence’) and MPD (*Movimento para Democracia* ‘Movement for Democracy’), in regard to language and national identity. The debate can be reduced to a combination of regionalism (there are many variants of Kriolu spoken throughout the archipelago), economics (the cost of implementing language standardization), and ideological affiliations (the two parties are overwhelmingly defined by previous associations to pro-Portuguese and pro-revolutionary forces dating back to the independence wars of the 1970s).

As a number of linguists have demonstrated, Kriolu is a language, not an argot of continental Portuguese (Baptista 2002; Duarte 2003). Advocates of Kriolu as an official language have argued that all languages contain variation and that this fact alone is not a legitimate argument against standardization—focal points of what is known in Cape Verde as the ALUPEK debate (see endnote #2). In demographic terms within Portugal, although persons from other PALOP (*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa* ‘African Countries with Portuguese as Official Language’) countries speak creole languages, these émigrés have not established language as a marker of identity with the same intensity as Cape Verdeans (Rodrigues 2011; Grassi 2009; cf. Batalha 2004). This is true not only in Lisbon but, to varying degrees, throughout the Cape Verdean diaspora (Gibau 2005; Batalha and Carling 2008). In my conversations with Cape Verdeans in Lisbon, Cape Verde, Dakar, and Boston, making Kriolu an official language has not been a point of consensus. But there is broad agreement that Kriolu is “natural,” as rapper Núcleo states in the epigraph to this article, and Cape Verdeans insist on speaking Kriolu as a matter of pride.

As this historical background illustrates, the negotiation of assimilation and difference is essential to Kriolu. In terms of the life chances of its speakers, this dynamic has meant a rollercoaster ride of advantages and disadvantages during colonial and postcolonial periods. Cape Verdeans have been colonial intermediaries of relatively privileged status, but they have also been targets of racist xenophobia. In their use of language, Kriolu rappers remind listeners of the identity politics involved in associating oneself with a sign system that simultaneously represents otherness and proximity. For example, Kriolu rappers in Lisbon often ascribe to themselves the term *badiu*, a Kriolu term that means ‘vagabond’ or ‘scoundrel’ (from Portuguese *vadiu*). This term also refers to Cape Verdeans from the island of Santiago, the most populous island in the archipelago and the one that is considered by Portuguese and Cape Verdean intellectuals to be the most “African” and “black.” Kriolu rappers’ embrace of this term is part of a posture of difference.

At the same time, rappers such as LBC (mentioned above in the introduction), and Hezbollah (to be discussed below) try to do outreach to non-Cape Verdeans. In one rap performance, they stopped the beat and spoke in unison: “Cabral was a champion of the impoverished and working classes and not just black folk.” Amílcar Cabral was the revolutionary leader of the Guinean-Cape Verdean struggle against Portuguese colonialism in the late 1960s and 1970s; he was assassinated in 1973 in Conakry, Guinea. In many improvised neighborhoods such as Kova M in Lisbon, and in neighborhoods throughout the Cape Verdean capital city of Praia, stenciled and mural images of Cabral’s face are more ubiquitous than images of Che Guevara or Bob Marley. In an interview after this performance, Hezbollah explained, “I know Portuguese people, white folk, up in Santarém and Alcobaça [municipalities to the north of Lisbon] . . . they 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. Kriolu can work that way.”

### A Kriolu Alternative

As noted by LBC in the epigraph to this article, *kriolu* and *tuga* are relatively new terms in the Lisbon hip hop scene, but their etymological and political histories are extensive. *Kriolu* refers to the creole language that emerged in the early sixteenth

century, combining primarily Portuguese vocabulary with structural elements of Mandingo, Wolof, Fulani, and other West African languages (Baptista 2002; Duarte 2003), while *tuga* is short for *portuga*, meaning a person from Portugal.<sup>4</sup> In colloquial usage in contemporary Portugal, these two terms have come to mean, respectively, a language of immigrants and all things or persons originating in Portugal. Thus far, my discussion has hovered primarily at levels of background history, national ideology, and ethnographic sketches. Certain basic questions remain: how exactly do Kriolu rappers use language, and how might this provide insight into their identity work?

Rap, as a form of extremely stylized speech, depends on a combination of enunciation techniques (occasionally referred to as “spitting skills”) and creative paradigmatic substitution schemes. For example, in the song “Buggin’ Out” (1991) from the U.S. group Tribe Called Quest, rapper Q-Tip introduces himself:

*The abstract poet incognito runs the cape  
Not the best not the worst and occasionally I curse  
To get my point across so bust the floss  
As I go in between the grit and the dirt  
Listen to the mission listen Miss as I do work.*

In this excerpt, the rapper demonstrates his “abstract” style by performing interphrasal and suspended rhymes—*worst*, *curse*, and (much later) *work*—rather than more regular, straightforward rhymes at the ends of phrases aligned with musical beat patterns. Simultaneously, Q-Tip inserts alternative, imaginative vocabulary to convey ideas such as “hero” or “master” in the phrase “runs the cape,” and to reflect on reality in the lyrical string “bust the floss as I go in between the grit and the dirt.” In the contemporary Lisbon scene, the following excerpt from “N.I.G.G.A.S.” (2012) by Kriolu rapper Chullage demonstrates similar properties:

*Niggaz conscientiz e so sekaz – so fake nigga  
'Conscious niggas so dry – just a fake nigga'*

*Nha rapa e dillaz e carjackaz – real nigga  
'My raps and dealers and car jackers – real nigga'*

*N ka konxi museu ne biblitekaz – kel a ka pa niggas  
'I don't know any museum or library – not for niggas'*

*Ma n konxi tudu diskotekaz – sima real nigga  
'But I know all the discos – like a real nigga'*

*N ta txomaz di bonekaz  
'I call them dolls'*

*Pés podi baxa kuekaz  
'My feet can drop their drawers'*

*Largaz dipos dunz kekaz - sima real nigga  
'Drop them real quick after a fling – like a real nigga'*

Chullage uses tags such as “real nigga” and “like a real nigga” to create a manifesto through a regularity of form. In this respect, the song is a significant departure from “Buggin’ Out,” though Chullage does experiment with Kriolu adaptations of English words, for example, *dillaz* ‘dealers’ and *carjackaz* ‘carjackers’. The entire song is a reflection on the ubiquitous English term *nigga*, used by both Portuguese and Kriolu rappers in the Lisbon scene. In regard to rhetorical delivery, Chullage is effective stylistically in his drawing-out of the word-final syllable *-kaz* throughout the entire excerpt. Sometimes *a capella*, sometimes competing with the full boom of bass samples, Chullage’s performance combines effective style and content. The value of

Kriolu is spatial and temporal. Although Chullage does not specifically name places or times in this particular excerpt, he does imply a rough sketch of Lisbon cityscapes through scenes of crime, entertainment, rape, culture, and education. These implications are the stuff of chronotopes and, I suggest, part of the knowledge base of “real” rappers and of Kriolu rap’s attraction for listeners.

