Enacting the Multiple Spaces and Times of Portuguese Migration to France in YouTube Humor: Chronotopic Analysis of Ro et Cut’s *Vamos a Portugal*

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**Abstract.** We examine the production and contested reception of a YouTube comedic performance by France-based comedic duo, Ro et Cut, involving Portuguese migrants in France. Specifically, we analyze *Vamos a Portugal*, a video which depicts one Portuguese migrant family’s preparation for their annual summer return trip from France to the Portuguese “homeland.” We use Bakhtin’s notion of chronotope, i.e., discursive formulations of space, time, and person mobilizable in interaction, to analyze how performers and commenters construct spatio-temporally situated images of Portuguese migrants, while simultaneously positioning themselves spatio-temporally in relation to these images. In particular, we compare how France-based Luso-descendant and nonmigrant Portuguese commenters construct and react to the video. Many Luso-descendant commenters embrace the video as evoking a nostalgic personal, familial, and Portuguese past, from the perspective of an urban French present. However, nonmigrant Portuguese viewers in Portugal reject the video as evoking an outmoded and illegitimate version of Portuguese culture, from the perspective of a contemporary Portuguese present. Our comparison of the chronotopes through which differently positioned commenters interpret the video illuminates the contested politics surrounding performances of Portuguese migrant and national culture in the diaspora in France versus in Portugal.

**Keywords:** Portugal, France, Luso-descendant, humor, chronotope, heteroglossia, YouTube, migration, diaspora

This article examines Ro et Cut’s hugely successful and controversial YouTube clip, *Vamos a Portugal* (Let’s go to Portugal), a parodic performance of Portuguese families in France who migrated during the 1960s and 1970s. Ro et Cut are a comedic duo, played by Rodolphe Rebello Ferreira and Mohamed Ould-Bouzid, two men raised and living in France, whose parents immigrated from Portugal and Algeria, respectively. The video artfully displays and invites recognition of
particular social types: first-generation Portuguese migrants in France, Antonio and Maria, and their two “second-generation” Franco-Portuguese or Luso-descendant sons, Fábio and Tiago, raised in France.¹ The video also depicts an emblematic scenario: the family’s interactions and preparations for their annual summer car trip to the Portuguese “homeland.” Such trips are a widely recognized, almost compulsory element of diasporic Portuguese experience in France (Charbit et al., 1997; De Villanova, 1987; Dos Santos, 2010).²

The video, however, is not a transparent reflection of the “reality” of the lives of Portuguese migrant families in France, so much as an artful performance (Bakhtin, 1981; Bauman, 1975; Bell & Gibson, 2011; Jaffe, Koven, Perrino, & Vigouroux, 2015). We thus draw from scholarship in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology that has addressed how performers and performances put language and other semiotic forms on display for evaluation, in ways that social actors may interpret as presenting, re-inscribing, and/or contesting ideologies of language and identities of social types (Bakhtin, 1981; Bauman, 1975; Bell & Gibson, 2011; Chun, 2004; Jaffe et al., 2015). Accordingly, we focus heavily on how differently situated audience members recognize and position themselves and others as recognizable social types relative to the displayed figures and scenes (Agha, 2007; Althusser, 2001/1971; Butler, 1997; Carr, 2011).

Specifically, the interactive format of YouTube invites particular forms of audience co-participation through the comment section (Burgess & Green, 2009; Thurlow & Mroczek, 2011). Uploaded in May 2010, as of February 2016, it had been viewed 5,855,923 times with almost 1,000 comments. Following Bakhtin, these audiences are key in constructing the “meanings” of verbal art, “the listeners or readers who recreate and in so doing renew the text—participate equally in the creation of the represented world in the text” (1981, p. 253). YouTube comment streams thus afford naturally occurring metadiscourse, showing how social actors evaluate and engage with online performances of social personae through different interpretive frameworks, positioned within and across different national borders (Chun, 2013; Chun & Walters, 2011; Koven & Marques, 2015; Leppännen & Häkkinen, 2012; Schieffelin & Jones, 2009).

We will thus analyze the comments as themselves mini-narrative performances and evaluations of images of Portuguese migrant identities. More specifically, we analyze how the video’s performers and differently situated viewers (in the diaspora in France versus in Portugal) mobilize particular images of space, time, and person, i.e., chronotopes (Bakhtin, 1981), associated with images of Portuguese migration to France from the 1960s and 1970s. In this way, this article also contributes to longstanding discussions of the layers of space and time in constructions of Portuguese identity (Feldman-Bianco, 1992; Lourenço, 1992).

The rest of this article is organized as follows. We first present recent sociolinguistic approaches to Bakhtin’s notion of chronotope as an analytically useful notion for unpacking how performers and commenters construct different spatio-temporally formulated versions of “Portuguese migrant identity.” We then
provide ethnographic contexts for the France-based and Portugal-based chronotopic perspectives on the video. Subsequently, we analyze the video itself, focusing on how the characters’ speech styles project and invite particular audience alignments (Agha, 2007; Bakhtin, 1981). We then compare chronotopic perspectives in diasporic versus nonmigrant commenters’ uptakes, considering the (ir)reconcilability of their perspectives. Chronotopic analysis reveals how differently situated social actors formulate particular spatio-temporal versions of Portuguese identities with each other in online interaction. We ultimately argue for the utility of discourse-based, chronotopic analysis for understanding how and where diasporic and nonmigrant participants dynamically construct, contest, center, and combine different spatio-temporal versions of Portuguese migrant and national identity.

Narrating and Narrated Chronotopes of Portuguese Migrant Personhood
The meanings of “Portuguese migrant identity” depend on contexts of use.\(^3\) To differently positioned participants, “Portuguese migrant identity” may stand for different constructed images of space, time, and personhood. Indeed, previous scholars have implicitly discussed such contextually variable spatio-temporal framing of Portuguese identity, such as the space-time of the empire and that of dispersed emigrant communities (DaCosta Holton, 2005; Feldman-Bianco, 1992; Fernandes, 2007; Klimt, 2000; Lourenço, 1992; Pereira, 2010, 2015). By applying Bakhtin’s notion of chronotope, we extend and add precision to discussions of the spatio-temporal framings of Portuguese identities. Our approach reveals the specific interactional positionings and discursive strategies through which online performers and commenters “do” particular images of space, time, and person, associated with nation and (e)/(im)migration.

