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# ***C Sa Ksé Bon!*: Discursive circulation of a mock language slogan in the heteroglossic construction of Franco-Portuguese “community”**

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**Abstract:** We examine the emergence and viral circulation of a mock language slogan, “*C sa ksé bon!* That’s what’s good,” among young people of Portuguese origin living in France. The slogan reprises in stylized fashion the imagined, stigmatized French speech of first-generation Portuguese immigrant figures, which is heteroglossically represented in youthful French texting language. We trace the slogan’s de- and recontextualizations in the early 2010s across widely disseminated videos and cinema, as well as its uptake in online comments and spontaneous Facebook comments. Participants use the slogan to signal positive and/or ironic assessments of “Portuguese” entities, and newly rebranded Franco-Portuguese identities, simultaneously nodding to previously stigmatizing images, and reincorporating them into modern youthful ones. The article contributes to research on the heteroglossia of mock language and the construction of “communities” via discourse circulation, as well as research on the images and the (in)visibility of the Portuguese in France.

**Keywords:** Portuguese migration; France; online communication; mock language; circulation; slogans

**Résumé:** Nous examinons l’émergence et la circulation virale d’un slogan en langue parodiée, «*C sa ksé bon*», parmi des jeunes d’origine portugaise vivant en France. Ce slogan reprend, de manière stylisée, la manière de parler imaginée et stigmatisée des immigrants portugais de première génération, telle qu’elle est représentée de façon hétéroglossique dans le langage texto des jeunes en France. Nous retraçons les dé- et recontextualisations du slogan au début des années 2010 à travers des vidéos largement diffusées, le cinéma, ainsi que son appropriation dans des commentaires en ligne et des commentaires spontanés sur Facebook. Les participants utilisent le slogan pour

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exprimer des évaluations positives et/ou ironiques d'entités « portugaises » et d'identités franco-portugaises récemment revalorisées, tout en renvoyant simultanément à des images auparavant stigmatisantes et en les réincorporant dans des représentations modernes et jeunes. Cet article contribue aux recherches sur l'hétéroglossie des langues parodiques et sur la construction de « communautés » à travers la circulation discursive, ainsi qu'aux travaux portant sur les images et l'(in) visibilité des Portugais en France.

**Mots Clés:** Migration portugaise; France; communication en ligne; langage parodique; circulation; slogans

## 1 Crossing and post-migrant mockery of parents

Socioculturally oriented scholars of multilingualism have long investigated how ways of speaking within a community's repertoire come to index different "voices": that is, moral positions, social images, types of personhood, characterological figures, and power-laden relations between in and out groups (Agha 2005, 2006; Bakhtin 1981; Gal 1979; Gumperz 1982; Heller 1988; Hill and Hill 1986; Koven 2007; Myers-Scotton 1993; Woolard 2004).<sup>1</sup> Although such work originally focused on code-switching to in-group varieties, more recent work has also addressed how people use out-group varieties, through stylization and mock language, to evoke relations between in and out group, or self and other (Bucholtz 1999a; Coupland 2007; Hastings and Manning 2004; Hill 1999, 2008; Rampton 1995; 1999). In this vein, heteroglossic phenomena such as mock language (Hill 2008) and crossing (Jaspers 2011; Rampton 1995) have been studied to illuminate how intergroup relations and identifications play out in everyday discursive practices. For example, Jane Hill argued that white Anglo-Americans' jocular use of bits of Spanish in otherwise English speech tacitly reproduces US American sociolinguistic and ethnoracial hierarchies. While mock Spanish may directly index the speaker's own humorous persona, it indirectly derides Spanish-speaking figures. Such scholarship on crossing and stylization has demonstrated that mock language or sociolinguistic imitations are not just about language but about negotiations of sociocultural and ethnoracial hierarchies.

Although mock Spanish straightforwardly reproduces hierarchies of distinct social categories of white versus Latino in US contexts, there is more ambiguity in the

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<sup>1</sup> We use the term "voices" interchangeably with several related concepts, such as Bakhtin's idea of socially typifiable voices (Bakhtin 1981), Goffman's notion of figure (1979), and Agha's notion of characterological figure (2005, 2006, 2024) defined as an "image of personhood...performable through a semiotic display... potentially detachable from its current animator in subsequent moments of construal and recirculation." (2006: 177).

voicings and associated identity categories, when young people of migrant origin imitate the speech of recent first-generation arrivals (Chun 2004; Da Silva 2015; Jaspers 2011; Koven and Simões Marques 2015; Rampton 1995, 1999). When imitations of migrant speech are performed by those perceived to be members of a post-migrant generation, the meanings are more complex and multiple than if performed by those understood to be outsiders or members of the dominant group. Depending on how social actors align themselves relative to the migrant figures evoked by the mock variety and to others in the current participant framework, such cases may lie on the border between ingroup and outgroup mockery, through complex forms of double voicing (Bakhtin 1981). For example, Rampton (1995) examined the ideological and interactional stakes when British-raised students of South Asian descent perform a stylized Asian English accent in the presence of outgroup members. He argued that performances of stylized Asian English by those of South Asian descent point to widespread mainstream British ethnic stereotypes about first-generation South Asian immigrants, while also having variable effects on the immediate interaction, from playful teasing and mockery of age-mates to critique of mainstream authority figures. We see a further case with Rosa's (2019) discussion of inverted Spanglish, where young people of Puerto Rican or Mexican descent raised in the US, mock hyperanglicized Spanish with one another in ways that challenge mainstream mockery of Spanish speech. In the larger setting of stage-performances to large North American audiences of unknown others, Chun (2004) showed how Korean-American comedian Margaret Cho performs the voice of her Korean immigrant mother in ways that evoke mainstream images of Asian immigrants, while Cho presents herself as fully and legitimately American. Finally, in an example closer to the materials analyzed in this article, online comedic performers of Portuguese descent in France (henceforth known as Luso-descendants) imitate their first-generation Portuguese elders in ways that show both their affectionate celebration of and simultaneous differentiation from them. In so doing, Luso-descendants present themselves as more legitimate members of mainstream French society than their elders (Koven and Simões Marques 2015, 2017). Across these cases, we see different ways in which young people of migrant origin re-enact stigmatized speech stereotypically associated with images of first-generation migrants, while also considering the effects of these re-enactments on the immediate interaction and on more widely established images of migrant figures. These cases of post-migrant stylization from different ethnographic contexts and participant frameworks can reveal how post-migrant participants position themselves and others relative to hierarchically stratified and contested social images of migrant and mainstream figures.

This article examines how Luso-descendants in France creatively use mock language forms that appear to stylize their first-generation family members' stigmatized Portuguese-influenced French. Specifically, we focus on uses of the viral

slogan or catch phrase “*C’est ça que c’est bon*” (That’s what’s good), often rendered in young French texting orthography (Anis 2007; Fairon et al. 2007) as “*C sa ksé bon*.”<sup>2</sup> This phrase is Luso-descendants’ heteroglossic stylization of how first-generation Portuguese speak French, re-transcribed in a youthful French variety, contrasting stylized Portuguese migrant use of French with that of a text-savvy, hip variety of those raised in France. We will see that they use and have circulated this slogan in ways that display an ambivalent positioning toward the first-generation figure, creatively juxtaposing it with young French forms. This juxtaposition results in a rebranding of Franco-Portuguese diasporic identity from stigmatized to cool, modern, primarily legible to other Luso-descendants.<sup>3</sup>

While much of the work on the politics of crossing and mock language among ethnicized youth of a post-migrant generation has been conducted through the study of face-to-face interactions, the present work examines how members of a minoritized post-migrant minority have themselves used the mock Portuguese “*C sa ksé bon*” in broadly disseminated and disseminatable participant frameworks, such as online performances, cinema, and metadiscursive commentary on these. We will see how *C sa ksé bon* was de- and recontextualized (Bauman and Briggs 1990) or replicated (Urban 2001) across several key moments in the life of a Franco-Portuguese diasporic online and cinematic public in the early to mid-2010s. These recontextualizations asserted new types of Franco-Portuguese identity which nodded to older images, while transcending them.

Our aim is two-fold. First, we seek to build on previous work on mock language to analyze how participants of Portuguese descent use the slogan to enact and juxtapose particular spatiotemporally situated voices of French and Portuguese selves and others, within and across events. We examine how participants use this slogan in ways that circulate and reconstruct a particular version of a Franco-Portuguese diasporic public (Anderson 1991; Cody 2011; Fraser 1990; Gal and Woolard 2001; Graan 2022; Spitulnik 1996; Warner 2002).

Second, we seek to determine how the role of the *C sa ksé bon* slogan and its “circulation” can illuminate issues of the Portuguese as a more or less (in)visible and stigmatized group in France (Antunes da Cunha 2009; Cordeiro 1989, 1997; Dos Santos and Ferreira 2024; Fernandes 2007; Pingault 2004; Volovitch-Tavares 2006; Wagner and Koven 2017). Specifically, we examine how participants’ recognition and circulations of the slogan contribute to the establishment of a refashioned type of Franco-Portuguese diasporic public. We thus trace this Franco-Portuguese slogan across its first and subsequent recontextualizations in several settings to see which linguistically enacted social image(s) of Franco-Portuguese publics are being constituted and

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2 See Hillewaert (2015) for discussion of digital orthographic practices of “writing with an accent.”