Chronotopes are more than devices of speech and narration to orient the interlocutor; they also “key in” participants to such things as the power relations involved in processes of identification. Kriolu elicits reflection on speakers’ and non-speakers’ “ideas about language . . . and how these articulate with various social phenomena” (Kroskrity 2000:5). As implied by rapper LBC in the epigraph to this article, the (post)colonial dimension of Kriolu as chronotope is a racial formation because it exposes the hegemonic erasure of race that *tuga* represents in its simplistic categorization of anything that occurs within the national territorial borders as “Portuguese.”<sup>5</sup>

As noted earlier, *tuga* is an abbreviation of *portuga*, which itself derives from *português* ‘Portuguese’. The term indexes two pertinent socio-linguistic moments in Portuguese modern history, both of which demonstrate the existential conflict embedded in Kriolu. An interrogation of *tuga* affords a critique of the operative language ideology in Portugal. In the late nineteenth 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 the 1960s, as decolonization wars began to rage in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique, local guerrilla forces used *tuga* as a call to arms in resistance to the “white” Portuguese military forces. Such symbolic intimacy between *tuga* and coloniality with respect to space and race is important, for it is this history that Kriolu rap recuperates and exposes for direct critique.

As competing positions within a language ideology in which Portuguese is portrayed as fostering and embracing intercultural encounter, *tuga* and *kriolu* represent vested interests. The following example provides a glimpse into language politics in contemporary Lisbon. Kriolu rapper Kromo is an outspoken resident of the long-standing squatter neighborhood in Lisbon called Cova da Moura or “Kova M.” The neighborhood has been stigmatized by the media as an illegal, drug-ridden dump filled with lazy African immigrants. Kromo’s brash, evangelical Christian views on daily life and state violence come through in his rap songs as well as in his occasional appearances on Lisbon television news reports and variety shows. His insistence on speaking Kriolu during one particular interview in 2009, after a police raid in Kova M, coincided with a spate of racist and xenophobic YouTube comments related to Kromo’s viral hit “Freestyle.” The video consists of Kromo improvising in Kriolu for more than seven minutes in the living room of his friend and occasional rap partner, LBC. Most viewers (even, in some cases, those with no apparent linguistic competence in Kriolu) expressed praise for Kromo’s rhetorical prowess, but several posts during a week in late 2009 expressed rage at Kromo’s “brutal attack” on “tuga” and his cowardice of hiding behind the “kriolu artifice.” Over time, these posts, along with charges of “go back to Africa” and “Portugal is for Portuguese” have been drowned out by celebratory remarks about Kromo, Kova M, and Kriolu rap more generally. Kromo’s use of Kriolu thus elicited a vibrant and contentious exchange of ideas about language—or, as Donald Winford (2003:22) glosses language ideology, the “deeply rooted set of beliefs about the way language is and is supposed to be”—as it relates to time-place, that is, postcolonial Portugal and Lisbon.

In the following sections, I focus on the mediation and emplacement of Kriolu experiences in Lisbon, or, in short, the making of a “scene.” Kriolu rap exemplifies what Judith Butler (1990), in her writing on identity, calls a product of “sedimentation,” an establishing of structure in space and time through creative repetition. The concept of chronotope is useful as a way of providing an empirical basis for analysis of this social and performative process of making a scene and, by extension, (re)making selves and community.

Like hip hoppers in other parts of the world, Portuguese hip hoppers established a national genre in the 1990s. "Hip hop tuga" emerged toward the end of the decade; the term currently, somewhat polemically, refers to hip hop culture made in Portugal.<sup>6</sup> In response, Kriolu rappers employ the "ideology of the word" (Morgan 2009) through a set of territorial claims by means of which they carve out alternative subject positions and linguistic-cultural communities in relation to *tuga* and, thus, dislodge conventional notions of what it is to be Portuguese at phenomenological and narrative levels.

### Working Inside Out

The milieu described above helped frame the following ethnographic research questions: why do some local rappers sing in Kriolu rather than Portuguese, and how is their use of language effective in drawing attention to Cape Verdean projects of place-making and belonging? Following Pennycook, Alim, and others, I suggest that Kriolu rappers are not just using an existing system of signification in a fresh, volatile context, that is, contemporary urban Portugal. Kriolu rappers have vested interests in gaining recognition as all of, or a selection of, the following: hip hoppers, educators, revolutionaries, global citizens, Cape Verdeans, PALOP people, black folk, Portuguese, Africans, youth, and/or residents of Kova M and other predominantly immigrant neighborhoods. Their striving for recognition (re)creates the language called Kriolu.

A community of scholars involved in articulating the relationship between language and ideology has traced the socio-political efficacy of iteration to linguistic structures (Kroskrity 2000; Silverstein 1979; cf. Rumsey 1990). Such structures manifest critical values intended by speakers, located in specific situations, in processes of social evaluation and justification (Woolard 1994). In the socio-linguistic scholarship regarding rap, the dominant ideologies have been versions of pan-Africanism and "ghettocentricity" (Forman 2002; Kelley 1997; cf. Rivera 2003), or what Alim (2003:45) describes as the "strategic construction of a street conscious identity through language." According to Alim (2003, 2004), the management of the copula, the linking verb between the subject and predicate of a sentence, is a key site of AAL (African American Language) that rappers explore and quantitatively hyper-perform in order to emphasize blackness and a "street consciousness." As Alim and others have demonstrated, absence of the copula, as in "he runnin' scared now," is neither aleatory nor universally applied in all AAL syntax, but is, rather, a strong mark of distinction as AAL continues to develop away from "American English." A brief consideration of the linguistic contours of Kriolu rap is important to a critique of *tuga* as hegemonic, for they manifest a particular aesthetic that attracts local publics to consider matters of difference in place and belonging.