The notion of chronotope has been used to address how participants signal particular spatio-temporal imaginings of communities (Anderson, 1991; Blommaert, 2015; Dick, 2010; Gal, 2006; Harkness, 2013; Wirtz, 2014). For example, Mexican nonmigrants’ everyday discourse about migration may (re)produce spatio-temporal images of the US as the “modern North” that allows people to “get ahead,” while simultaneously positioning Mexico as less modern, but morally superior (Dick, 2010). By juxtaposing images of the “modern,” immoral, US north and the “nonmodern,” moral, Mexican south, we see that social actors invoke multiple chronotopes of migration and nation concurrently. There are thus no stand-alone chronotopes (Irvine, 2004). One must then consider the range or set of chronotopes differently positioned social actors may evoke and combine.

We first list the chronotopes of Portuguese and French national and migrant identity of potential relevance to differently positioned viewers of Ro et Cut, (see also Koven & Marques, 2015). The following three chronotopes of Portuguese identity are potentially relevant to performers and commenters: (a) An image of a former, grand imperial power (Lourenço, 1992); (b) An image of conservative rural nationalism, associated with the Salazarist regime (DaCosta
Holton, 2005; Pais de Brito, 1982); this second image may alternatively be celebrated, or decried, if understood as leaving Portugal “behind” the rest of Europe; (c) An image of a cosmopolitan, modern European center, that has caught up or is catching up to its northern European peers (Pereira, 2010).

The following three chronotopes of French identity are also potentially relevant for performers and commenters: (a) France as a past and current socioeconomic center in Europe that dictates universal standards of civilization and modernity; (b) France as a host of Portuguese emigrants who sought better socioeconomic standing at the time of their departure from Portugal; (c) France as the “unremarkable” site of everyday life for Portuguese migrants, their offspring, and the offspring of migrants from other countries.

Alongside documenting the occurrence of these different French and Portuguese cultural chronotopes, one should also consider exactly how social actors evoke and combine them in the same stretch of discourse. Specifically, they may evoke and distribute different cultural chronotopes across the space-time of narrated versus narrating events, a key distinction in discourse-based scholarship (Bakhtin, 1981; Jakobson, 1957; Silverstein, 2005). In the case of Vamos a Portugal, the narrated event(s) refer(s) to the “there-and-then” story world realm of the video and its associated spatial, social, and temporal images of characters and scenarios. The narrating event(s) refer(s) to the “here-and-now” online interactional realm where participants perform, watch, and comment on those images (Agha, 2007; Bakhtin, 1981; Perrino, 2015; Silverstein, 2005). The notion of the narrating event as the space-time of the current interaction overlaps with sociolinguistic notions of “contextualization,” (Blommaert, 2015; Duranti & Goodwin, 1982; Gumperz, 1982; Koven, 2016; Silverstein, 1992) and “speech event” (Hymes, 1962; Jakobson, 1960; Perrino, 2015). Attending to the narrating events/chronotopes shows how viewers’ and commenters’ signaling of space, time, and person actively positions them relative to the video and to each other in this online interactional setting.

Ultimately, it is critical to document not only narrated and narrating chronotopes, but their interrelations (Agha, 2007; Koven, 2016; Perrino, 2015; Silverstein, 1993, 2005). We thus investigate how performers and commenters align here-and-now narrating and there-and-then narrated chronotopes. Others have examined processes of aligning narrating and narrated chronotopes in performances of nationhood (Eisenlohr, 2006; Koven, 2013). For example, Luso-descendants living in France may tell each other (narrating chronotope) about their experiences in Portugal (narrated chronotope). Through aligning with each other in the “here-and-now” as young, urban, French-speaking Parisians, they may evoke particular images of their elder relatives’ Portuguese space, time, and person as less modern (Koven, 2013, 2015; Koven & Marques, 2015). Such chronotopic alignments allow participants to enact nostalgic, diasporic nationalism through discourse, i.e., by projecting a current France-based space-time that longs for and celebrates images of a bygone Portugal-based space-time. Our analysis will thus show the diverse ways people (re)present figures and scenes associated with Portugal and Portuguese migration, while also positioning themselves in relation to these.
We will focus on several perspectives: that of Ro et Cut’s video itself, which invites particular chronotopic interpretations from an addressed audience of Luso-descendants raised in France. We then examine chronotopic alignments from two types of commenters: those who implicitly or explicitly present themselves as either French Luso-descendants or as nonmigrant Portuguese. In both cases, we examine how commenters position themselves in relation to the characters and scenarios in the video, in relation to the performers (Ro et Cut), and in relation to other commenters. We will see that the video is differently intelligible to these two categories of commenters. Luso-descendant and nonmigrant perspectives are not readily reconcilable, showing polycentric, yet contested meanings of emigration (to France in the 1960s and 1970s), of Portuguese identity, and of language use in the 21st century.

Ethnographic Contexts

France-centric perspectives.
Ro et Cut assume that viewers will recognize linguistic and nonlinguistic dimensions of the legacy of major Portuguese migration to France during the 1960s and 1970s, when as much as 10% of the Portuguese population left rural Portugal for urban France, most often for economic reasons (Pereira, 2012, 2015). Despite being France’s largest community of migrant origin by nationality, the Portuguese have remained relatively absent from mainstream French discussions of immigration. Relative to migrants and migrant descendants from countries with post-colonial ties to France, they have often been described as an invisible minority (Cordeiro, 1994; Pingault, 2004). Insofar as Ro et Cut make the Portuguese the focal migrant group, many Luso-descendants see them as innovative.

Although Ro et Cut present the main characters and scenarios as specifically Portuguese, they also draw from mainstream French chronotopes about migrants in general, as nonmodern others (Koven & Marques, 2015). Specifically, first-generation Portuguese migrant figures in the video are presented as less “cool,” funnier, and coarser than figures presented as raised in France (Koven & Marques, 2015). Connected to legacies of the French colonial mission civilisatrice and third Republic notions of cultural assimilation, migrant characters (Portuguese and of other origins) are thus often presented and interpreted through a French modernist chronotope as less “civilized” than narrated characters born and raised in France (Koven & Marques, 2015).