3 See Rosa’s 2019 discussion of the image of the “Young Latino Professional.”

replicated. Attention to how participants recontextualize the slogan may demonstrate how Luso-descendants construct particular forms of Portuguese identity and its associated sociolinguistic hierarchies in contemporary French contexts.

## 2 Discourse circulation and social formations

To address the interrelated issues of mock language use, circulation, and publics, we follow scholarship in linguistic anthropology that has advocated understanding “circulation” or cultural motion (Urban 2001) through the lens of interdiscursivity (Agha and Wortham 2005; Bauman and Briggs 1990; Silverstein and Urban 1996), i.e., trajectories of discourse practices across multiple linked events, over social space and time (Agha 2006; Gal and Irvine 2019; Wortham and Reyes 2015). To study interdiscursivity, one can examine how participants appear to move chunks of the “same” text across settings. Such “text-centered” approaches to culture focus on how social actors themselves engage in the interrelated processes of making particular fragments of discourse focal (entextualization), enabling them to then “remove” (or decontextualize) them from one setting, and “transport” (or recontextualize) them into another (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Goodman 2005; Silverstein and Urban 1996). These separate but interrelated processes known as entextualization, decontextualization, and recontextualization allow a “textual fragment of culture [to]... be re-embedded [recontextualized]... as building blocks or atoms of shared culture.” (Silverstein and Urban 1996: 1).<sup>4</sup> These processes play a key role in the seeming movement, spread, or circulation of “shared culture” across space and time (Urban 2001).

Attention to discourse circulation through the interdiscursive processes described above is particularly useful for understanding the emergence and imagining of “community” (Anderson 1991/2006; Spitulnik 1996; Warner 2002), not only grounded in face-to-face interaction, but among dispersed strangers. Consideration of discourse circulation can thus reveal how repeated use of chunks of language mediates communities of unknown others in more dynamic ways than older, more static notions, such as speech community (Gumperz 1968) or even community of practice (Bucholtz 1999b; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992) that often presuppose face-to-face contact and mutual acquaintance among members. Unacquainted social actors may come to identify with one another as jointly participating in the “same community” through technologically mediated communication practices, such as shared reading practices (Anderson 1991/2006) or social media use (Jenkins 2006; Zappavigna 2011). Several useful concepts have been adopted to explain the

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<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of this article, we use the terms “decontextualization” and “recontextualization,” as any discourse fragment that undergoes these processes has already been entextualized.

emergence of social formations among unacquainted social actors, including “imagined communities” (Anderson 1991/2006), “ambient affiliation” (Zappavigna 2011), “subaltern counterpublics” (Fraser 1990), and Warner’s (2002) communicatively focused adaptation of Habermas’s notion of “publics” (1989). Warner argued that publics come about when strangers respond to and circulate texts, “A public is the social space created by the reflexive circulation of discourse,” especially the “concatenation of texts through time” (Warner 2002: 62). Publics of otherwise unacquainted strangers emerge and come to exist by further engaging in circulating discourse. Warner’s discourse-centered notion of publics is particularly useful for complicating notions of community in the era of online communication. Scholarly examples of online publics include including diasporic Zimbabweans’ use of Facebook groups (Mpofu et al. 2022), Muslim blogging in Germany (Eckert and Chadha 2013), women in Egypt (Elsaada 2010), Twitter use among Black South Africans (Aiseng 2024), and Twitter use among African Americans in the United States (Graham and Smith 2016; Lamont Hill 2018).

Further, following Spitulnik (1996), scholars should not only attend to “big” genres of discourse circulation, such as narrative and ritual, in their study of such community formation. They should also consider the role of “smaller scattered pieces of formulaic language” (Spitulnik 1996: 166), such as catch phrases and slogans. Slogans can function as ritualized performatives that invite individual participants to align with the broader social projects which the slogans index (Friedman 2019: xvi; Makovitsky et al. 2019). Urban used the example of “Hell no, we won’t go!” from the era of Vietnam protests, arguing that protesters’ use of the slogan allowed them to repeat words that “have come from somewhere else...” which individuals take up as if they were their own (Urban 2001: 112). That is, when social actors use a slogan, they align themselves with those who have come before and alongside them, while also declaring their allegiance to all that the slogan signals across time and space (Urban 2001).

We will show how attention to the de- and recontextualization of the “*C sa ksé bon*” slogan can illuminate more processual dimensions of the life of a social formation such as the Portuguese “community” in France. We thus examine how practices of de- and recontextualization are involved in what would otherwise be considered the “circulation” of slogans and catch phrases and their role in indexically presupposing and creating various types of social formations (see Hodges 2019; Spitulnik 1996; Urban 2001; Warner 2002).<sup>5</sup> Attention to participants’ online response to and circulation of *C sa ksé bon* among otherwise unacquainted social actors thus yields insight into contemporary dynamics of Franco-Portuguese life. Those who hear, recognize, and repeat the slogan thus participate in the circulatory processes of texts, which help to produce and reproduce a Franco-Portuguese “imagined community” or “public.”

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5 See also Blommaert and Varis (2015) on virality and memes online as phatic interaction.

We trace use of the phrase across several events, ethnographically determined to be salient (Wortham and Reyes 2015). This approach allows us to document how the phrase came to be established or enregistered (Agha 2003, 2006; Silverstein 2023) as an emblem of a particular type of Portuguese diasporic identity in France, where the notion of enregisterment captures the processes through which signs become understood and established as signaling particular cultural models to particular sets of people, in particular spaces and times.

### 3 Ethnographic context

The notion of a Luso-descendant diasporic community or public raises questions about minority identity politics in contemporary France, where ethnic communities have historically had no official status. “*Communitarisme*,” the French term for the organization of society based on ethnic, religious, or extranational identities other than that of French citizenship, has often been understood as threatening to the republic, impeding citizens’ *integration* (Bowen 2006).

How should one understand Luso-descendant claims to public visibility and recognition in such a context? Although the highly developed networks of Portuguese associations and other intra-community practices could be understood as a form of *communitarisme*, Portuguese-centered associations and activities have rarely been targeted in mainstream French discussions of integration (Antunes da Cunha 2009; Cordeiro 1985, 1997; Fernandes 2007; Dos Santos and Ferreira 2024; Leveziel 2017; Pingault 2004; Volovitch-Tavares 2006; Wagner and Koven 2017). Instead, mainstream attacks on *communitarisme* have most often focused on groups with complex post-colonial ties to France, such as those from the Maghreb (Cordeiro 1997) who serve as the *paratonnerre* or lightning rod that makes the Portuguese seem less visible.

Instead of being seen as a threat, the Portuguese have instead been considered an invisible minority (see references in paragraph above). Despite their relative absence from contemporary French discussions about the “problems” of groups whose families migrated to France, they have still been subjected to demeaning dominant French stereotypes as lower social status, less educated, and engaging in less “civilized” semiotic behavior, including speaking “bad” French, influenced by Portuguese and stigmatized French sociolects (Koven and Simões Marques 2015).<sup>6</sup> Disparaging mainstream French images of Portuguese migrants form an important backdrop that informs how Luso-descendants have tried to reinvent what it means to

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<sup>6</sup> These dominant verbal and nonverbal images of Portuguese migrants blend multiple axes of differentiation (Gal and Irvine 2019) to include bourgeois/working social class, rurality/urbanity, modernity/backwardness, and Frenchness/foreignness.

be Portuguese and French, in a process that both recycles and challenges these images (see Tetreault 2015).

Linked in part to Portugal's rapid development and integration into Europe, there have been efforts since the 1990s among Luso-descendants to fight against both their invisibility as well as widespread, demeaning French images of the Portuguese. There have been struggles for recognition as cultural and political actors in mainstream French public settings (Antunes Da Cunha 2009; Pingault 2004). Several Luso-descendant organizations began new types of performances of Portugueseness, addressed both to other members of the diaspora and to mainstream France-based interlocutors (Pingault 2004). Contra common stereotypes about their first-generation parents, many Luso-descendants have sought to present Portugueseness as modern, cool, and cosmopolitan, producing new types of public displays of Portuguese culture.