Kriolu is a distinct language, not simply a "dialect" composed of cool, hip ways to pronounce Portuguese words. Unlike Portuguese, Kriolu encodes temporality by means of a set of single-syllable preverbal particles, for example, *ta* and *sa*. The particle *ta* marks the verb (particularly a non-stative verb) as being in the present tense, and *sa* in conjunction with *ta* (*sa ta* + verb) indicates the present progressive. Other frequently occurring single-syllable elements in Kriolu include the function words *ka*, which indicates negation, and *ma*, which serves as a complementizer much like English *that* (as in "I told him *that* I couldn't understand his lyrics.")

For the Kriolu rapper, structural elements of Kriolu such as these can provide the infrastructure for a flow of interphrasal rhymes. For example, in the song "Ka Ta Mesti Apresentason" (I Don't Need an Introduction), Araphat, a rap partner of Karlos (discussed below), uses "ka ta" as a rhythmic beginning. For the most part, Araphat creates rhymes on the many words that end in *-son*, equivalent to an English-speaking rapper punctuating lines with words ending in *-tion* (or, in Portuguese, *-são*). But it is "ka ta" that starts off many of Araphat's assertions; it allows for a flow with a built-in rhyme in ways that would not be possible in Portuguese, as shown below:

*Ka ta txiga na ora . . .*  
 Não chega na hora . . .  
 '[You] don't arrive on time. . .'

*Ka ta sabi ma . . .*  
 Não sabe que . . .  
 '[You] don't know that. . .'

*Ka ta fla-m ma . . .*  
 Não me fala que . . .  
 'Don't tell me that. . .'

The effect of *ka*, *ta*, and *ma* is mostly one of tempo; because of their ubiquity, these basic structural elements of Kriolu serve as structural stepping-stones that enable the rapper to skip fluently through a phrase.

Among the distinctive features of Kriolu (vis-à-vis Portuguese) are these and other aspects of its verb system. As they are modified for tense, mood, and aspect by means of particles such as those noted above, almost all verbs remain morphologically invariant in a form that generally resembles the third-person singular in Portuguese, for example, *fase*, *skrebe*, *sabe*. The significance of this lies in the poetics of rhetoric and the flow of rap music, as can be seen in the following excerpt from Karlos, a rapper born on the Cape Verdean island of Santiago and raised in the district of Oeiras, a strongly Cape Verdean part of the Lisbon metro area:

*Dja n pasa fome*  
 Já passei fome  
 'I've already gone without food'

*Dja n pasa pa tudu ki un pobre ta pasa*  
 Já passei por tudo que um pobre passa  
 'I've already been through all that a poor man goes through'

*Dja n pasa na te inda n sa ta pasa ma . . .*  
 Já passei por tudo e continuo passando mas . . .  
 'I've been through it all, I keep going, but . . .'

In the case of this song, "Kotidianu" (Everyday Life), the issue is not that Karlos highlights the commonplace Kriolu elements *sa*, *ta*, and *ma* in his rhyme schemes; rather, what is of interest is the fact that they function as a guide in rhythmic meter. The emphasis on the verb *pasa* is certainly important semantically to Karlos's message as he focuses on the kinds of past and present daily life experiences suggested by the Kriolu term *djuguta* 'daily struggle', which appears later in the lyrics. But *pasa* is also effective sonically and rhythmically in relation to *sa*, *ta*, and *ma*. In Portuguese, this kind of rhyme scheme would not work at all, for the inflectional marking of verb tense would transform the verb into *passei*, thus altering not only the continuity of the /a/ sound but also the rhythm of rhetorical accent, as the emphasis would shift to the last syllable. Again, as noted above in regard to Alim's observations about U.S. rappers' use of certain features of AAL syntax (Alim 2003, 2004, 2009), Kriolu rappers have not invented a new Kriolu, nor do they use the language in ways that are markedly different from the usage of other Cape Verdeans. Rather, their milieu of stigma, marginal urban living, and postcolonial ambiguity has produced a "sedimentation" of particular attributes of Kriolu's linguistic structure and an aesthetic distinction in rappers' "flow."

Kriolu rappers in Lisbon express *kriolu* as a chronotope that links Lisbon spaces to postcoloniality, asserting "creole" identity as part of Portugal and, by extension, Europe. This is politically significant, as *kriolu* is rooted in a place, Cape Verde, which is not part of *tuga* and, in fact, has had a conflicted relationship with it. But rappers insist that *kriolu* should express local experiences as well as global sentiments of community through hip hop. Kriolu rappers draw attention to this complicated experience of

difference and place through their lyrics as well as through the sounds that they choose to accompany their lyrics in collaboration with local DJs and producers.

Few Kriolu rappers employ any of the wide variety of Cape Verdean musical genres, such as *morna*, *coladera*, *funaná*, *tabanka*, or *batuko*, in their beat mixes.<sup>7</sup> The absence of these musical forms is curious, considering that, owing to the international success of artists such as Cesária Évora and, more recently, Sara Tavares, Lura, Mayra Andrade, Ferro Gaita, and Paulino Vieira, these genres have become virtually synonymous with Cape Verdean culture within a logic of multiculturalism based on world music circulation. LBC describes this apparent contradiction:

Sometimes people, normally tucas [“white” Portuguese citizens], ask me why I don’t sample, you know, more Cape Verdean-sounding music. And I say that, you know, I like listening to *mornas* and *coladeras* and dancing to *funaná*. We always swing by my mom’s café here in Cova da Moura 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.