Even if viewers do not speak fluent Portuguese, Ro et Cut assume viewers will recognize and enjoy their semiotically evocable stylizations of first-generation Portuguese immigrants’ personas. Characters’ personas manifest nonverbally and verbally, displayed through first-generation Portuguese characters’ modes of dress, bodily habitus, and use of non-standard French. Migrant characters’ speech features frequent use of obscenity and “non-native” linguistic hybridity.

This presentation invites viewers to watch the video through a here-and-now chronotope of a more knowledgeable, modern French (or French-influenced) self,
relative to the narrated chronotope of a laughable, nonmodern, migrant other. The modern here-and-now self that reflects on a nonmodern there-and-then of migrant others then combines with a chronotope of familial experience, as Luso-descendants liken the migrant characters, Antonio and Maria, to their first-generation family members, and the two Luso-descendant second-generation characters to their own kin roles. Viewers may then engage the video through French chronotopes about migration, along with a chronotope of firsthand, biographic, lived family experience (see Woolard, 2013). Luso-descendant viewers, the target audience, may “hear” first-generation migrant family members through these perspectives.

Portugal-centric perspectives.
However, although Ro et Cut target viewers who understand Portuguese migration from France-centered perspectives, a significant number of viewers in Portugal have watched and commented on the video, through a different set of narrating and narrated chronotopes. The video evokes for some of them an unflattering image of Portugal as rural, backwards, and conservative, associated with the era of the Salazarist regime of the 60s and 70s. Indeed, from the perspective of many middle-class Portuguese, emigrants have been the object of much ambivalent typification, perceived and represented as situated in a nonmodern time and remote space (Bretell, 2003; Da Cunha, 2009; Gonçalves, 1996; Koven, 2004, 2013; Koven & Marques, 2015; Lopes, 1998). Nonmigrant commenters may position themselves as commenting from a modernist Portuguese chronotope, that simultaneously constructs the commenter and Portugal as urban, cosmopolitan, and progressive, while situating the video’s Portuguese migrant figures in an imagined time and place of an anachronistic, rural past.

France-based and Portugal-based modernist chronotopes may seem to converge in their interpretations of Portuguese immigrants/emigrants as nonmodern. However, they diverge insofar as those in France may find humor, whereas those in Portugal may take offense. The latter may view the video as constructing all Portuguese as nonmodern, threatening current personal and national claims to a modern, cosmopolitan image. Indeed, these different reactions emerge because these French and Portuguese modernist chronotopes do not exist independently of each other (Koven & Marques, 2015). Intra-Portuguese concerns about modern self-presentations relate to broader intra-European hierarchies in which France has often been constructed as more “advanced” than Portugal. Indeed, Portugal-centered commenters sometimes allude to such international hierarchies when they report fears that the video will cause extranational, non-Portuguese others to look down on Portugal. France-based Luso-descendants and Portugal-based commenters then respectively interpret the video and each other through perspectives that intersect in complex ways. These differently positioned commenters then often engage each other in affect-laden, and sometimes contentious, not easily reconcilable exchanges.
Language is a key site where these chronotopic struggles manifest. Nonmigrant Portuguese criticisms of emigrants’ speech often focus on French influence or “mixing,” perceived as inauthentic and ostentatious, and on use of Portuguese lexical and sociophonetic markers, perceived as old-fashioned, uneducated, and rural. Nonmigrant criticisms of French influence connect to widespread essentialist, monolingualist ideologies that emigrants are inherently Portuguese and Portuguese-speaking (Da Silva, 2011; Heller, 2006; Koven, 2004, 2013), making French-influenced speech a sign of willful, disloyal abandonment of Portugal (Koven, 2013). Nonmigrant criticisms of emigrants’ marked Portuguese use of sociophonetic markers (such as saying /b/ for /v/ and frequent profanity) connect to perceptions that emigrants come from a bygone era, before urbanization and democratization. Critics link such forms to images of emigrants as local and regional. These stigmatizing reactions thus depend on perceptions that emigrants embody semiotic contradictions: incongruously aspiring to a chronotope of failed, inauthentic, urban French modernity, while stuck in a chronotope of a rural, nonmodern Portuguese past (Koven, 2013).

We must also understand not only the narrated chronotopes in which critics position emigrants, but also the narrating chronotopes (i.e., current interactional contexts) in which critics evaluate emigrants’ speech. When nonmigrant commenters critique the speech of the video’s emigrant figures, they implicitly position themselves in a different space and time from those figures. By critiquing emigrants and their speech as old-fashioned and inauthentic, they position themselves as standard-speaking speakers of Portuguese from modern, educated Portugal.

Summing up France- and Portugal-centered commenters, both speak from a discursive “here-and-now” of the modern present about emigrants in the nonmodern “there-and-then,” but disagree vehemently about whether the voice of the modern self can emanate from the French-speaking diaspora or Portugal, as well as whether the nonmodern emigrant other is to be celebrated or condemned as part of the consolidation of the modern self. These larger chronotopically framed interpretive frameworks are critical for understanding the video and the divergent reactions to it.

Ro et Cut’s Video
The characters are differently recognizable to those centered in urban France and nonmigrants in Portugal. Although there are many nonverbal features of the video and subsequent comments, we primarily address characters’ language use, i.e., the distinctive ways characters use, separate, and combine French and Portuguese semiotic resources. There are three different types of characters: first-generation Portuguese migrants; other young people of a post-migrant generation, of non-Portuguese descent, raised in France; and second-generation Luso-descendants.

1. First-generation Portuguese migrants. Antonio is the focal exemplar. He speaks both languages to his sons and to his cousin Pedro, French to his sons’
friends, and Portuguese to his wife, Maria. Although generally omitted from the French subtitles, migrant characters’ speech also contains Portuguese profanity, with repeated use of *caralho* and *foda-se*. To Portuguese viewers, this may index migrants’ regionally northern origins, as well as their generally coarse demeanor. Antonio’s and other Portuguese migrant characters’ speech is marked by use of French with a “Portuguese accent,” including sounds like the trilled rather than the uvular [r] of Parisian French (e.g., *grave, parti, Portugal, rendez-vous, arrête*). This co-occurs with the pronunciation of [u] for [y], in words like *musique, salut, tu*.

First-generation migrant characters also show French influence in their Portuguese, through use of expressions that may sound to many like they are calqued on French, such as *va la, despacha-te*, modeled on *voilà* and *dépêche-toi*. Characters’ Franco-Portuguese language use is the subject of many of the YouTube comments, which become a more general meditation on what it means to be authentically Portuguese, relative to the diaspora and to Portugal.