As Luso-descendants situated their tastes and styles in cultural productions relative both to others in the Portuguese diaspora in France, and to those in mainstream French and Portuguese contexts, tensions emerged surrounding how to pay homage to their families' cultural and linguistic practices while still claiming new, valorizing forms of Portuguese and Franco-Portuguese expression. Luso-descendants may manage these tensions by straddling and laminating two social images: that of a characterological figure of an older and old-fashioned first-generation migrant (Koven and Simões Marques 2015, 2017) and also that of modern, youthful spokespersons for the Portuguese in France (Wagner and Koven 2017: 16). Such processes of simultaneously presenting oneself as young and French-speaking while animating an old-fashioned Portuguese-speaking figure who uses nonstandard French appear in the viral profusion of live and online Luso-descendant comedic performances.<sup>7</sup> Most such performances involve members of the second or third generation who adopt modern, cool, French-influenced speech and mores, while imitating the figure of a nonmodern, first-generation Portuguese migrant.<sup>8</sup> As such, Luso-descendants use their mastery of the sociolinguistic and cultural codes of young French to "requote" first-generation figures, making themselves and the first generation audible and visible in complex ways. That is, they inhabit a cool voice that evokes the image of the first generation in ways that simultaneously celebrate, satirize, and transcend it. We will thus be looking at how Luso-descendants reperform these images of first-generation Portuguese migrants' speech, to see what these

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7 Ro et Cut were the first to engage in viral performance of such figures. However, since their emergence in 2010, others have also emerged, to include José Cruz, Francisco Cunha, Zé Melodia, and Jonathan da Silva, among others (Koven and Simões Marques 2015, 2017, 2021).

8 There are parallels to Vigouroux's (2017) discussion of how the speech of Sub-Saharan Africans has been orally and orthographically parodied and othered in French contexts.

performances reveal about some new meanings of “Portuguese identities” in France, as evoked by the *C sa ksé bon* slogan.

We next discuss the formal, semiotic properties of the slogan itself and its different indexicalities. We then trace its use across multiple communicative events, showing how it has been de- and recontextualized by differently positioned participants, establishing particular heteroglossic images of what it means to be a descendant of Portuguese in France.

## 4 The slogan

The slogan transforms the standard French “*C’est bon, ça!*”/se bõ sa/ (That’s good!) into a phrase, *c’est ça que c’est bon/bom!* /se sa kə se bõ/, that many treat as evoking the speech of the first generation of Portuguese migrants in France. The final word, /bõ/, is bivalent (Woolard 1998), plausibly interpretable as French *bon* or Portuguese *bom*. Further, the phrase is syntactically unusual, where the third syllable is readable as a superfluous *que*, associated with stigmatized sociolects of French (Gadet 1992). *Que* is also more frequent in oral European Portuguese. These two associations may then evoke the non-native, lower class French of a European Portuguese speaker. With the triple repetition of /s/ and parallel syntactic structures of the two clauses, the poetics of the phrase are also striking, focusing participants’ attention, and making it well suited to become a detachable chunk of language, for subsequent de- and recontextualization. Indeed, others have discussed the importance of the poetics of slogans, e.g., their intradiscursive repetitions, that lend themselves to being reprised interdiscursively (Hodges 2019; Jakobson 1960).

The phrase does not involve straightforward code-switching. Instead, it uses subtle combinations of emblematic linguistic forms to present two laminated voices: that of the first-generation Portuguese migrant speaker of French, and that of the second-generation parodist, who transcribes the migrant’s speech in youthful French texting language, often orthographically rendered as “*C sa ksé bon*” (see Koven and Simões Marques 2015, 2017). That is, the youthful orthography incorporates, dominates, and quotes the laughable (if beloved) migrant voice with a modern French voice, interpretable as playful, celebratory, and/or mocking.<sup>9</sup> This juxtaposition and lamination of voices is similar to Bakhtin’s discussion of the critical

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9 Tebaldi’s (2020) discussion of the twitter slogan/hashtag, *Je suis circonflexe*, and its critics’ creative transformation of the orthography into *Je suis Sir Cornflakes* demonstrates how participants can parodically resemiotize viral slogans via orthography.

interanimation of social languages, where speakers evaluate one language through another (Bakhtin 1981: 296), and Agha's discussion of voicing contrasts (2005: 39).

What does this lamination of voices and their associated personas accomplish? Luso-descendants remain intimately familiar with and often performatively quote their parents' hybrid speech, even if they demonstrate that they speak monolingual-sounding French as "their own" variety (see also Koven 2004; Koven and Simões Marques 2015). When uttered or written, *C sa ksé bon* has come to playfully evoke a version of "Portugueseness" by those of Portuguese descent who enact their parents' speech and its associated social image, while distancing themselves from both. As such, participants use the slogan to collaboratively perform their own ambivalent socio-linguistic positioning between young and old, cool and uncool, French and Portuguese.

As a speech act, the phrase commonly functions as a positive assessment of some entity or state of affairs in the immediate interaction (Goodwin and Goodwin 1992).<sup>10</sup> However, when participants use the phrase as an assessment, they do so through nonstandard, mock language forms that evoke images of social types and the utterers' stances toward those social types. Participants may then reinterpret the use of the phrase not only as an assessment, but also as a sign of speaker identity, what Silverstein called a second order index (Silverstein 2003).

## 5 The slogan across communicative events

We trace how the heteroglossia of the slogan is maintained or morphs across events, following what Wortham and Reyes (2015) have called multiple cross-event pathways. Based on our ethnographic understandings of critical, interrelated moments of Franco-Portuguese diasporic life, we selected for analysis several key events in which the slogan figures. The "baptismal moment" (Silverstein 2004) where the phrase and its associated indexicalities first appeared was in the widely viewed, scripted speech of Portuguese immigrant figures in two videos of the online comedy of *Ro et Cut* and comments on those videos.<sup>11</sup> We then consider its use in and surrounding the mainstream movie *La Cage Dorée (The Gilded Cage)*, directed by Luso-Descendant Ruben Alves and released in 2013. In this movie, it appeared in the mouth of a Portuguese migrant character. The phrase was then repeated by a large audience during the movie's cinematic premier. Finally, we analyze how the slogan was used in spontaneous contributions to a major Facebook group for young people of Portuguese origin. Across these sites, the phrase was recontextualized in a range of

<sup>10</sup> Indeed, this usage follows Spitulnik (1996), who stated that phrases used in common interpersonal routines, such as assessments, lend themselves more easily to becoming slogans.

<sup>11</sup> See Koven and Simões Marques 2015 for fuller discussion of *Ro et Cut* as online comedians.

participant frameworks of various sizes that harken back to one another and to the social personas evoked across them.

## 5.1 Ro et Cut's use of the slogan in their videos

As stated above, the slogan first appeared in Ro et Cut's video V.I.Portuguese, released November 16, 2009.<sup>12</sup> As of July 17, 2025, the video has been watched 2,617,778 times.

In the clip shown in Table 1, Rodolphe Ferreira enacts the character of an old-fashioned, non-modern Portuguese migrant in France, Antonio, previously played in other online sketches along with the figure of his yelling wife, Maria (Koven and Simões Marques 2015). Maria calls out to Antonio from the kitchen in Portuguese-influenced French. Antonio then buys clothing online from V.I.Portuguese, a website in France selling goods to those in the diaspora. Antonio uses the phrase to positively assess the items, like a spontaneous interjection. Portuguese elements are underlined. More subtle Portuguese influence is discussed below.

**Table 1:** Transcript from clip V.I.Portuguese.

Segment	Original	Translation
1	Antonio: ((watching sports on TV, eating)) Le but ! Marque le but ! Allez !	Antonio: The goal! Score the goal! Come on!
2	Maria: ((played by Ro, seen from behind in kitchen, rolling pastry dough. Portuguese ceramics in front of her; Portuguese guitar playing)) Antonio, s'il te plaît, tu peux aller chercher les vêtements VIP ((brand)) sur l'internet ? ((Antonio shown recoiling)). C'est un bon cadeau pour Noël, ça	Maria: Antonio, please, can you go look for VIP ((brand)) clothes online? It's a good gift for Christmas
3	((Antonio looks annoyed, pours himself another drink, which he drinks, making a series of buccal noises, and then using a tooth pick)) Antonio: c'est bon, je (xx), attends, pura, attends, attends	Antonio: okay, I (xx), wait, damn ((Portuguese)), wait, wait

<sup>12</sup> Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f59iIBUsMT8>.