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 and Núcleo states in the epigraphs to this article, Kriolu is part of their daily socialization and it does, in fact, link them to Cape Verde, or to an idea of Cape Verde. However, Lisbon Kriolu reality narratives cannot simply stop there; they are not a “back-to-Cape Verde” mantra in complete opposition to Lisbon or Portugal as a whole. Similar to the challenge that Native American “country music” performers face in proving their country authenticity (Samuels 2009), Kriolu rappers struggle to expand the notion of Cape Verdean music to include rap. Whereas, for Native Americans, the rub is that country music, in the popular imagination, is “white” and essentially anti-Indian, in the Kriolu case, it is assumed that diasporic obligations to perform signature musical genres of Cape Verde will direct youth in their identity formation. Yet rap offers other diasporic parameters, most notably, the concept of “hip hop nation.” As LBC, Karlos, and Kromo imply, diaspora is made manifest in the grounded spatial realities of Lisbon’s marginal neighborhoods, such as Cova da Moura, Arrentela, and Oeiras. LBC concludes that Kriolu mediates an experience of “drama” that is not totally “there” in Cape Verde nor entirely “here” in Portugal.

In sum, my consideration of some of the structural features of Kriolu as used by rappers of Cape Verdean descent in Lisbon suggests that Kriolu rap is an act of dis(em)placement. In the final section of this article, I focus my analysis on two contrasting examples of Kriolu rap and highlight the role of place in each at the semantic and socio-political level. In the first excerpt examined below, LBC joins with his occasional rap partner, Hezbollah, in a freedom song for Palestine, “Liberta Palestina” (Free Palestine). Unlike most Kriolu rap in Portugal, this song demonstrates a recurrent theme of Kriolu as a medium of connection—one that, in this case, connects the everyday reality of marginalization to “new world orders” of oppression through metaphors of movement, forced migration, and conflict. The second excerpt considered below, from Chullage’s “Nu Bai” (Let’s Go) shares the urgent tone and strong attitude of the first, but it links Kriolu to a more common Cape Verdean reflection on place, one concerned with the struggles of displacement in the former metropole of Lisbon.

### LBC/Soldjah and Hezbollah’s “Liberta Palestina”

As mentioned earlier in this article, LBC, the man behind the acronym for “Learning Black Connection,” lives in the neighborhood of Cova da Moura, part of the munic-

pality of Amadora, adjacent to Lisbon within the metro area. Cova da Moura, or "Kova M," as many local rappers call it, lies on the train line "Linha Sintra," which takes passengers from the grandiose, baroque train station in Rossio to the equally impressive architectural feat of the medieval castles of Sintra. For the tourist, this trajectory links one center of "civilization," the colonial downtown establishment of Rossio, to an overarching symbol of the struggle for "civilization" as manifested in the military and ideological conflict between Christianity and Islam. Pragmatically, the terrain in between exists as a series of working-class districts inhabited by thousands of immigrants from former African colonies as well as, more recently, from Eastern Europe and Brazil. "Kova M," along with the territories around the train stops of Reboleira and Amadora, are part of a socio-geographical concept, also referred to as "Linha Sintra," that constitutes a *kriolu* time-space—one that, among Lisbon hip hoppers, evokes fresh "reality" and highly skilled rappers.

As we sat in the living room of his apartment in the heart of Kova M, LBC intimated that he was in a moment of transition. He was trying out a new moniker, "Minao Soldjah." While it certainly doesn't roll off the tongue like a brief acronym, "Minao Soldjah" reflects central elements of his personality and helps contextualize his intentions in the song "Liberta Palestina" (Free Palestine). "Minao" is an invented composite word, derived from the phrase *ami nau* 'not for me' in ordinary Kriolu. "Soldjah" is a different case of linguistic invention. In a move common within global hip hop, LBC borrowed *soldier* from English in an effort to align himself with certain U.S. rappers. Regardless of where they actually live, Cape Verdeans have a distinct connection to the U.S., or *Merka*; the diasporic community in the United States, especially in the metro areas of Boston and Providence, is the largest and has the longest history (Halter 1993). Virtually every person of Cape Verdean descent with whom I spoke, either in Lisbon or in Cape Verde itself, had at least one relative in the U.S.

This blending of linguistic, geographic, and ideological components within a proper name came to make sense to me as I reflected on that early evening in Soldjah's apartment. The calls from pedestrians, the screeching noises from passing cars, the music blasting from open windows, and the sounds of kids on the corner seemingly all converged on the five-point intersection outside Soldjah's apartment. Soldjah is an oppositional activist; he became energized and angered by the ubiquitous commotion of his surroundings. "Not for me" is a critical stance on the everyday, and "Liberta Palestina" is Soldjah's attempt to export his oppositionality abroad and to advance a cause that he sees as just by means of a symbolic code that he finds both natural and combative: Kriolu.

LBC/Minao Soldjah and Hezbollah identify with what in Portugal is called "intervention" rap. Along with Soldjah, Hezbollah is a member of a hip hop posse/organization called "Nos k nasi omi k ta mori omi" (We who are born men die as men) and identifies as an atheist and human-rights activist. Both assured me that the moniker "Hezbollah" has no direct relation to the Shi'ite Muslim group based in Lebanon, or to Islam in general; rather, they were drawn to the "warrior" connotation of the word. Of course, this "interventionist" line of thinking has parallels throughout global hip hop; the most basic creative and ideological division is between those who understand hip hop as essentially entertainment and those who believe it to be fundamentally about social critique and change. The latter philosophy, based in the assumption that the potential for change is a universal trait of human societies, characterizes the "interventionist" school.