2. Young people of other “migrant” origins, the older son Fabio’s peers of Algerian descent, who are only shown speaking “native,” colloquial, young French.

3. Second-generation Luso-descendants, specifically Fabio and Tiago, Antonio’s and Maria’s sons. Both understand the first generation’s Portuguese and French-Portuguese hybrid speech, but they answer in “native,” “young” French, spoken like their peers in (sub)urban France. The video invites viewers to watch from a chronotopic perspective that most closely aligns with Fábio’s and Tiago’s perspective of (remembered) embarrassment and resigned irritation; i.e., that of the France-based adolescent Luso-descendants, who observe the semiotic displays of their elder family members. Whereas viewers may recognize their first-generation male family members in Antonio, they may recognize their younger selves in Fábio and Tiago. They can then watch and enjoy the video from a current perspective of retrospective pleasure, with an imagined co-audience of Luso-descendants with similarly imagined pasts.8

YouTube Commentary

We turn to the YouTube commentaries from France-based Luso-descendants and from nonmigrant Portuguese, to understand how viewers actually interpret and position themselves in relation to the video (see also Koven & Marques, 2015).

We identify commenters’ backgrounds through a range of explicit and implicit cues, including declarations of ethnonational identification, first-person plural deictic forms referring to “our” shared experiences, and French-Portuguese language use. Luso-descendant commenters may be recognizable through their use of “youthful” varieties of French, with strategic performances of Portuguese or Portuguese-influenced speech. Nonmigrant commenters are recognizable through their nearly exclusive use of Portuguese, with no allusion to lived experience in France. Commenters may also be recognizable through their use of spatially orienting deictics, through which they position themselves, such as “going to” vs. “coming to Portugal,” etc.
We examined the comments left between May 2010 and May 2012, yielding a corpus of 905 comments. Of these comments more than half (487) are positive. And most of the positive comments (86.24% or 420/487) are delivered primarily in French, with few positive comments in Portuguese (67/487 or 13.75%). Of the 905 comments, 247 or 27.29% are negative. Of the negative comments, roughly 2/3 (164/247 or 66%) were written primarily in Portuguese. Only a third of the negative comments (76/247 or 30%) were in French. We speculate that negative comments in Portuguese come largely from commenters positioned as nonmigrant Portuguese, and positive comments come largely from Luso-descendants in France (see also Koven & Marques, 2015).

Below we elaborate these general trends with illustrative examples. As described above, we note how commenters evoke narrating and narrated chronotopes, through context-signaling forms such as verb tense (present/past), spatiotemporal verbs and adverbs (go/come, here/there), pronouns (we/they/you), locative articles (this/that), language and style choice (varieties of French, Portuguese, and hybrid combinations), use of specific versus generic forms (Koven, 2016) and quotations. Indeed, when YouTube commenters quote from clips, they take up complex stances toward the quoted figures from the video and toward (imagined) others reading the comment stream (See Chun, 2013; Chun & Walters, 2011). By combining these forms, commenters simultaneously summon up a narrated story world about Portuguese migrants, while positioning themselves in the narrating interaction of the comment stream, relative to the story world and to one another.

**Luso-descendant comments.**

These commenters typically celebrate the video, evoking the relevance of firsthand familial and national chronotopes. Specifically, many perceive the video as iconically evoking parts of their own lived experiences of road trips and family members, while conjuring images of Portuguese personas situated in a rural past (Koven & Marques, 2015). They often comment on specific linguistic and nonlinguistic semiotic elements from the video as authentic, such as the cooler, the rosary, and the Portuguese soccer scarf. In the comments provided below, French is bolded, and Portuguese is italicized. Bivalent elements (Woolard, 1998) appear with both. Commenters then hail other Luso-descendant viewers in the narrating chronotope to share in joint remembrance and recognition of these images.

**Nostalgic appreciation.**

loooool c tro fort c du vécu tt sa ! ! ! fau le vivre pr comprendre, a geleira obligé
(loooool this is too much all that comes from experience!!! must live it to understand, the cooler for sure)

mdr !!! on a tous connu ça !!!

*viva Portugal!!!

(lol !!! we’ve all experienced it!!!
*long live Portugal!!!*)
To these commenters, the video evokes memories, family histories of migration, jointly shared and sharable with “all of us,” implicitly all Lusodescendants. They are nostalgic for the first-generation figures, presented as similar to family members and from a bygone era. They celebrate family and Portugal (“viva Portugal”), recalled from the perspective of a modern, youthful French present. Commenters thus combine a modern, French narrating chronotope that is nostalgic about a narrated chronotope that links individual past family experiences with nationalist images of Portugal (Fernandes, 2007). This combination of chronotopes also appears in the juxtaposition of language(s) and language varieties used and distributed across quoting and quoted speech (see Koven, 2007; Koven & Marques, 2015). Luso-descendants’ quoting comments largely appear in “young” varieties of colloquial French, while quoted speech evokes first-generation Portuguese figures from the video, and/or from their own familial experience. Quotes have been underlined.

Exact! un cadeau, merci à vous, de mieux en mieux, souvenirs souvenirs!!!allez
raindibouaopiage no mês do agosto
(Right! a gift, thank you all, getting better, memories, memories, memories !!! okay, See
you at the toll in August!)

Merci à vous !!! Merci pour les barres de rire, pour les détails, les “fodès”, les
souvenirs... c’est trop drôle de voir qu’on a tous vécu ça ^^ encore bravo et
continuez !
(Thank you!!! Thank you for the laughs, for the details, for the “fuck you!”, for the
memories…this is too funny to see that we’ve all lived that ^^ congratulations again
and keep it up!)

The first commenter uses non-standard orthography to quote Antonio’s
Portuguese-influenced speech from line 31 (In standard French, “rendez-vous au
péage Saint Arnou dans une heure, ok?”). Note the use of [b] for [v], and [i] for [e], along
with the Franco-Portuguese, no mês do agosto. Colloquial French is the voice of the
current modern self, whereas Portuguese and Portuguese-influenced French are
the voice of beloved first-generation family members from annual road trips to
Portugal.

We see similar patterns in the second example, with the quoted “fodès,” used
repeatedly by Antonio and Maria in the video, which s/he links to his/her own
“memories.” This commenter uses “on” and “tous” (“we” and “all”) to signal that
the memories are implicitly experiences shared, by all Luso-descendants.