Table 1: (continued)

Segment	Original	Translation
4	<p>((watching TV with crumbs of food on his lips and a toothpick, yells at the television))            Aller! On y va! ((yelling at television while handling remote)). On y va ((opens mouth showing unswallowed food))            Maria:            ((yelling from kitchen where she is still rolling dough))            Alors, tu vas ou tu vas pas?</p>	<p>Antonio: Come on! Let's go!            Maria: So are you going or not?</p>
5	<p>Antonio:            ((standing up))            C'est bon, c'est bon. J'y vais, j'y vais</p>	<p>Antonio: Okay, okay, I'm going, I'm going</p>
6	<p>((music from American Woman starts to play. Antonio removes shirt, leaving him in a white tank undershirt. Antonio sits down at computer. Rubs his protruding belly. Toothpick in his mouth, he puts on his aviator glasses. He starts typing on a plastic covered computer keyboard, while saying the letters of the website aloud, for the viewer's benefit))            WWW VIP ((said with English pronunciation)), V, non, ((cries out to Maria in another room)).            Maria, c'est quoi le nom du site déjà?</p>	<p>Antonio: WWW VIP, V, no            Maria, what's the name of the site?</p>
7	<p>Maria: ((Calling out)) VIP</p>	<p>Maria: VIP</p>
8	<p>Antonio:            ((browser shown as he types)) WWW. B-i-p, b, non ((erases text)). ((calling out to Maria)): VIP avec un b ou avec un v ?</p>	<p>Antonio: WWW., B-I-P, b, no. VIP with a b or with a v?</p>
9	<p>Maria:            Un v comme <u>vai te foder, caralho</u></p>	<p>Maria: A V, as in go fuck yourself, fuck ((Portuguese taboo expressions. "Go" is "vai," starting with a V))</p>
10	<p>Antonio:            C'est toi qui <u>vais te foder</u> ((making slapping motion)), tu vas voir</p>	<p>Antonio: You're the one who <u>is going to go fuck yourself</u>, you're gonna see. ((underlined portion in Portuguese))</p>
11	<p>((Resumes typing and talking to self)):            Alors, v, www, ponto, vip Portuguese, tiret, shop, ponto com</p>	<p>Antonio: So, v, www, vip, dot, vip Portuguese, dash, shop, dot com</p>
12	<p>((A's face shown looking at screen, in wonder)):            Oh, dis-donc, les pulls de Sandra, les pantalons de Tiago, les t-shirts pour David ((items on website shown))</p>	<p>Antonio:            Oh, wow, Sandra's sweaters, Tiago's pants, t-shirts for David</p>
13	<p>Oh dis donc! <b>C'est ça que c'est bon là</b>            ((rest of video left out for reasons of space))</p>	<p>Oh wow! <b>C'est ça que c'est bon là</b></p>

Antonio is first shown sitting on the couch watching soccer, wearing a Portuguese banner. He is wearing an undershirt, as an avid, if coarse Portuguese soccer fan who is somewhat mystified by the “modern” ways of online shopping. His speech is marked by Portuguese-influenced French, and Portuguese lexical items, such as in the highly colloquial insults exchanged with his wife (*c’est toi qui vais te foder caralho*/you’re the one who’s gonna fuck yourself, fuck), where underlined elements are in Portuguese. His hesitation over whether VIP is spelled with a V or a B evokes longstanding indexicalities of those from the rural north, where it is believed many diasporic emigrants originate, who may not master standard, urban, written norms. Once Antonio succeeds in seeing the items for sale on the website, he then utters the phrase, *C’est ça que c’est bon là*. He uses it as an overall assessment of the online store. Through nonstandard use of French-influenced by Portuguese syntax, the phrase also indexes the figure of the first-generation Portuguese migrant. The contrast between old-fashioned Portuguese immigrant and youthful, modern French styles emerges in the video through the contrast between Antonio and the French salesperson he ultimately calls (played by Cut, not shown) who explains technology use to Antonio. However, beyond the other nonverbal and verbal indexes of Antonio’s demeanor as a Portuguese immigrant figure, the phrase is not yet singled out for particular attention. That said, numerous commenters noticed the phrase. From the 440 comments downloaded in 2014, twenty-nine requote some version of “*c sa ksé bon.*”<sup>13</sup>

The slogan subsequently became the title of a full YouTube music video released on November 26, 2010,<sup>14</sup> that as of July 17, 2025, had been watched 2,229,980 times, with hundreds of comments. More than in the previous V.I.Portuguese video, the recurrent distinction between first-generation and youthful verbal and nonverbal demeanor is even more central. Furthermore, the video shows the two styles not only juxtaposed, but laminated, as the young French voice quotes and celebrates the old Portuguese voice in several ways, most strikingly in the use of the slogan itself. Below is a transcript shown in Table 2.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Due to space limitations, we do not analyze the specific details of the comments on this video.

<sup>14</sup> Available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fnJ2Inrbu1k&list=RDFnJ2Inrbu1k&start\\_radio=1](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fnJ2Inrbu1k&list=RDFnJ2Inrbu1k&start_radio=1).

<sup>15</sup> The title of this song was reprised by other diasporic musicians, such as Mike da Gaita. This version was released after Ro et Cut’s, on July 14, 2011. See [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CmXBY23D3lk&list=RDCmXBY23D3lk&start\\_radio=1](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CmXBY23D3lk&list=RDCmXBY23D3lk&start_radio=1).

Table 2: Transcript from C sa ksé bon clip.

Segment	Original	Nonverbals	Translation
1		Italian classical music playing <i>La dona e mobile</i> ; ladybug crawling on a leaf French countryside, black Mercedes drives speedily by stone cliff; parallel to stone wall We see from feet up to upper body of highway worker in dirty boots, with a beard, a cone, and a sign to tell drivers to stop	
2		Worker gestures at car with sign to keep car from advancing R-Nestinho is driver, in his car texting on phone: Léah (Bureau), Je suis sur la rou- (Leah (office) I am on my way) Driver collides with sign	
3	R-Nestinho: Non, mais c'est <u>quoi</u> ce délire; il est ouf, çui-là	Gesticulating with rage	R-Nestinho: No, but what's this nonsense; that guy's nuts
4	Mais c'est quoi sur la route, çui-là, y a même pas de travaux; allez pousse-toi, pousse-toi		What's on the road, that guy, there isn't even any road work, come on, move, move
5	((loud honk playing Dixie from other car pulling up)) qu'est-ce qu'il fout ce guignol, là, et puis c'est quoi cette caisse?	Antonio pulls up in small white car ((Fiat 500)) with odd honk. Antonio, multi-colored sweater, cap, aviator glasses, with young women next to him and in back seat	((loud honk playing Dixie from other car pulling up)) What the hell is this clown doing, and what's with the car (colloq)?
6	Antonio: Ah ben oui, t'as tout mis dans la voiture, y a plus rien pour les filles, ah, ben oui !		Antonio: Well yeah, you put everything into the car, there's nothing left for the girls, well yeah!
7	Tiens, attrape !	Antonio sticks arm out of window to throw cd to R-Nestinho through car window Rosary hanging on dashboard	Hey, catch!

Table 2: (continued)

Segment	Original	Nonverbals	Translation
		Antonio pulls car ahead, which makes a loud noise because it is old and inefficient. He drives away leaving R-Nestinho behind. Antonio waves hand out window Italian music resumes.	
8		Antonio's old Fiat 500 is in lead. Three more modern cars drive slowly behind. Title of clip ((C sa kse bon)) shown on screen	
9		Switch to image of CD with handwritten title <i>c ca k c bon</i> , being pushed by a hand into a cd player	
		Switch to image of a brown and gold old-fashioned radio, with a knob for control. Hand turns knob up as if tuning from news radio to loud, modern musical rhythm	
10		Heavy beat music comes on	
		We see Antonio's foot with a white sock, in a black slipper, grey pants leg, tapping beat on floor	
		Split screen with Antonio on one side and R-Nestinho on other as both put on belts and shoes	
		Antonio is wearing a pink shirt, grey pleated pants, protruding belly, tightening electrical cord for belt with a red screwdriver	
		R-Nestinho is wearing a white shirt, no belly, jeans with embroidered gothic letters, heavily bejeweled white belt	
		Antonio's leg, slipping foot	

Table 2: (continued)

Segment	Original	Nonverbals	Translation
		out of slipper, seated on an orange bedspread; Antonio slides foot into black loafer, using spoon, instead of shoehorn R-Nestinho in black pants, putting foot in white high-tops with small black stripes. He laces/ties his shoes	
11	Antonio: Alors, <u>todo mundo</u> , vous êtes ready ((heavily trilled r)) pour danser, ou pas ?	Antonio is dancing. He is swaying his hips back and forth, hands on his belly. The room has beige/brown walls, a small tv on a teak nightstand, a full length mirror on wall, and a statuette of the virgin Mary. He is wearing a pink shirt, a grey jacket and pants, and a black cap Switch to the bathroom sink, with hair clippings	Antonio: So, everyone ((Portuguese)), you are ready to dance or not?
12	Allez, venez danser avec nous là. ((voice separate from image)). C'est parti, on y va. Ha!	We see Antonio using large scissors to clip his nose hair Return to image of Antonio dancing in same room as before	Come on, come dance with us here. It's on, let's go. Ha!
13	R-nestinho: te déhancher Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: t'en as envie Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: On va se lâcher Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: pour toute la nuit Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon Antonio: Allez, on y va R-Nestinho: Tout le monde est là ce soir, et ça va êt'chaud ((singing)) ça va êt'chaud Tout le monde bouge avec moi sur ce (xx), t'es seul et tu voudrais partir en duo C'est là que ça commence,	Switch to R-Nestinho, with white shirt, collar up, large white sunglasses. R-Nestinho is dancing. In front of white couch, white lamp, more modern looking décor We alternate between scenes of them dancing in contrasting styles, outfits, and décor Antonio adopts poses like John Travolta in <i>Saturday night Fever</i> . Each does their own version of pointing at camera like a gun;	R-Nestinho: ((singing)) sway your hips Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: you feel like it Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: We're gonna let ourselves go Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: for the whole night Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon Antonio: Come on, let's go