"Liberta Palestina" was recorded in a local home studio in 2008. It exemplifies a combination of sound engineering and rap narrative in the service of "drama," a repeatedly stated objective of Soldjah during our conversations. The group achieves drama musically by employing a sequence of modulating cycles, and discursively by linking death and violence to state ideologies rather than military actions. The song itself consists of an instrumental opening and three verses, divided by a repeated refrain. The listener feels the marriage of Kriolu linguistic features to rap aesthetics,

particularly when Soldjah rhymes. Influenced by the legendary Tupac Shakur, Soldjah has borrowed one of his hero's vocal styles: instead of ending certain key verses with a return to the tonic pitch, a typical resolution on the rhyming word, Soldjah, like Tupac, unexpectedly leaves his voice unresolved at the end of the phrase. This suspension of melodic resolution, he explained to me, mirrors a suspension of common-sense associations between globalization and citizenship in Soldjah's rap. In an interview via Skype in 2010, LBC/Soldjah summarized his attempts to use kriolu language to link ideology and spatial territory as follows: "I try to convey a global perspective of this capitalist, racist, and imperialist system." "Liberta Palestina" is not a narrative in the conventional sense of a story with distinct characters and an overarching, cohesive message. Rather, it is a series of indictments regarding contemporary cases of human-rights violation and genocide, which are loosely but assertively juxtaposed with the horrors of Iberian colonialism and U.S. imperialism. The lyrical content emerges from an attempt to represent both the powerful and the powerless:

*Mankind's behavior has reached a point; it's like an apocalypse  
The residue of arms has reached a point of an eclipse . . .  
Is it true that the U.S. promotes liberty? Issues of dignity, bought? Sold!  
Where is our sentiment of solidarity?  
Freedom has to come to Palestine, has to come to the other  
He is suffering . . .*

The David-versus-Goliath metaphors of the rhetoric are matched by hyperbolic features of the sound structure. The song's refrain initially contrasts with the solo rap of each verse; however, as the verse proceeds and the musical sequence gains momentum, the solo voice begins to echo, thereby producing a sense of collectivity. In my conversations with Soldjah, he intimated that, in the studio, "Machine," a local rapper and sound engineer residing in the adjacent Reboleira neighborhood, had suggested using the echo effect because it suggested multiplicity, voices of a crowd in unison, in keeping with the song's theme of revolution.

### Chullage's "Nu Bai"

In contrast to LBC and Hezbollah, Nuno Santos, also known as Chullage, takes Kriolu rap in a different direction in the song "Nu Bai" (Let's Go). With this apparently innocuous song title, Chullage captured the energy of urban youth in the early 2000s and helped to focus attention on a key contemporary problem of identity and belonging. These two small words, *nu bai*, contain three large questions: who, exactly are "we" (identity), where are we going (location), and why does this movement matter (migration and encounter)?

Chullage and Soldjah know each other's work and are mutually respectful colleagues. Both are deeply invested in connecting hip hop to social movements concerned with education and citizenship throughout the Lisbon area. While both rappers are Kriolu activists, Chullage is a more experienced rapper and has achieved a pop charisma through his variety of musical styles and public presence. Based on anecdotal evidence during my fieldwork, along with quantitative evidence from music sales and YouTube video "hits," it is clear that Chullage is more widely heard than Soldjah. Kriolu rappers as well as dozens of young "tuga" hip hop fans and participants cited "Nu Bai" as a critical moment in Lisbon rap history and the overall hip hop scene.

Chullage exudes social consciousness. I first met him in 2007 in a small playground park at the center of his current neighborhood, Arrentela, located on the "southern margin" (*margem sul*) of the Tagus River, across from Lisbon proper. I had been in Portugal for a scant week and was slowly adapting to what seemed to me the uneven fits and spurts of the sounds of continental Portuguese, a far cry from the flowing diction of the Brazilian variety with which I was more familiar at the time. I was unprepared linguistically for the likes of Chullage. As I struggled to follow his

explanations of the neighborhood cultural center that he helped orchestrate, as well as the social problems of unemployment, drug trafficking, and police abuse, I found myself writing nothing and listening to everything. His tone was didactic and demanding as he provoked me to articulate my interests. Chullage's provocation was not only in content; I realized later that he had code-switched from Portuguese to Kriolu.

Later, in 2009, Chullage and I were both on a panel associated with a debate sponsored by the ICS (*Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa* 'Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon'). As we chatted idly while waiting for the debate to commence (I had a working knowledge of Kriolu by this time), I queried Chullage about that day and his general position on Kriolu and rap performance. His insightful response was one that I have also heard from Soldjah and Kromo. "Kriolu is positive for Lisbon-based rap, because it forces the listener to go and seek out the meaning of the lyrics. We all did this with the U.S. rappers. Why can't this be the case with kriolu, something much closer to all of us here?"

For Chullage, in contrast to Soldjah, *kriolu*-as-chronotope features an urgency that is ultimately directed inward, to the neighborhoods of contemporary Lisbon. His Kriolu works as introspection on the here and now. Unlike Soldjah, Chullage was born in Lisbon and grew up in the now-defunct, improvised neighborhood of Asilio 28 de Maio. In live performance and in the studio, Chullage's mouth widens as he shoots his Kriolu at the listener, not in rounded strophes but in purposefully unwieldy loads. Chullage overwhelms with his delivery style, and the listener struggles to catch up.

The song "Nu Bai" consists of several rap verses from invited Kriolu rappers, all of which connect individual experience and identity to ponderings of place and belonging. Musically, the song begins with a sample of the ebb and flow of the wind, perhaps a Cape Verdean breeze, but more likely a gust signaling the sunset over Lisbon; an oncoming darkness sets on Chullage's current neighborhood Arrentela, a *bairro social* of predominantly Cape Verdean-descent residents. This "social neighborhood" emerged, in large part, during the 1970s as Lisbon attempted to provide for, and to regulate, tens of thousands of immigrants as well as "white" "Portuguese" families (*retornados*, literally 'returnees') from former African colonies that were becoming independent nation-states.

Chullage locates the listener immediately by means of the first rhetorical phrase, strategically produced without a musical background to emphasize its effect: "Cape Verde, let's go. But, yeah, Now, we're here in Portugal. Let's go. They [Cape Verdeans] come and go. Chullage." The protagonists of this rap narrative are, first and foremost, displaced storytellers. As the sound loop kicks in, it becomes evident that the flute sample is not from an acoustic instrument; it is a synthesized simulation. Throughout nine minutes of hardcore rap rhetoric, Chullage and his Kriolu partners expand on the notion that their precarious reality is a tension between place and simulation. The task of articulation and narration involves both the social fact that many were "born in the *achada* [open fields of Cape Verde], grew up in the alley [in the Lisbon periphery]" and the ideological desire "to represent the *dreds* [not only Rastafari but, metonymically, people of African heritage] throughout Europe," according to Jorginho, one of Chullage's guests.