These Luso-descendant commenters citationally re-evoke specific verbal and
nonverbal details that they presuppose like-minded viewers will convivially
and collectively appreciate. The modern, youthful, current French-speaking self
finds and orients to other such selves with whom to evoke voices from a
nostalgic (imagined) Portuguese past. In so doing, they enact a particular Luso-
descendant stance together in this online setting.
Nonmigrant Portuguese comments.11
As suggested above, most negative comments appear to come from commenters who position and present themselves as nonmigrant Portuguese, who apprehend the video from a different combination of (non)modern chronotopic perspectives.

Unlike Luso-descendants who remarked on and reperformed specifics of the characters’ speech, taken as nostalgic, iconic reproductions of details from their family’s history, nonmigrant commenters rarely mention specific details from the video, which appear lost on them. In fact, most such commenters barely mention the video, using it instead as an opportunity to discuss emigrants as a general, problematized social type (Gorham, 2006; Koven, 2016; Reyes, 2004), around which they scale up to make claims about all Portuguese migrants.12 The video then becomes a vehicle for often derisive discourse that posits emigrants in France as essentialized and timeless (see Koven, 2016). We see this pattern in the next comment (in English).

Hi! I’m portuguese from lisbon and i don’t get it...
First, Lisbon is a cosmopolitan city. The immigration to France of the 60’s come from Guarda and Trás-montes. Interior places of portugal with modest people, farmers,etc.
The immigration was because of political reasons (Portuguese dictatorship).

The commenter refers to the video as “it,” which s/he doesn’t “get.” Note that s/he first asserts his/her identity as Portuguese, perhaps authenticating claims to assert what “counts” as legitimately Portuguese. S/he adds that s/he is from Lisbon, implicitly aligning with a narrating chronotope of Portugueseness as urban and cosmopolitan. S/he then proceeds to discuss Portuguese migration in general terms, but situated in the geographic periphery and the temporal past.

Contesting the video’s image of Portugal: Emigrant type as anachronistic.
In excerpts discussed below, nonmigrant commenters also summon up emigrants as a generic type. Many remark on the antiquated image of Portugal that the video evoked for them, juxtaposed to the more modern narrating frame in which commenters situate themselves. The emigrant type is presented as out of touch with the commenter’s contemporary Portugal:

é o típico do emigrantezito que foi se embora em 1960, depois quando volta pensa que é o rei, mas só faz figura de parvo.

(It is typical of the little emigrant who went away in 1960, after when he returns he thinks that he is king, but really makes a fool of himself.)

This commenter xenophobically presents this emigrant figure as a marked, problematic, generic type,13 relative to the commenter who positions him/herself and contemporary Portugal as the unmarked, normative deictic origo.14 By using “foi-se embora” (went away), “volta” (returns), the commenter positions himself and Portugal in the center from which emigrants leave and to which they return. S/he
refers to the emigrant figure with a series of actions presented with verbs in a
timeless, habitual present (“volta”, “pensa”, “faz”) (Koven, 2016). The commenter
also uses indirect quotation to present this generic figure’s (apparently deluded)
thoughts (“that he is king”), from the unmarked, nonquoted perspective, implicitly
of nonmigrant Portuguese. Such discursive strategies work together to essentialize
the figure as a timeless, typical, laughable, inferior other, and to position the
commenter as speaking from an unmarked modern Portuguese present.

Nonmigrants’ comments about emigrant speech.

Many nonmigrants’ comments explicitly address emigrants’ speech. However,
unlike Luso-descendants’ quotations of the characters as beloved and familiar,
nonmigrant commenters frame and perform quotations of characters as abstract
types, held at arm’s length.

lindo! o típico português em franca. tem tanto orgulho em ser portugues que quando chega a portugal
só fala uma espécie de frances além de falarem alto para darem nas vistas. olhem para os outros
emigrantes portugueses espalhados no mundo e aprendam com eles. 5 estrelas este video
(gorgeous! the typical Portuguese in France. He is so proud of being Portuguese that
when he arrives to Portugal he only speaks a type of French besides speaking loudly
to show off. Look at other Portuguese emigrants around the world and learn from
them. 5 stars this video)

With the third person singular and plural forms presented in a timeless
present, s/he transforms this figure into a type. This commenter also derides the
figure’s speech as a “type of French,” suggesting its inferiority and perhaps
inauthenticity, for which s/he then attributes ostentatious motives (falarem alto para
darem nas vistas / speaking loudly to show off). Indeed, unlike Luso-descendant
comments’ nostalgically affectionate stances, nonmigrant comments about
emigrant speech are often hostile and blatantly xenophobic.15

ODEIO EMIGRANTES QUE VENHAM PARA PORTUGAL A FALAR
OUTRAS LINGUAS. ESTUPIDOS DO CARALHO, BURROS DE MERDA!!!
PRIMEIRO DE TEREM APRENDIDO OUTRA LINGUA APRENDERAM O
PORTUGUES!! FALEM PORTUGUES.
(I HATE EMIGRANTS THAT COME TO PORTUGAL SPEAKING OTHER
LANGUAGES. STUPID FUCKING, ASSES OF SHIT!! BEFORE THEY
LEARNED TO SPEAK ANOTHER LANGUAGE THEY LEARNED
PORTUGUESE!! SPEAK PORTUGUESE.)

With the injunction that emigrants should speak their imagined native
tongue and not other languages learned abroad, we see the diasporic ideology of
Portuguese language and identity (Koven, 2013), where anyone of Portuguese
descent has a hereditary duty to speak Portuguese, implicitly like monolingual
nonmigrants. Again, some nonmigrant commenters may quotatively perform the
marked hybrid speech emblematic of the type. It seems to be a combination of
the emigrant figure’s obscenities in Portuguese and use of French that are most salient in such quotations. We have bolded quotes in French.