Table 2: (continued)

Segment	Original	Nonverbals	Translation
	montre-nous ton show. Scandalosa, maliciosa Laisse-toi aller ce soir. Hermosa, famosa. Pour que tu donnes plus que ça((xx))C'est si guapa((xx))(XX)	Antonio is then dancing without his jacket in his room, pink short sleeved shirt buttoned all the way He has a fan and two religious statuettes in his room. Closeup of Antonio's pelvis, swaying Antonio's black slipper/ white sock foot tapping to music Flash to statuette of virgin Flash to Antonio clipping his ragged toe nail, and hairy foot, with hedge trimmers on the orange covered bed Pan back to R-Nestinho Antonio with foot in shiny black loafer with basket weave Split screen. A putting on aviator glasses, black cap, squinting, mustache, heavy eyebrows, and facial hair; R-Nestinho is putting on sunglasses, clean-shaven Each continues to groom; Antonio smooths cap; R-Nestinho smooths well cropped hair Antonio tries on sheepskin jacket in mirror. Then tries on grey suit jacket. Looks pleased. Makes thumbs up. Pulls jacket together. Standing in front of mirror with religious statuette in front of him	R-Nestinho: Everyone's here tonight, and it's gonna be hot ((singing)) it's gonna be hot Everyone's moving with me on this (xx), you're alone and you would like to go as a duo That's where it starts, show us your show. Scandalous, malicious ((Spanish)) Let yourself go tonight Beautiful, famous ((Spanish)). So you can give more than that ((XX)) It's so pretty ((Spanish)) ((xx))
14	Te te te retiens pas, R-Nestinho: ((singing)) te déhancher Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: t'en as envie	We then see Antonio in a club, with a woman on each arm. Women are dressed in black, looking very glamorous	Don't hold your your yourself back R-Nestinho: ((singing)) sway your hips Antonio: C'est ça que c'est

Table 2: (continued)

Segment	Original	Nonverbals	Translation
	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon	R-Nestinho is still dancing/	bon
	R-Nestinho: On va se lâcher	singing in his living room	R-Nestinho: you feel like it
	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon	Shift scene to line outside of	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est
	R-Nestinho: pour toute la nuit	nightclub, warehouse,	bon
	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon	lokoma; showing people	R-Nestinho: We're gonna let
		going in; R-Nestinho is in	ourselves go
		this line	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est
		Bouncer is Black, with dark	bon
		glasses, black coat; light	R-Nestinho: for the whole
		mustache; very cool;	night
		We see from behind two	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est
		women's legs in miniskirts	bon
		and high heels, two men	
		with them, entering club	
		R-Nestinho enters club. He	
		talks to bouncer. It appears	
		the bouncer may not let him	
		in	
		Antonio shakes bouncer's	
		hand and enters no problem	
		with his women on his arms,	
		R-Nestinho tries to convince	
		the bouncer to let him in	
		Scene Shift to inside club	
		Women dancing, holding	
		drinks, dressed in little	
		black, sleeveless dresses,	
		long hair	
		DJ shown ((played by Cut)),	
		wearing straw hat	
15	R-Nestinho: te déhancher		R-Nestinho: sway your hips
	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon		Antonio: C'est ça que c'est
	R-Nestinho: t'en as envie		bon
	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon		R-Nestinho: you feel like it
	R-Nestinho: On va se lâcher		Antonio: C'est ça que c'est
	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon		bon
	R-Nestinho: pour toute la nuit		R-Nestinho: We're gonna let
	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon		ourselves go
	R-Nestinho: te déhancher		Antonio: C'est ça que c'est
	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon		bon
	R-Nestinho: t'en as envie		R-Nestinho: for the whole
	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon		night
	R-Nestinho: On va se lâcher		Antonio: C'est ça que c'est

Table 2: (continued)

Segment	Original	Nonverbals	Translation
	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: pour toute la nuit Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon		bon R-Nestinho: sway your hips Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: you feel like it Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: We're gonna let ourselves go Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: for the whole night Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon
16	Antonio: On y va! Oh, Made-moiselle ((heavy l)), vas-y, approche, que t'es jolie là, viens vers la lumière	Antonio shown approaching young woman in the club	Antonio: Let's go! Oh, Miss, go on, come close, that you are pretty over there, come towards the light
17	Oh la la, mais t'es moche, en fait. C'est pas grave, on va danser	Woman shown winking but has black teeth DJ shown working two turntables	Oh la la, but you're ugly. It's not serious, we're gonna dance
18	lilililou à gauche, lilililila à droite ((heavy l, trilled r)) lilililou on va là-bas	Antonio shown dancing awkwardly next to young women. DJ shown. Antonio shown again singing and dancing awkwardly, looking out of place because of dancing style, speech, and clothing	Lilililo to the left, lililila to the right, lilililou, we're going over there
19	je m'ai trompé (sic), c'est pas grave. Allez DJ, on y va	Antonio gestures to DJ, who is briefly shown. Return to women dancing	I made a mistake, it's not serious. Come on DJ, let's go
20	Push les hands up ! ((said as a chorus)) ((xx)) Push les hands up! on y va Push les hands up! ((said as a chorus)) ((xx))	All shown dancing. Others lift Antonio into air. Young Black dancer shown doing "cool" dance moves Scantly clad women dancers shown gyrating while wearing tanktops with Antonio's likeness and the slogan <i>c sa kse bon</i> printed	Push your hands up! ((said as a chorus in English)) ((xx)) Push your hands up! Let's go Push your hands up! ((xx)) Push your hands up! Let's go

Table 2: (continued)

Segment	Original	Nonverbals	Translation
	Push les hands up! On y va	on them Antonio shown again in air, held up by other dancers Antonio shown dancing awkwardly next to cool Black dancer	
21	Push les hands up ! ((said as a chorus)); (xx) Push les hands up! on y va Push les hands up! ((said as a chorus)) (xx) Push les hands up! on y va		Push your hands up! (xx) Push your hands up! Let's go Push your hands up! (xx) Push your hands up! Let's go
22	R-Nestinho: te déhancher Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: t'en as envie Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: On va se lâcher Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: pour toute la nuit Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: te déhancher Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: t'en as envie Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: On va se lâcher Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: pour toute la nuit Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon	Scantly clad woman in Antonio emblazoned shown dancing Antonio shown in Saturday Night Fever Pose Another woman shown dancing and mouthing "C'est ça que c'est bon" Then shown twerking from behind with g-string over her waistband Antonio shown looking up at two such women twerking on a counter R-Nestinho singing in audi- ence Antonio shown singing/ dancing Continued shifts between R-Nestinho and young women to Antonio and young women	R-Nestinho: sway your hips Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: you feel like it Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: We're gonna let ourselves go Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: for the whole night Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: sway your hips Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: you feel like it Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: We're gonna let ourselves go Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: for the whole night

Table 2: (continued)

Segment	Original	Nonverbals	Translation
			Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon
23	Antonio: On y va R-Nestinho: vas-y, suis-moi. S'il te plaît ne t'arrête pas, donc tout ce que t'as dans la danse, tout le monde est en transe	Antonio and R-Nestinho then shown entering a food truck with the sign "C sa kse bon." Antonio tosses R-Nestinho an apron, which he then dons. Antonio dons an apron too Close up on sign: <i>Há caracóis. Há moelas.</i> (tr. There are snails. There are gizzards)	Antonio: Let's go R-Nestinho: go ahead, follow me. Please don't stop, so what you have in your dance, everyone is in a trance
24	Les regards sont sur toi, mais ça ne te gêne pas, tu t'es mise dans l'ambiance, on se demande à quoi tu penses. Pour que tu sois, t'écoutes ça. t'écoutes ça (chorus: c'est ça que c'est bon) de Lisboa à Ibiza Chorus: c'est ça que c'est bon	Back on dance floor dancing/singing We then see lots of young people rush toward the food stand. Antonio holds up sandwich to crowd of people. Rush of hands, holding money to pay Antonio for food A holds up hands to calm crowd. Chaos of raised hands, money, and food;	Eyes are on you, but it doesn't bother you. You got in the mood, we wonder what you are thinking about. So you can be, listen to that C'est ça que c'est bon From Lisbon ((said in Portuguese)) to Ibiza Chorus: c'est ça que c'est bon
25	R-Nestinho: de Paris à Miami Chorus: c'est ça que c'est bon Antonio: Valença do Minho, ah ben oui, ben oui, c'est ça que c'est bon	R-Nestinho shown again in club R-Nestinho and Antonio counting large stacks of money They high 5 each other A looks at R-Nestinho's gold watch Another closeup on a leather covered rear of a woman dancing R-Nestinho and Antonio in club again. A closeup on a woman's writhing rear	R-Nestinho: from Paris to Miami Chorus: c'est ça que c'est bon Antonio: Valença do Minho, well yeah, well yeah, c'est ça que c'est bon
26	R-Nestinho: te déhancher Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: t'en as envie	Antonio dancing, shaking a bottle of champagne Return to R-Nestinho with	R-Nestinho: sway your hips Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon

Table 2: (continued)

Segment	Original	Nonverbals	Translation
	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon	women, singing	R-Nestinho: you feel like it
	R-Nestinho: On va se lâcher	Return to people dancing	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon
	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon	with glasses in hand	bon
	R-Nestinho: pour toute la nuit	R-Nestinho and women	R-Nestinho: We're gonna let ourselves go
	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon	Antonio and one woman	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon
		R-Nestinho and women	bon
		Cut in hat as DJ, gesturing arm across air	R-Nestinho: for the whole night
		Young man dancing, baseball cap on backwards, hip style of dancing	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon
		Blonde woman dancing amid other dancers	bon
		Antonio's champagne bottle explodes, she tried to catch the stream in her mouth	Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon
		Return to stream of "ejaculating" champagne from Antonio	bon
		Return to woman, moving her head, her eyes, roll back	
		Antonio with women's arms around him	
		R-Nestinho is singing	
		Antonio sings, thumbs up	
		R-Nestinho dancing with woman, thumbs up	
		Woman in outfit dancing on table, rubbing her hands on her breasts	
		R-Nestinho is behind and Antonio in front of her as she dances on the table	
		Antonio is holding two large bottles of wine, one blue, one yellow. He toasts to R-Nestinho is holding one normal sized, dark bottle	
		Antonio smiles, holding two bottles, as the dancing woman reaches down to touch his chest	

Table 2: (continued)

Segment	Original	Nonverbals	Translation
27	R-Nestinho: te déhancher Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: t'en as envie Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: On va se lâcher Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: pour toute la nuit Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon	Back to Antonio on dance floor Two women in outfit dancing on a table R-Nestinho dancing R-Nestinho dancing with woman next to him	R-Nestinho: sway your hips Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: you feel like it Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: We're gonna let ourselves go Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: for the whole night Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon
28	R-Nestinho: te déhancher Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: t'en as envie Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: On va se lâcher Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: pour toute la nuit Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon Antonio: (xx)		R-Nestinho: sway your hips Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: you feel like it Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: We're gonna let ourselves go Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon R-Nestinho: for the whole night Antonio: C'est ça que c'est bon Antonio: (xx)
29	R-Nestinho: Push les hands up (xx) On y va Antonio: anda cá Push les hands up (xx) On y va		R-Nestinho: Push your hands up (xx) Let's go Antonio: Come here ((Portuguese)) Push your hands up (xx) Let's go
30	((whistling sound and music stops)) Antonio: Alors, la disco night, c'est fini, on rentre ((with Portuguese trilled R)) à la maison!	Shot of Cut as DJ A is pulling on electrical wire, unplugs it in DJ booth next to Cut, with loud bird-like noise	((whistling sound and music stops)) Antonio: So the disco night is over, we're going home!

Table 2: (continued)

Segment	Original	Nonverbals	Translation
31	R-Nestinho: Antonio, Antonio, Antonio, reveille-toi, on a du boulot	Scene shift to a factory floor with R-Nestinho and Antonio dressed in blue coveralls. R wakes A up, who was sleeping. The prior content of the video was only a dream	R-Nestinho: Antonio, Antonio, Antonio, wake up, we have work
32	Antonio: Oui, mademoiselle, oui. Oh, oh. oh la la, oh. oui, allez, d'accord, on y va		Antonio: Yes, miss, yes. Oh, oh, oh la la, oh, yes, come on, okay, let's go

Following Gal and Irvine (2019), the axis of French modernity versus Portuguese old-fashionedness is fractally recursive across modalities throughout the video. This axis of differentiation is shown through contrasting cars, clothing, dress, technology, dance, and language. The constant use of the slogan (forty-nine times) summons up the juxtaposed and ultimately laminated figures of the unhip, Portuguese migrant Antonio and modern, cool, young R-Nestinho, who embodies the unmarked “young” French style. We see and hear the slogan throughout the video: Antonio repeats the slogan as a refrain; the dancers repeat the slogan. The slogan also appears visually with its distinctive orthography on the screen as the video’s title, on the CD, on the dancers’ clothing, and on the food truck. The visual and verbal repetition of the slogan by Antonio and later by different young dancers makes the slogan and its indexical associations stand out for viewers.

The video begins with the contrast between R-Nestinho in a modern black Mercedes car and Antonio in an old-fashioned Fiat 500. Antonio throws R-Nestinho a CD between the rolled down windows of their two contrasting cars. Antonio speaks to R-Nestinho in Portuguese-influenced French. He wears frumpy clothing, dances in a dated style of 70s era *Saturday Night Fever*, and is surrounded by old-fashioned décor. Subsequently, upon Antonio’s arrival at the nightclub, despite his old-fashioned attire and dance moves, he is ultimately feted by scantily clad dancers, who wear tank tops with his picture and slogan printed on them, while also chanting the slogan themselves as a choral refrain. On the other hand, R-Nestinho speaks monolingual French, dresses, and dances in a youthful style.

The figure of the Portuguese migrant seems to be rendered as ridiculous, coarse, and out-of-place, in contrast to the youthful demeanor of the others. Because of

mainstream French valuing of R-Nestinho's demeanor over Antonio's, one might expect Antonio to appear as a laughable underdog. However, it is R-Nestinho who repeatedly meets with frustration. The video and the song display the triumph of a Portuguese migrant figure over more modern-seeming others. Despite his old-fashionedness, it is Antonio who overtakes R-Nestinho on the road, accompanied by numerous, glamorously dressed young women. Therefore, although Antonio is shown to be profoundly "uncool," he is also presented as a victorious hero of sorts.

Overall, the video mocks Antonio, but also celebrates, and then ultimately quotatively incorporates his unhipness into its redefinition of hipness. Antonio is essentially transformed into a quasi-mascot by the young people in the club. By repeating Antonio's "*C sa ksé bon*" as the refrain of a cool song, Luso-descendant performers and commenters creatively laminate "Old Portuguese" and "Modern French," yielding a new heteroglossic blend that combines and transcends both. Viewers are invited to recognize the uncool figure of Antonio and to appropriate his words to assume a new cool Portugueseness. This new Portugueseness incorporates an image of Antonio while surpassing it. Luso-descendants are thus invited to appreciate Antonio and the slogan that transforms Portuguese identity from something old into something fun and modern (Table 3).

**Table 3:** Cross-modal comparisons of figures.

Antonio	R-Nestinho	Young people who sing and wear slogan with Antonio as mascot
Old white Fiat 500	Black Mercedes	
Portuguese-influenced French	Youthful, monolingual French	Modern orthography of old-fashioned immigrant speech
Old fashioned, uncool clothing	Modern, cool clothing	Modern, cool clothing with t-shirts showing Antonio as old-fashioned figure and slogan
Old fashioned, uncool dance moves	Modern, cool dance	Modern rebranding of dancing
Image of Village festival	Modern, urban, multiethnic French nightclub	Modern, multiethnic

## 6 Recontextualizations of the slogan

People have taken up the mediatized slogan in subsequent participant frameworks, online and offline.

## 6.1 YouTube comments

We downloaded and analyzed 114 comments made by July 7, 2014. Indeed, the video's heteroglossic rendering of the slogan and the figures are metadiscursively taken up in the comments on it, as shown in Table 4. Many of the comments also show the orthographically heteroglossic recontextualizations, used to requote and assess the original clip. We see a selection of these quotes in Table 4. Appearances of the slogan have been bolded. Fully Portuguese elements have been underlined in the translation.

**Table 4:** YouTube comments on *C sa ksé bon* video.

Original	Translation
VALENÇA DO MINHO ! <b>C ça ksé bon!</b>	VALENÇA DO MINHO ! ((town in Northern Portugal, mentioned in video)) <b>C ça ksé bon!</b>
<b>C ça ksé bon</b> pour les portugues caralho	<b>C ça ksé bon</b> for Portuguese <u>people fuck</u>
VIVE LE PORTUGAL <b>C SA K SE BON</b>	LONG LIVE PORTUGAL <b>C SA K SE BON</b>
<b>C ça ksé bon</b> juste énorme se clip	<b>C ça ksé bon</b> just huge this clip
CARALHO <b>c sa ksé bon!</b>	<u>FUCK C sa ksé bon</u>
“Lisboa e Ibiza” “Valença do Minho, <b>c ça kse bon!</b> ” loool	“ <u>Lisbon and Ibiza</u> ” <u>Valença do Minho, c ça kse bon!</u> “ loool
<b>C ça ksé bon</b> .....viva Portugal <3	<b>C ça ksé bon</b> ..... <u>long live Portugal</u> <3
ha ba oui <b>c ça ksé bom</b> , ha ba oui	Oh well yeah, <b>c ça ksé bom</b> , oh well yeah