In "Nu Bai," *kriolu* is not a childhood memory or a fun-loving party vacation, as one might infer from Boss AC, a more commercially successful Lisbon rapper of Cape Verdean heritage.<sup>8</sup> For Chullage and his crew, Portugal is a set of material conditions but not a favorable cultural heritage. Lisbon and, more specifically, the "social neighborhoods" are a pit of despair and a potential launch pad of distinction. *Kriolu* is a call to action: *Nu bai*.

### Conclusion

Within hip hop culture, rappers, in general, pride themselves on being adept at rhetorically honoring the ideological commitment to represent "reality." Such pride

emerges in an attitude of determination and persuasion as well as in an aesthetic flair for neologisms and vocal style. One of the most important themes in rap's penetration into global popular culture has been the dynamic articulation of time-place. All around the world, rappers have strategically used their rhetorical skills to legitimize local rap and, by extension, hip hop, as territorial—a scene. In this manner, rap music provides a strong example of the “sociolinguistics of globalization” (Blommaert 2003; Alim 2009). More than an aphorism, this phrase underlines the primacy of language as a set of performed and circulated practices that are chronotopic in nature, not only because ideas of time and place are present together but, more important, because this relationship strikes a chord with listeners and provokes signification among performers. In the case of Kriolu in Lisbon, such signification is part of identity work within the milieu of Portuguese nationalism and the contemporary panic around European citizenship.

In Portugal, rappers achieved what appeared to be a solid “*tuga*” chronotope through hip hop recordings and public recognition in the mid-1990s. Participants emphasized a solidarity built on cosmopolitan youth culture and shared urban experiences. The category *tuga* became problematic for some local rappers, however, because it is saturated with histories of a colonial Portugal desperate for profits and an emerging milieu of African independence. Emergent from among these conflicted and conflicting histories is Kriolu, an early product of Portuguese colonialism and West African movements of people, goods, and languages, the speakers of which have established an independent nation-state in Cape Verde as well as several residential communities in the Lisbon metro area. I have argued that Kriolu rappers, in their expressions of time-place, critically assess the category *tuga* and thus interrogate what it means to be “Portuguese.” Furthermore, I have shown that local rappers’ efficacy in provoking reflection derives, in part, from structural attributes of the Kriolu language.

In terms of position or stance, rappers who have linguistic competence in Kriolu frequently choose to rap in Kriolu for reasons of congruence between code and audience, and, more interesting, between code and political-aesthetic perspective. Hip hop occurs with little conventional publicity in local neighborhood events where many of the residents are of Cape Verdean and/or PALOP heritage, so it follows that rappers would be most effective through use of local parlance. Kriolu works ideologically to combine locality with a critical edge, one that is often missing from rap in Portuguese. As is true of many “creole” cultural-linguistic formations, the very emergence of Kriolu involved a negotiation of crossover and difference. Being/speaking *kriolu* has been, and continues to be, both “natural” and bold—and such a stance or evaluative position on “reality” is the essence of “underground” hip hop.

Kriolu lends itself to two operative chronotopes: one of extreme locality, with a focus on the present, and another of diasporic expansion, expressive of historical roots and future claims. Regarding the latter, Kriolu rappers’ articulation of diaspora often detours from the conventional tropes of nostalgic recognition of past serial emigration to several European and American locales and a longing to return to the mother archipelago. As rapper LBC/Soldjah demonstrates, Kriolu can represent a wide-ranging diaspora of marginalized and displaced youth who are critical of imperialist, corporate values.

Kriolu creates meaning through specific chronotopes in, for example, Kromo’s provocative improvisational YouTube video and Chullage’s song “Nu Bai.” Both performances link *kriolu* language and experiences to moment-places of contemporary Lisbon neighborhoods and reality, as well as to the moment-place of migration, especially in the case of Chullage. In the case of LBC/Soldjah and Hezbollah, Kriolu serves as malleable material from which the two create “drama” while simultaneously referencing the particular delivery style of Tupac Shakur. In all of these examples, the Kriolu language is a tool to foster ethnic, racial, and class allegiances. LBC ultimately reminds the listener, “The spaces are linked. Kova M is like Palestine is like Praia, and so many other places. I am a soldier of the Third World, inside Europe, doing outreach.”

Kriolu rappers are adamant about inserting *kriolu* into the Lisbon scene as part of the global linguistic flow of hip hop, a necessarily interdependent relationship between the global and the local. These are not established entities of time and place, but are emergent from expressive practices. In the case of Kriolu rap in Lisbon, the experiential frame is postcoloniality, a set of “dramas,” to use LBC’s term, that are shared not only by Cape Verdeans and other PALOP groups in Portugal but also by a range of other contemporary European residents. *Kriolu* specifically, like “creole” more generally, emerged as an existential negotiation of human difference and encounter. Focused attention to *kriolu*-as-chronotope allows an empirically based investigation into the discursive stuff of identity formation as local rappers put *kriolu* words and experiences into the public domain in order to provoke a reconsideration of membership and belonging.

### Endnotes

1. From an interview published in the website *Hip Hop Tuga*, accessed in May 2010 and translated by the author: <http://www.h2tuga.net/artigos-h2t/entrevistas/2418-supra-nucleo-gab-e-dj-ride.html>

2. Because the language has never been recognized officially, its orthography varies, including the name of the language itself. The two most common spellings are “K/kriolu” and “crioulo.” I opt for the former because it is the more common of the two in Lisbon. In part, this spelling stems from a particular politics related to the island of Santiago, often in opposition to the island of São Vicente. I should note that linguists and Kriolu activists have developed and sporadically implemented the orthographic system ALUPEK (*Alfabetu Unifikadu pa Skrita di Kabuverdianu* ‘Unified Alphabet for the Writing of Cape Verdean’). However, my experience has been that very few of my interlocutors, even those who support it politically, use ALUPEK. This being the case, with virtually every word, one faces, in practice, choices between *c* and *k*, *s* and *z*, *n* and *m*, and more. Rappers avail themselves of this orthographic variation along with the potential for neologisms and other expressive effects that Kriolu presents.