... the mother to the child- careful Miguel you will fall Miguel you will fall. (the kid fell) ah son of a bitch, didn’t I tell you that you’d fall? This bunch of aves if the craze was shit they would all walk around with the face full of shit)

In this xenophobic metalinguistic commentary, a version of which has circulated widely (Gonçalves, 1996; Koven, 2004), the mother initially speaks French to warn her child. She then uses vulgar Portuguese, revealing her supposedly “true” vulgar Portuguese nature, and unveiling her earlier pretense. In contrast to the nostalgic Luso-descendant quotations, the nonmigrant commenter distributes French and Portuguese language forms differently across narrating and narrated chronotopic frames: the narrating chronotopic quoting frame of the here-and-now commenter uses very colloquial, derisive Portuguese, and the narrated chronotopic quoted frame of the there-and-then generic emigrant figure uses hybridized French and Portuguese. Through these strategies, the commenter takes derisive distance from the quoted emigrant figure.

Although both Luso-descendant commenters and nonmigrant commenters place the video’s characters in the past, and themselves in a “modern” present, they do so quite differently. Luso-descendant commenters speak from an urban, youthful, yet now-adult French present about a nostalgically lost, authentic past inhabited by characters that embody both family and a particular version of “Portugueseness.” Nonmigrant commenters speak from a modern cosmopolitan Portugal to nonmigrants, about anonymous, generic others who are stuck in a disdained, spatio-temporally remote past. They interpret this past as an illegitimate chronotope of Portugueseness, that they seek to erase rather than collaboratively celebrate or savor. Threatened by their perception of the video’s and Luso-descendant commenters’ retrograde imagining of Portugal, they then use the online interaction to maximally distance themselves from these figures, both as narrated general types and as narrating fellow commenters. As such, their comments sometimes appear threatened, hostile, or insulting to emigrants as a type or emigrants as fellow-commenters.

Why such hostile reactions? Some of the hostility is undoubtedly related to the interactional norms of online interaction that allow for trolling and related phenomena (Hardaker, 2010). However, some explicitly state that the video degrades and disrespects Portugal as a whole.

claro que tenho humor e podes acreditar que adoro rir de tudo......mas enfim...ha coisas que vao longe de mais e sobretudo quando se fala assim de um pais pequeno que ainda esta a procura da sua notoriedade (que ja foi mesmo) estas pessoas em parodia ....nao ajuda e de mais que faz sentido os portugueses saliois de trasmonites e minhoto sem educação .. portugal nao é so isto...graça a deus
of course I have a sense of humor and you can believe that I love to laugh at everything ... but anyway ... there are things that go too far and especially when speaking of a small country that is still in search of its reputation (that has been even) these people into parody ... it does not help and furthermore what sense does it make the northern uneducated Portuguese ... Portugal is not only this... thank God)

The video thus triggers a larger discussion about the spatiotemporal framing of Portuguese identity. The preceding comment sees Portugal as currently vulnerable, as a “small,” but once glorious country, a common juxtaposition evoked in discussions of Portuguese identity (Gil, 2004, 2009; Lourenço, 1992). S/he fears that parodies of uneducated, rural “saloios” (“morons”) or hicks will be taken as Portugal’s ambassadors. In fact, as suggested above, nonmigrant commenters may restrict who is allowed to declare themselves to be Portuguese, tying it closely to a diasporic ideology of Portuguese language and identity.

todo o português que põe de parte o seu orgulho nacional em prol de outro país não é digno de se auto-afirmar português, não basta ir para a “champs-elysées” acenar com a bandeirinha ou a camisola dos ciganos. É digno todo o português que é justo la (França, Itália, Grécia, Holanda...) assim como é aqui, bem baimem todos os cidadão e povo português digno de andar e levar a suá língua além fronteiras e voltar com a mesma língua, Viva Portugal das pessoas que são sempre Portuguesas

(any Portuguese who sets aside his national pride on behalf of another country is not worthy of calling himself Portuguese, going to the “Champs-Elysees” waving with the little flag or sweatshirt of Gypsies is not enough. Any proper Portuguese is just there (France, Italy, Greece, Netherlands ...) as he is here, greetings to all Portuguese citizens and decent Portuguese people to walk and carry his language overseas and come back with the same language, Long live Portugal of the people who are always Portuguese)

And to many nonmigrant commenters, the sign of disloyalty to Portugal is linguistic, i.e., emigrants’ speech that displays signs of foreign, here French, influence. They interpret emigrants’ speech as national betrayal. As such, on the one hand, Luso-descendant commenters treated the video and the opportunity to respond to it, as a way of enacting the identity of a young French person of Portuguese origin in shared space with other Luso-descendants. On the other hand, nonmigrant commenters treated the video and the opportunity to respond to it, as a way of defensively enacting the identity of a modern Portuguese person, by reacting to threatening images of a social type that challenges an image of modern, cosmopolitan Portugal, domestically and internationally. They then discursively exclude the type from that modern image of Portugal. The video’s depiction of migrant figures may threaten an image of contemporary Portugal as modern, where there is ongoing ambivalence about the emigration of the 60s and 70s to France. The figure of the emigrant evokes a rurality and a poverty from which many nonmigrant Portuguese commenters dissociate themselves. The modern self presents itself as a proud cosmopolitan bearer of Portuguese language and culture, whose language bears no trace of emigrant trajectories. Foreign linguistic influence is only legitimate as parallel
monolingualisms (Heller, 2006; Koven, 2004), acquired through sophisticated elite, not emigrant, trajectories.

**Discussion**

The comments show different perspectives from which participants interact, surrounding interpretations of migrant figures and their semiotic displays, positioning the migrant figure in the nonmodern past, and themselves in the modern present. We saw different cross-chronotope alignments (Perrino, 2015) in Luso-descendant and nonmigrant comments, through which claims of current and past versions of Portuguese identity are asserted: a current modern French chronotope nostalgically celebrating past chronotope of Portuguese rural, familial other versus current modern urban Portuguese chronotope denigrating and excluding past chronotope of rural anonymous backward others who are at odds with or threaten the current national image. The video invites differently positioned viewers to recognize the migrant characters as other, but commenters then diverge in their current chronotopic positionings relative to them.

Despite these apparently irreconcilable perspectives, Luso-descendant commenters and nonmigrant commenters sometimes directly address each other. Most often this occurs when a Luso-descendant commenter responds to nonmigrants’ criticisms, attempting to defuse the hostile tone of nonmigrant comments, while challenging the diasporic ideology that posits emigrants’ and Luso-descendants’ nonmonolingual speech as strategically disrespectful, offering alternative explanations for their marked speech as an unavoidable result of life abroad (Koven, 2013). Countering widespread monolingualist ideologies that only validate elite multilingualisms, these commenters plead that their French-influenced speech need not jeopardize their acceptance as legitimately Portuguese, asserting their attachment to Portugal, and their desire for acceptance in Portugal as Portuguese.