Throughout, the comments simultaneously requote the video while also expressing the commenters' positive alignment with all that it evokes. Indeed, 20/114 (17.5 %) of the comments on the video used versions of the slogan, mostly with the same youthful French orthography that uses French text language to revoice the slogan as *C sa ksé bon*, making the production format (Goffman 1979) of the slogan complex. On the one hand, the use of the slogan in the comments (re)quotes from the video (Chun and Walters 2011; Koven and Simões Marques 2015). It also appears to emanate from the commenters themselves as their own positive assessment of the video and what it evokes, as they reanimate it. Similar to Urban's discussion (1989, 2001), participants who repeat the slogan align their individual use with all those who have previously used it and concurrently use it. Uttering the slogan aligns them with a broader Franco-Portuguese imagined diasporic community, which then further transmits the slogan along with the laminated figures that its use summons up. As

commenters repeat the slogan, they therefore transform the slogan into a performative ritual of a certain heteroglossic diasporic “Portugueseness.”<sup>16</sup>

## 6.2 In a mainstream movie and its audiences

Soon after the release of the *C sa ksé bon* video, the mainstream movie *La Cage Dorée* (2013) was released. The film was produced by Ruben Alves, a Luso-descendant raised in France, who evoked the lived experience of first and second generations in France. The release of the movie was understood by many as a key moment for the Portuguese diaspora in France, as the movie highlighted their experiences, while being accessible to mainstream audiences in France. Through its wide popularity in France, it was heralded as a triumphant challenge to previous Portuguese invisibility in mainstream French publics (Levieziel 2017). The slogan played a role in and around the movie. It appeared, for example, in the movie itself in the mouth of the Portuguese immigrant father character who uttered it to his bourgeois French dinner guests. An excerpt from this scene is presented below (Table 5).

**Table 5:** Transcript of scene from *La Cage Dorée*.

Segment	Original	Translation
1	((Eating dinner)) Daughter: C'est excellent!	Daughter: It's excellent!
2	French woman: Pour tout vous dire, on pensait (.) que ce soir (.) on mangerait de la morue	French woman: To tell you the truth, we thought (.) that tonight (.) we would eat codfish
3	French Man:  Ah oui, oui, oui, moi je, j'adore ça, <u>Bacalhau à Brás</u> ((Portuguese words over pronounced))	French Man:  Oh, yes, yes, yes, I love that, <u>Bacalhau à Brás</u> ((Portuguese words over pronounced))
4	Portuguese man:  Et voilà, <u>à Brás, à Gomes de Sá, com natas</u> , oui, <b>c'est ça que c'est bon!</b>	Portuguese man:  There you go, <u>à Brás, à Gomes de Sá, com natas, c'est ca que c'est bon!</u>
5	French man: Ah, c'est bon ça!	French Man: Oh, that's good!

<sup>16</sup> Several comments also add references to Portugal or Portuguese people, with more longstanding Portuguese nationalist slogans (*Viva Portugal!*); some make references to Portuguese cities mentioned in the video. Several add on the Portuguese marked slang interjection *caralho* (translated as fuck, but literally penis), French oral discourse markers (*ah ba oui*), or text language signs of amusement (*lol*), exclamation points, and all caps.

In this excerpt, the expression is used to positively assess quintessentially Portuguese dishes made with codfish. We then see the juxtaposition between the unmarked French father's "*c'est bon, ça*" and the marked Portuguese immigrant father's "*c'est ça que c'est bon.*" As the script writers were undoubtedly aware of the interdiscursive reference to Ro et Cut's videos, their use of the slogan summons up a Portuguese migrant figure similar to that presented in the Ro et Cut videos, contrasted with that of the unmarked, bourgeois French character.

Second, in theater premiers of the movie across France, the director and the cast invited the audience to proclaim the slogan in choral unison with them. The slogan came to stand for the movie and all that the movie's release and success represented as a widespread, celebratory declaration or rallying cry for the Portuguese community's audibility and visibility in France (Table 6).

**Table 6:** Recorded clip of cinematic premier of film<sup>a</sup>

Original	Translation
Choral: Et un, et dois, et très, <b>C'est ça que c'est bon!</b> (Much applause and cheering. People holding and waving Portuguese flags. Drumbeats. Then Fireworks)	Choral: <u>And one, and two, and three, C'est ça que c'est bon!</u>

<sup>a</sup>This clip was originally available online. It has since been taken down.

Like the commenters on the music video, by joining in this collective, jubilant repetition of the slogan, the participants both harken back to older usages imagined as emanating from the lips of first-generation migrants, while using the slogan as their own speech. That the slogan was uttered by the entire audience as a choral chant, highlights the collective allegiance toward the slogan and what it evokes. That is, in this setting, the slogan appears less about evoking the figure of a first-generation Portuguese migrant, but as a unified, almost political cry that performs and displays the loud, public presence of diasporic Portugueseness in the French public space of a Parisian movie theater.

### 6.3 Commodified Portugueseness

The phrase was subsequently also used for a market of Luso-descendant consumers. As of 2012, there is a restaurant in the suburbs of Paris called, "*C'est là que c'est bon,*" slightly modifying the restaurant's name by changing the *ça*/that to *là*/there. One can

also buy t-shirts, mugs, and key rings, and coffee mugs with the slogan and Antonio's image at Luso-shop.com.<sup>17</sup>

## 6.4 Positive assessments on Facebook

Beyond the video, film, and merchandise, the phrase has been used extensively in online interactions in a large, active 40,000 plus member Facebook group, called "*Tu sais que tu viens du Portugal quand...*" ("You know you come from Portugal when..."), created in April 2014. We examined this group as it was one of the largest and most active online groups intended for the Portuguese diaspora in France at the time of our first analyses. Following Zappavigna's work on the importance of searchability in social media (2011), we found instances of the slogan by conducting searches for its use in the group.

This group has largely consisted of French-speaking descendants of Portuguese migrants in France (but also in French-speaking Switzerland, Belgium, and Luxembourg). Given the size of the group, we can assume that most participants are unlikely to know one another offline but come together in this online setting to affiliate around shared multimodal (verbal and nonverbal) constructions of Portuguese and Franco-Portuguese figures and places. As we have discussed more extensively elsewhere (see Simoes Marques and Koven 2017: 295 for a fuller discussion), in this online context, there is no immediate performance to which participants respond. Instead, the slogan has become sufficiently established among members of this large online group, that posters use it spontaneously to frame their own posts or to respond to someone else's. The complex voicing that juxtaposes and laminates "old" Portuguese and "young" French voices continues, indexically evoking new forms of "Portugueseness." We examine both positive and ironic uses.

We often see the phrase used to comment on a photo of a delicious meal, beverage, good music, or a road trip to Portugal. Either the original poster or a subsequent commenter can use it. For example, our corpus shows a post with an image of a plate of *bacalhau à bras*, a well-known Portuguese dish. The poster added the caption, "*C ça kse bon, karalho!*" (That's what's good, fuck). In a further example, a poster showed an image of road signs on the highway indicating the driver's imminent arrival in Portugal. One of the comments on the post was, "*C'est ça ksé bom...*"

In these instances, in addition to functioning as an assessment, the slogan simultaneously indexes versions of Portugueseness in semiotically complex ways. The use of the slogan invites shared recognition of the simultaneous "authentic Portugueseness" of the object, speaker, interlocutor, and overhearers. This usage

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<sup>17</sup> For reasons of copyright, we describe images rather than share them.

follows Silverstein's (2004) discussion of wine connoisseurship where wine tasters' descriptions of wine simultaneously refer to qualities of the wine while also indexing the taster's social status. That is, when commenters describe an entity as authentically Portuguese, they also signal that they are also authentically Portuguese in their ability to recognize Portuguese authenticity, without undermining their claims to youthful French identity. As such, re-using the slogan again counts as a mini-performative ritual of "doing being Franco-Portuguese." Facebook recontextualizations of the slogan contribute to playful performances of Portugueseness, among those in the online Francophone diaspora.

## 6.5 Ambiguous, ironic voicing on Facebook

However, the voicing of this slogan can be more indeterminate. Even in positive assessments, the slogan may retain a tinge of performed otherness, where a commenter attributes the slogan to "a real Portuguese person." More specifically, one poster shared a picture of a *Francesinha*, a widely consumed sandwich from the north of Portugal. This poster said the following: "*Désoler les ami de ne pas avoir répondu avant mais effectivement j'étais en train de déguster ce bon plat. ...En tout cas, c'est vraiment un Régale. Et comme dirait un vrai Portugais, "C'est ça ksé bon."*"<sup>18</sup> (Sorry friends for not answering earlier but I was tasting this good dish... At any rate, it's really a Treat. And as a real Portuguese person would say, "C'est ça ksé bon").