3. In this article, for the sake of terminological consistency, I use “creole” to refer to creole languages in general and to the social, cultural, and other phenomena conventionally indicated by the term. I use “Kriolu” and “kriolu” to refer more particularly to aspects of Cape Verdean language and identity. Whether or not to capitalize the *k* is a challenging issue. Based on email exchanges, internet posts, rap lyric scribbles, and other texts, my sense is that most Kriolu-speakers do not capitalize, perhaps as a marker of informality associated with this “home language” or “homeland language” (*lingua di terra*). Even among linguists and advocates who consider Kriolu to be the proper name of a language and/or ethnicity, use of capitalization is uneven, some writers using lower case (e.g., Duarte 2003, Lopes 1957) and others, upper case (e.g., Fikes 2009, Nogueira 1957). In this article, I represent this variability by using “Kriolu” in relatively formal contexts of historical description and linguistic analysis, and “kriolu” in less formal contexts of ethnographic accounts.

4. Because “tuga” is a shortened form, used colloquially and informally, I do not capitalize it. “Tuga” occasionally appears with a capital *T* when used as part of the proper name of a website, recording label, or group of some kind, for example, the hip hop internet site mentioned in endnote #1.

5. As implied in the introduction, *tuga* is not a style of rap per se, but rather a general term of place-designation. My intention is not to reify *tuga* as a historically stable category within popular culture or national history. However, *tuga* often means “national” (i.e., relating to the Portuguese nation-state) when hip hoppers discuss perennial topics such as the “development” of hip hop.

6. Similar to other hip hop locales in which I have conducted research, namely Brazil, the U.S., and Cape Verde, the national hip hop “movement” in Portugal is anchored by a foundational and controversial recording: “Rapública” (1994). For scholarly discussions of the controversy around “Rapper’s Delight” (1979) in the U.S., see Forman (2002); and on “Hip Hop Cultura de Rua” (1987) in Brazil, see Pardue (2008). In the case of Cape Verde, there are no scholarly texts, to my knowledge, about rap in Cape Verde, although there are several blogs that occasionally comment on local rap. From these, one can glean the controversies about foundational recording and artists in Cape Verde. For example, it is well known among rappers on the islands of Santiago and São Vicente that there were many rap recordings throughout the 1990s; however, many cite Black Side as foundational, because they managed to record in

Holland and thus create a product of higher technological value. For more on “Rapública,” see Fradique (2003) and Calado (2007). Judging from the consistent citation by hip hoppers during my fieldwork in Lisbon, the value of “Rapública” within national hip hop historicity continues to be formidable, despite a number of personal conflicts that emerged due to the level of visibility that the recording generated.

7. *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 particularly in the past decade, the genre has become popular throughout the archipelago and the diaspora. *Morna*, a song genre with a long history throughout Cape Verde, is a lyrical lament that takes the form of romantic, nostalgic ballads. The voice takes front stage and is usually accompanied by nylon-stringed guitar, clarinet and other winds, occasional keyboard, and light percussion. *Coladera* is also a national genre; the tempo is usually faster than in *morna* and the lyrics often relate to current social issues. *Batuko* involves only women and consists of a series of call-and-response forms over a steady polyrhythm of hand percussion. Finally, *tabanka*, a genre that is related to the carnivalesque tradition of ridicule, features the sounds of the conch shell. An exception to the aforementioned absence of “traditional” musical influences in Cape Verdean rap is the music of São Vicente rapper Expavi, which includes participation by Cesária Évora and Princezito. For more, see this online article: <http://www.asemana.publ.cv/spip.php?article62495>

8. I refer here to Boss AC’s 2005 hit song “Sabim.”

### Acknowledgments

I acknowledge first and foremost the patient and articulate Kriolu rappers of Lisbon such as LBC/Soldjah, Kromo, Machine, and Hezbollah. Fieldwork was made possible by a Faculty Research Grant and an International Area Fellowship from Washington University in St. Louis. I thank the anonymous reviewers for their close readings and for offering constructive criticism that helped advance my thinking as I revised this text. Finally, I want to acknowledge the diligent work of Paul Garrett in helping me clarify the prose of this article. Of course, I assume all responsibility for any errors or issues related to the article’s content.

### References Cited

- Alim, H. Samy  
 2003 “We are the Streets”: African American Language and the Strategic Construction of a Street-Conscious Identity. In *Black Linguistics: Language, Society and Politics in Africa and the Americas*, Sinfrey Makoni, Geneva Smitherman, Arnetha F. Ball, and Arthur K. Spears, eds. Pp. 40–59. New York: Routledge.  
 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.  
 2009 *Straight Outta Compton, Straight aus München: Global Linguistic Flows, Identities, and the Politics of Language in a Global Hip Hop Nation*. In *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language*, H. Samy Alim, Awad Ibrahim, and Alastair Pennycook, eds. Pp. 1–22. New York: Routledge.
- Bakhtin, M. M.  
 1981 *Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes Towards a Historical Poetics*. In *The Dialogic Imagination*, Michael Holquist, ed. Pp.84–258. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Baptista, Marylse  
 2002 *The Syntax of Cape Verdean Creole: The Sotavento Varieties*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Batalha, Luis  
 2004 *A elite portuguesa-cabverdiana: ascensão e queda de um grupo colonial intermediário*. In *A Persistência da História: Passado e contemporaneidade em África*, Clara Carvalho and João Pina Cabral, eds. Pp. 191–225. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