_Eu li comentários e muito gente não pensa que alguns lusodescendentes (eu mesmo) nunca ha estudado o português porque os pais deles pensaram em ficar integrado corretamente na França, assim para eles falar o português em Portugal, é um pouco complicado. Si nós não somos aperfeiçoados, não é uma razão para criticar…_

(I read comments and many people do not think that some luso-descendants (myself) had never studied Portuguese because their parents thought that to be properly integrated in France, so for them to speak Portuguese in Portugal, is a little bit tricky. If we are not perfect, it is no reason to criticize…)

We doubt that such appeals for alternative understandings of emigrants’ and Luso-descendants’ hybrid semiotic behavior and of a more expansive notion of Portugueseness are persuasive in this online context. If for some, Antonio and his family become the celebrated heroes of a migrant community happy to finally see itself in widely circulating performance art, to a nonmigrant Portuguese public this video may insult and offend, because it evokes nonmodern images of Portuguese personhood. These perspectives clash over how and where to situate
figures of the emigrant in narrated chronotopes of Portuguese identity, and where to position the voice of the modern narrating self: in the diaspora of urban and suburban France, or in contemporary Portugal. YouTube comedic performances and commenters’ re-entextualizations of them are rich sites for enacting and investigating the politics of performances of Portuguese (migrant) identity, as (in)authentic and (non)modern, as framed by different discursively enactable spatial and temporal “centerings” of a France-based, post-migrant diaspora versus that of contemporary Portugal. We have proposed chronotopic analysis to illuminate how diasporic and nonmigrant social actors mobilize, inhabit, and juxtapose different narrated spatial and temporal formulations of “Portuguese migrant identities,” and their own narrating spatiotemporal positionings relative to these in online interaction.

Notes
1 One also sees Fábio’s “second-generation” teenage friends of Algerian descent, who figure less prominently in our analysis.
2 These trips constitute a type of ethnic return migration (Charbit et al., 1997; King & Christou, 2008; Santos, 2010), or diasporic or roots tourism (Hirsch & Miller, 2011; Wagner, 2008).
3 See Urciuoli’s 2003 discussion of strategically deployable shifters.
4 Portuguese emigration to France has known multiple waves throughout the 20th and now 21st century. The wave of the 1960s and 1970s has become the most currently emblematic in popular discourse in Portugal. Note, however, that emigration to Brazil and the image of the return “Brasileiro” was previously focal prior to the 1960s (Matozzi, 2016; Rocha-Trindade, 1986).
5 The video is only subtitled in French.
6 When nonmigrants deride emigrants, they implicitly erase the fact that many, if not most, families living in Portugal have had family members who emigrated (Martine Fernandes, personal communication).
7 See transcript in appendix.
8 This invitation to shared nostalgia can be interpreted within and across multiple scales, i.e., nostalgia for shared personal and familial experience, for shared experiences of sharing a migrant experience in France, and for memories of a “traditional past,” with conservative political overtones, understood by some as evocative of the Salazar regime (Fernandes, 2007; personal communication).
9 171 comments refer to ads, spam, or song titles.
10 7 were in English (02.83%).
11 We are not claiming that all nonmigrants share these perspectives, as nonmigrants are a diverse group. Gonçalves (1996) noted that it is the new Portuguese middle class that is the most critical of emigrants. We only have access to comments from those who felt sufficiently moved to comment, about whom we have no further demographic information. Nevertheless, this recognizable, critical nonmigrant perspective recurs throughout the comment stream.
12 Note parallels and continuities with earlier Portuguese anti-emigrant discourse, starting in the 19th century, about emigrants in Brazil (Matozzi, 2016; Rocha Trindade, 1986).
13 As mentioned before, this anti-emigrant discourse has important connections to earlier discourses about “O Brasileiro” (Rocha-Trindade, 1986). Future work should undertake comparative analysis of the two cases.
14 This figure is also derided with the diminutive–ito.
15 See also Fabrício (2014) for a discussion of similar hostile internet insults between commenters presented as Brazilian and Portuguese.
16 “Avecs” is a pejorative Portuguese term for “emigrants,” imitating emigrants’ supposed frequent use of French words, such as “avec” (with). The term also involves a bilingual allusion, as the Portuguese term for “with” is “com,” a homonym with colloquial French “con” (stupid/asshole).
17 See earlier note about nonmigrant othering of emigrants as a denial of their likely family connections to those who emigrated (Martine Fernandes, personal communication).
Appendix: Transcript

Vamos a Portugal

French: plain text
Portuguese: bold

A=Antonio, father, main character
F=Favio, Antonio’s older son
T=Tiago, Antonio’s younger son
M=Maria, Antonio’s wife
P=Pedro, Antonio’s cousin

Friends= Favio’s peers in France, also “second generation,” but of Algerian descent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>((Fado music; Portuguese guitar; Antonio puts food in the trunk; bottle of port, Pingo Doce product, Nike shoes, and a suitcase are visible. Antonio is wearing a red plaid shirt, jeans, aviator glasses, a black beret and a mustache. The two sons arrive with water bottles and a bag which they put in the car. The younger son is wearing a soccer jersey from the Portuguese team)).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>F: Oh là là, Vas-y Papa la voiture elle est pleine là [inaudible] on peut même plus s’asseoir là. ((They put water bottles in the car))</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>F: ((sigh))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>A: Bufa outra vez, caralho! A: Snort again, fuck! ((A irritated, motioning as if to give a slap))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>T: ((laughs))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>A: Também levas caralho! (sous-titre: toi aussi tu vas prendre) A: You’ll get it too fuck! ((A turns toward him, as if to slap as well.))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>António to F: Vai buscar as geleiras (sous-titre: va chercher les glacières) A to F: go get the coolers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>F pointing to inside of car: Elles sont déjà dans la voiture là F: They’re already in the car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>A: Y en a du-deux encore! Tu vas pas manger pendant la viagem ou quoi? A: there are tw- two more! Aren’t you gonna eat on the trip or what?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>F heading to house: C’est bon là on dirait on va mourir de faim pendant le voyage F: All right, you’d think we’re gonna starve to death on the trip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>((A keeps arranging things in the trunk, with guitar/Fado music in the background. F closes the front door,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
holding two coolers and a large bottle of wine. He joins his father. A car honks with three young male passengers who appear to be F’s friends who cry out to him. A and F turn toward them. A is holding a green bottle of wine)

Friends: Ooooh [inaudible] tu vas au bled ou quoi? Tu nous ramènes des trucs, hein?
Friends: Oooh [inaudible] you goin’ to your boonies or what? Bring us stuff, eh?