However, the slogan can also be used to comment ironically on Portugueseness in ways that construct Portuguese entities somewhat derisively. For example, posters may use it to present Portugueseness as nonmodern. In one post, we are shown an image of a young man with a motorcycle helmet, holding up a wheelbarrow with a motor attached. The original poster wrote, "*para os casos urgentes tenho um segundo taxi VAMOS LA,?*" (For urgent cases, I have a second taxi, LET'S GO, ?) One commenter replied, "*C'est ça k'sé bon !!!!*." In this instance, the commenter uses the slogan to find humor in the poster's image of a motorized wheelbarrow as a taxi. This could be interpreted as a commentary on Portuguese nonmodernity or slap-dash ingenuity as uniquely Portuguese.

We have a further example of such derisive, if playful usage. A poster shared a photo of a bicycle with a boombox attached to it, propped up against the curb of a sidewalk decorated with typical Portuguese tiles. The poster included the words, "*Ya qu'au Portugal que tu vois ça mdrrr vélo de blédard avec radio integrado multifunções haha c'est ça kse bom – Vale de Cambra*" Only in Portugal do you see that lolll old-

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<sup>18</sup> Non-standard spellings are preserved from the original post.

fashioned/village bike with built-in multifunction<sup>19</sup> radio haha **c'est ca kse bom-Vale de Cambra.**" This commenter uses multiple forms, including the slogan to assume an urban, hip voice to mock a makeshift bicycle and radio as backward and typically Portuguese.<sup>20</sup> It is likely that these ironic, playfully derisive uses are more common in the in-group setting of the closed Facebook group than they would be in a setting more accessible to a mainstream audience.

To summarize the Facebook data, the slogan can be used independently of an immediately prior performance, to evaluate an entity positively or mockingly, by evoking both a Portuguese migrant figure and a modern second-generation voice that recognizes the figure. Participants thus use the slogan to declare the following: "the object is typically Portuguese in a good or ridiculous way; because I recognize and appreciate it, I am also a diasporic Portuguese. I invite others to co-perform these affectionate or mocking acts of recognition and stance-taking toward the objects. In so doing, I nod to and further extend our shared version of diasporic Portugueseness."

## 7 Conclusions

We have examined how members of post-migrant generations of the Portuguese diaspora in France use a slogan to perform heteroglossic forms of diasporic Portugueseness. We traced the emergence and recontextualized voicings of this slogan across a series of sites, to reveal what forms of Portuguese diasporic identity appeared, were disseminated and recontextualized by others in online settings. As a form of intra-group mock language use, the slogan incorporates first-generation migrant parents' stigmatized speech, laminated with youthful speech. Participants use the slogan as a rallying cry that promotes a particular branding of Portugueseness in France. However, the slogan is not in participants' "normal" voice, making it a form of crossing (Rampton 1995) or styling the other (Rampton 1999). Our materials and analysis thus add to discussions of crossing from members of a post-migrant generation who re-appropriate and re-interpret potentially disparaging sociolinguistic images of the first generation in creative ways (Chun 2004; Da Silva 2015; Rampton 1995; Rosa 2019; Tetreault 2015).

We used linguistic anthropological approaches to the role of slogans in the construction of a Franco-Portuguese diasporic public or imagined community.

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<sup>19</sup> Underlined portion appears in Portuguese.

<sup>20</sup> This comment is noteworthy as it situates Portuguese identity in Portugal, rather than in the diaspora. Elsewhere, we have discussed how nonmigrant Portuguese in Portugal may contest how they believe diasporans conflate diasporic and mainland Portuguese experience, conjuring a bad, dated international image of Portugal (See Koven and Simões Marques 2015, 2017).

Following Spitulnik (1996), our attention to successive recontextualizations and uptakes of the mock language slogan *C sa ksé bon* provided insight into the role of discourse in the emergence of a particular version of group identity. We thus treated the “Portuguese community” as a public that depends on discourse circulation, where mutually unacquainted, dispersed addressees are summoned into likeminded co-presence and recognition as part of a larger social entity. Use of the slogan appeared to interpellate diasporic others to join in this version of “doing being Portuguese” in France, inviting its repetition in current and future moments. But because such publics live in and through discursive chains, future research should investigate whether and how other forms of interdiscursively linked, heteroglossic discourse chunks “move” or are repeated, recognized and recontextualized by differently positioned social actors, across social space and time.

Finally, we recap what our analysis reveals about Luso-descendant challenges both to older mainstream stigmatizing images of the Portuguese and to their invisibility. To what extent does the slogan challenge mainstream stigmatizing images of the Portuguese? The slogan’s circulation gives evidence of a new alternative diasporic Portuguese “public” in France, establishing new “modern,” desirable ways for those of Portuguese to embrace, celebrate, and circulate Portuguese diasporic identity in France in ways that dialogically incorporate, address, and challenge disparaging images of Portuguese imagined to be held by members of mainstream French society. Some Luso-descendants insist that the slogan does not further stigmatize or mock their first-generation elders but instead pays homage to them. That said, combining Portuguese immigrant and modern French voices, the slogan does recycle the disparaged first generation’s speech, reclaiming a certain heteroglossic image of Franco-Portuguese identity that challenges previously stigmatizing images by quotatively incorporating and thus transcending them.

However, we should note that this slogan was largely propagated by and among Luso-descendants, who may position themselves as spokespersons for the Portuguese in France, writ large (Wagner and Koven 2017). It is those in the second generation, such as Ro et Cut and Ruben Alves, who fully master specific forms of urban French sociolinguistic, technological, and cultural capital that enable them to disseminate the slogan, perhaps at their elders’ expense. It would seem that the successful circulation of semiotic forms depends in important ways on the recognized social capital of those who launch and spread them (Kramer 2025), in this case descendants of migrants.

We now synthesize what our analysis reveals about the relative (in)visibility of the Portuguese in France. The materials analyzed here show that in certain areas of cultural production, i.e., online performance, cinematic, and participants’ meta-discourse about such production, a particular vision of Franco-Portuguese identity was indeed established (Agha 2003, 2006; Silverstein 2023) and traveled through the

multiple settings we examined, appearing however to largely be limited to other Luso-descendants.

What can one say about the wider visibility of these practices beyond Luso-descendant networks? Questions of visibility of these new forms of Franco-Portuguese identity are related to what Agha (2003, 2006) called the “social domains” of the people for whom the slogan is recognizable, distributed in social *space* and *time*.<sup>21</sup> First, we consider how widely the slogan circulated across social space. Many comments contain indexes of firsthand Portuguese diasporic experience, suggesting the phrase remained a largely Luso-descendant phenomenon (even though it is hard for analysts or participants to determine the background of those who comment on YouTube or Facebook). Although a mainstream movie about the Portuguese in France, such as *La Cage Dorée*, was indeed broadly visible to mainstream audiences, it is not clear how far beyond Franco-Portuguese-only spheres this slogan, and its complex voicings have been recognized and replicated. Despite the relative social capital of Ro et Cut and Ruben Alves discussed above, one should also ask whether they could regiment how their performances would be interpreted by non-Luso-descendants. We therefore speculate that even if mainstream, non-diasporic audiences saw the movie and the videos, the slogan itself may not have stood out to them as salient. Instead, non-diasporic audiences may retain a more holistic sense of the semiotic performances of Portuguese migrant figures, while failing to appreciate the heteroglossic rebranding of Portuguese identity put forth by those who reprise the slogan.

In terms of circulation across time, we should note that use of the slogan has had its peak.<sup>22</sup> Like any linguistic or more broadly semiotic trend, slogans emerge, play a role in social life, and may eventually fall into disuse, often with a relatively short social life (Androutsopolos 2017). The slogan no longer appears on social media as frequently as it did in the mid 2010s. It is an open question whether *c sa ksé bon* has been or will be replaced by an alternative Franco-Portuguese diasporic slogan.<sup>23</sup> Ro et Cut initiated the genre of successful online Franco-Portuguese comedy. Whether new forms of Franco-Portuguese comedy and mock language emerge and attain the virality of *C sa ksé bon* within and/or beyond Franco-Portuguese diasporic settings, remains to be seen.

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<sup>21</sup> This is similar to enregisterment, as defined above.

<sup>22</sup> Whether and how it still appears in individuals’ digital or oral communicative repertoires is an intriguing, unanswered question (Rymes 2012).

<sup>23</sup> One often sees use of “*Viva Portugal!*”/long live Portugal, a slogan used throughout Portugal and the diaspora. We also note the recent 2025 emergence of the Franco-Portuguese catchphrase, “*Pardon, Caralho!*”/“Excuse me ((French)), *Fuck* ((Portuguese))” in videos by Carlos Furtado, known by the French-Portuguese name, *La Petite Abelha* (*Little Bee*). We plan to analyze circulations and interpretations of this new phrase in future work.

However, while subsequent Luso-descendant comedians may not reprise the *Ca ksé bon* slogan, they nevertheless continue to re-enact similar characterological figures of a male, first-generation Portuguese migrant whose Portuguese-influenced French remains a major focus for diasporic participants. Therefore, despite the slogan's gradual decline in frequency of use, numerous online Luso-descendant performers and commenters still circulate related, indexically linked figures and their associated verbal and nonverbal semiotic trappings.

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