- Batalha, Luis and Jorgen Carling, eds.  
2008 *Transnational Archipelago: Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Blommaert, Jan  
2003 Commentary: A Sociolinguistics of Globalization. In *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7(4):607–623.
- Butler, Judith  
1990 *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Calado, Pedro  
2007 *Não Percebes o Hip Hop: geografia, (sub)culturas e territorialidade*. Master's Thesis, Department of Geography, Universidade de Nova Lisboa.
- Coelho, Adolfo  
1882 Os Dialectos Românicos ou Neo-Latinos na Africa, Asia e America. *Bol. de Soc. de Geografia de Lisboa* 3(8):451–512.
- Condry, Ian  
2006 *Hip-Hop Japan*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Dent, Alexander Sebastian  
2009 *River of Tears: Country Music, Memory, and Modernity in Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Duarte, Dulce Almada  
2003 Bilinguismo ou Diglossia? As relações de força entre o crioulo e o português na sociedade cabo-verdiana. Praia, Cape Verde: Spleen Edições.
- Eagleton, Terry  
2000 *The Idea of Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ferreira, Manuel  
1967 *A Aventura Crioula*. Lisbon: Editora Ulisseia.
- Fikes, Kesha  
2009 *Managing African Portugal: The Citizen-Migrant Distinction*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Forman, Murray  
2002 *The Hood Comes First: Race, Space and Place in Rap and Hip-Hop*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
- Fox, Aaron A.  
2004 *Real Country: Music and Language in Working-Class Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Fradique, Teresa  
2003 *Fixar o Movimento. Representações da música rap em Portugal*. Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote.
- Gibau, Gina Sánchez  
2005 Contested Identities: Race and Ethnicity in the Cape Verdean Diaspora. *Identities*, 12:405–438.
- Gilroy, Paul  
1993 It ain't Where You're from, It's Where You're at: The Dialectics of Diaspora Identification. In *Small Acts, essays by Paul Gilroy*. Pp. 120–145. New York: Serpent's Tail.
- Goodwin, Charles  
2007 Participation, Stance and Affect in the Organization of Activities. *Discourse & Society* 18(1):53–73.
- Grassi, Marzia  
2009 Identidades Plurais na Europa Contemporânea: Auto-Percepções e Representações nos Jovens de Origem Africana em Portugal. In *Comunidade(s) Cabo-Verdiana(s): As Múltiplas Faces da Imigração Cabo-Verdiana*, Pedro Góis, org. Pp.155–172. Lisbon: ACIDI.
- Halter, Marilyn  
1993 *Between Race and Identity: Cape Verdean American Immigrants, 1860–1965*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Irvine, Judith T. and Susan Gal  
2000 Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. In *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*, Paul V. Kroskrity, ed. Pp. 35–83. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Keane, Webb  
2011 Indexing Voice: A Morality Tale. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 21(2):166–178.

- Kelley, Robin  
1997 *Yo' Mama's Disfunktional!: Fighting the Culture Wars in Urban America*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Kiesling, Scott  
2001 Stances of Whiteness and Hegemony in Fraternity Men's Discourse. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 11(1):101-115.
- Kroskrity, Paul V.  
2000 Regimenting Languages: Language Ideological Perspectives. In *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*, Paul V. Kroskrity, ed. Pp. 1-34. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Lopes, Baltasar  
1957 *O dialecto Crioulo de Cabo Verde*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional de Portugal.
- Mariano, Gabriel  
1958 Em torno do crioulo. *Cabo Verde: Bol. de Propaganda e Informação* 9(107):7-8.
- Maxwell, Ian  
2003 *Phat Beats, Dope Rhymes: Hip Hop Down under Comin' Upper*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
- Morgan, Marcyliena  
2009 *The Real Hip Hop: Battling for Knowledge, Power and Respect in the L.A. Underground*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Newson, Linda A  
2012 Africans and Luso-Africans in the Portuguese Slave Trade on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Early Seventeenth Century. *Journal of African History* 53(1):1-24.
- Nogueira, Rodrigo de Sá  
1957. Prologue to *O Dialecto Crioulo de Cabo Verde*. Pp. 7-25. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional de Lisboa.
- Pardue, Derek  
2008 *Ideologies of Marginality in Brazilian Hip Hop*. New York: Palgrave.  
2010 Making Territorial Claims: Brazilian Hip Hop and the Socio-Geographical Dynamics of Periferia. *City and Society* 22(1):48-71.
- Pennycook, Alastair  
2010 *Language as a Local Practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Rivera, Raquel Z  
2003 *New York Ricans from the Hip Hop Zone*. New York: Palgrave.
- Rodrigues, Ana  
2011 A Cape Verdean View of Europe: History and Geography Revised in the Writing of G.T. Didial. In *Notes on Europe in Black and White: Immigration, Race, and Identity in the 'Old Continent'* Manuela Ribeiro Sanches, Fernando Clara, João Ferreira Duarte, Leonor Pires Martins, eds. Pp. 77-88. Chicago: Intellect Press.
- Rose, Tricia  
1994 *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America*. London: University Press of New England.
- Rumsey, Alan  
1990 Wording, meaning and linguistic ideology. *American Anthropology* 92(2): 346-61.
- Samuels, David  
2009 *Singing Indian Country*. In *Music of the First Nations: Tradition and Innovation in Native North America*. Tara Browner, ed. Pp. 141-159. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Silverstein, Michael  
1979 Language structure and linguistic ideology. In *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels*. R. Clyne, W. Hanks, C. Hofbauer, eds. Pp. 193-247. Chicago: Chicago Linguist Society.
- Stam, Robert and Ella Shohat  
2011 *The Cultural Wars in Translation*. In *Europe in Black and White: Immigration, Race, and Identity in the 'Old Continent'* Manuela Ribeiro Sanches, Fernando Clara, João Ferreira Duarte, Leonor Pires Martins. Pp. 19-35. Chicago: Intellect Press.
- Stewart Kathleen  
1996 *A Space on the Other Side of the Road: Cultural Poetics in an "Other" America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Terkourafi, Marina  
2010 Introduction: A Fresh Look at Some Old Questions. In *Languages of Global Hip Hop*, Marina Terkourafi, ed. Pp. 1-18. New York: Continuum Books.

Winford, Donald

2003 Ideologies of Language and Social Realistic Linguistics. In *Black Linguistics: Language, society and politics in Africa and the Americas*, Sinfree Makoni, Geneva Smitherman, Arnetha F. Ball, and Arthur K. Spears, eds. Pp. 40–59. New York: Routledge.

Woolard, Kathryn

1994 Language Ideology. *Annual Review Anthropology* 23: 55–82.

### **Discography**

A Tribe Called Quest

1991 *A Low End Theory*, Jive/RCA Records.

Boss AC

2005 *Ritmo, Amor e Palavras*, No Stress Records.

Chullage

2001 *Rapresálias*, Lisafonia Records.

2012 *N.I.G.G.A.S.* Lisafonia/Optimus Discos.

LBC and Hezbollah

2008 “*Liberta Palestina*” Independent recording.