F: Ouais ouais, salut!
F: Yeah, yeah, bye!

Friends: ouais pas d’embrouilles!
Friends: yeah, stay out of trouble!

((F turns back to car. Three friends are shown waving goodbye. Fado continues with lyrics from Carlos do Carmo “a minha velha Lisboa”)

((A trying to close the trunk)): C’est bon on y va!
A: All right, let’s go!

((A still can’t quite close the trunk)): oh merda! não fecha foda-se!
(sous-titre: ça ferme pas)
António: bon c’est pas grave
((He takes a cord to half-close the trunk.))

A: Oh shit! It doesn’t shut, fuck it! It’s okay

A: Vá lá! impecável!
A: Okay, hurry up! Fuck it!

A: Maria! Come on, woman! Let’s go!

M: J’ai mal à la jambe, foda-se!
M: My leg hurts, fuck it!

A ((shaking head)): Caralho vá
A: Fuck, come on

A ((looking at his wife with despair)): Caralho
((M climbs into car with difficulty))

A: Fuck
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A: ((turning to sons in backseat)): Allez c’est parti! on va au Portugal ça va les mecs? Oh là là putain vous êtes comme des chefs là! Oh bah oui! ((The two sons are squeezed, with a cooler between them, holding bottles of wine and water. They look displeased.))</th>
<th>A: Okay, we’re off! We’re going to Portugal! You dudes okay? Oh la la, fuck, you’re champs there! Yeah!</th>
<th>26</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F: Ouais, super</td>
<td>F: Yeah, great</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A: Caralho tás sempre a resmungar toi aussi! foda-se! C’est parti! (sous-titre: tu es toujours en train de râler)</td>
<td>A: Fuck, you’re always moaning, you! Fuck it! We’re off!</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((Fado music plays. A strokes an image of Fatima, stuck to the dashboard, he turns on the ignition, we see the exhaust pipe. A calls his first generation friend Pedro on a CB radio))</td>
<td>A: Hello esspion! Hello esspion!</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A: Allou esspion! Allou esspion!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P: Hein Casquinhas</td>
<td>P: Eh, Casquinhas</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>António: Oui, olha! Rendez-vous au péage Saint Arnou dans une heure, ok?</td>
<td>A: Yes, look! Meeting at the Saint Arnou toll in an hour, ok?</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro: Ok</td>
<td>P: OK</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>António: Prontos Olha, té logo ciao! ((He puts down the radio, backs up, we then see his Citroen car on the highway.))</td>
<td>A: Okay! Look, See you later ciao!</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F: Papa?</td>
<td>F: Dad?</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F: J’ai oublié mon mp3</td>
<td>F: I forgot my mp3</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F: Pour écouter de la musique!</td>
<td>F: to listen to music!</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A: Bom, vai-te foder y a pas besoin de musique eu tenho música (sous-titre: moi j’ai de la musique)</td>
<td>A: Okay, fuck you, there is no need for music I have music</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((A turns on radio and plays Pimba music by Quim Barreiros and starts singing off key)): A: lilouliloulila Lalilouliloula…….</td>
<td>A: lilouliloulila Lalilouliloula…….</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((T plugs his ears))</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((seeing F’s friends))</td>
<td>A: Eh putain eh c’est tes copains, là, oh les mecs!</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F: oh t’arrête pas papa!</td>
<td>F: Oh, don’t stop, dad!</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((A honks, three adolescent boys sitting on a wall, the one on the left is wearing an Algerian soccer jersey; they wave. A: Eh putain salut les mecs! Ça va?)</td>
<td>A: Oh fuck, hey guys! How you doin?</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends: Bonjour M’sieur António!</td>
<td>Friends: Hi Mister Antonio!</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A: Ça va Mouhamed! Alors tu vas pas en Algérie?</td>
<td>How you doing Mohammed! So you’re not going to Algeria?</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohamed: non, m’sieur</td>
<td>Mohamed: no, sir</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A: Ah bah non tu t’en fous toi! Allez, salut les mecs! ((The three friends wave))</td>
<td>A: Oh well no, you don’t give a damn! Okay, bye guys!</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A talking to F: Foooo-da-se c’est vraiment le racaille tes copains oh là là</td>
<td>A: Fuuuuck, your friends are really scum, oh lala!</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((F sighs and shakes his head))</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((cut to car on the highway, a big antenna, and a poorly closed trunk.))</td>
<td>A: C’mon! We’re going to Portugal, let’s go! So, you happy, kids? Eh, we’re going to Portugal! Oh yeah!</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[One hour later]</td>
<td>A: Hey, ten four espion, Casquinhas here</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((Portuguese Pimba music – José Malhoa “Amor amor só de vez em quando”))</td>
<td>Pedro: Oui Casquinhas?</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The car comes to a rest stop and A picks up his cb to talk to P</td>
<td>P: yes, Casquinhas</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A: Allou espion, allou espion ici Casquinhas!</td>
<td>A: Where are you? I don’t see you! Oh yes, I see you! Hold on, I’m coming!</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro: Ehh!</td>
<td>P: Ehhh!</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A: Foda-se! vamos embora hein!  
(sous-titre: on s’en va viens)

A: fuck it! Let’s go, eh

A: Vamos! Eu vou a frente anda!  
(sous-titre: je pars devant!)

A: Let’s go! I’ll go ahead!

((A climbs into the car, starts it and picks up the radio to call P))

A: Olha, cuidado com os flashes, tá bem?  
(sous-titre: attention avec les flashes, d’accord?!

((A climbs into the car, starts it and picks up the radio to call P))

A: Look out, careful with the lights, okay?

António: 140 máximo hein?  
(sous-titre: 140 maximum!)

A: 140 tops, okay?

A: Devagarinho é que se chega longe

A: Slow and easy does it

Pedro: Ok ok tá bem!

P: ok, ok, okay

Pimba music plays on the radio

References


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