Globalization in the margins: toward elements for a sociolinguistics of mobility from Indigenous experiences

André Marques do NASCIMENTO*

Abstract

This paper analyzes, from contemporary sociolinguistics and decolonial theoretical approaches, how the appropriation of infrastructures of globalization by indigenous peoples has generated new means through which they can make visible their contemporary demands, as well as new environments for transidiomatic practices. The analysis focuses on discourse elements of rap music and social media in which indigenous languages resources are productively employed. The main argument is that translocal scalar jumps are made possible through the appropriation of infrastructures of globalization by indigenous communities and individuals, and it is suggested that this appropriation might have positive potential effect on the indigenous linguistic vitality.

Keywords: Globalization, Infrastructures of globalization, Indigenous peoples, Transidiomatic Practices, Technologies of communication.

1. Introduction

Currently, few are the studies that from a critical and non-dystopicperspective aim at understanding indigenous people's agency on the processes and effects of globalization in their communicative practices. Language displacement, homogenization, extinction and death have been usually the main descriptors of the so-called globalization effects on the use of indigenous languages, without much attention being paid, however, to instances of counter-hegemonic resistance and redesigning of communicative practices composed by resources of these languages which, unlike the most catastrophic predictions, might mean

* PhD in Language and Linguistics, Professor at Federal University of Goiás, Goiânia, Goiás, Brazil. E-mail: marquesandre@yahoo.com.br.

the updating and continuity of their use in contemporary geopolitical and geocultural contexts.

Based on these assumptions, this work, which is part of the broader research project "Situated alternatives to decolonization of languages practices, ideologies and regimes in intercultural postcolonial contexts", analyzes under the sociolinguistic of mobility and decolonial Latin American studies back ground how the appropriation of infrastructures of globalization by indigenous communities and individuals, especially new media and communication technologies, has positive potential effects on align and make visible contemporary indigenous demands, even that originating from different geographical places and local histories, as well as on the linguistic vitality and linguistic updating, refuting, thus, totalizing hypothesis of cultural and linguistic homogenization generated by geocultural globalization.

In this way, the analysis focuses on discursive and semiotic elements that emerge in rap music performed by Latin American groups self-identified as indigenous, and in posts and comments on social media, specifically Facebook, by Brazilian indigenous groups and individuals in which it can be observed new contexts of use of indigenous languages resources.

Furthermore, this work is affiliated to studies that seek to analyze the effects of globalization and appropriation of its infrastructures by communities and individuals that have been marginalized within the nation states (see WANG et al., 2014), in a geopolitical configuration that Mignolo (2011) has called internal colonialism. At the same time, this work seeks to destabilize i) identity essentializations of indigenous groups and individuals based on their communicative practices; and ii) contemporary sociolinguistic approaches that encompass almost exclusively transnational urban contexts and primarily contacts between European linguistic repertoires.

2. Theoretical Framework: Towards A Sociolinguistic Of Mobility

Blommaert (2010) systematizes theoretical and methodological assumptions of what he calls a sociolinguistics of globalization, proposing conceptual and analytical tools for a renewed approach to

sociolinguistic dimensions of globalization in order to understand the real, concrete, and situated linguistic and semiotic performances.

For language studies, Blommaert emphasizes, the current phase of globalization is particularly interesting because it allows the observation of how new geocultural processes affect sociolinguistic standards with the emergence of new multimodal forms of communication and superdiverse patterns of urban multilingualism. The author warns, however, that "it is good to understand that such processes, and the timeframe in which they occur, can only be understood as part of larger, slower and more profound changes in society" (BLOMMAERT, 2010, p. 14).

In the context of this work, what the current phase of geocultural globalization has generated, as I intend to demonstrate further, is the possibility of a "globalization from below", or, as analyzes Mignolo (2011, p. 255), alternative "reactions to globalization from those populations and geo-historical areas of the planet that suffer the consequences of the global economy", including the appropriation of infrastructures which are products of these very recent processes of globalization. Thus not disassociating late geocultural globalization processes and effects from the historical and older fact of colonialism.

Within the paradoxes made possible by the current phase of geocultural globalization, it is important highlight the destabilization not only of geographical and political boundaries, but also of disciplinary protocols and theoretical paradigms. In the field of language in society studies, Mignolo notes, for example, that "the current stage of globalization is daily questioning […] national ideals and principles about the purity of language" (MIGNOLO, 2000, p. 229).

It should be recognized that, heir of a modern Western epistemology, the Saussurean idea of synchrony, which underlies hegemonic conceptions of language, has built a representation of sociolinguistic reality in which "language is undressed, so to speak, and robbed of their spatial and temporal features that define its occurrence, meaning and function in real social life" (BLOMMAERT, 2010, p. xiv). According to the hegemonic perspective of modern sociolinguistics, language is the category par excellence that establishes bounded, nameable and countable units, usually reduced to grammar and vocabulary structures, whose speakers, even in mobility contexts

such as migration, are always fixed in space and time (BLOMMAERT, 2010, p. 04).

For Blommaert, however, with no real existence, the notion of synchrony and its consequences for the language categorization cannot remain intact even as a hypothetical theoretical constructs. Considering the profound changes globally experienced in recent decades that prevent the world to be divided into clear and transparent categories, in whatever dimension it is, and to take account of the complexity intensified by the recent processes of globalization, the author proposes "a view of language as something intrinsically and perpetually mobile, through space as well as time, and made for mobility" (BLOMMAERT, 2010, p. xiv, emphasis in the original). The author, thus,states the bases to a paradigm that conceives language as a set of "mobile resources, framed in terms of transcontextual networks, flows and movements" (BLOMMAERT, 2010, p. 01).

The sociolinguistics of mobility would encompass the study of language-in-motion and its various spatiotemporal frames in constant interaction (BLOMMAERT, 2010, p. 05). These frames, according to the author, can be described as 'scales', under the assumption that "in an age of globalization, language patterns must be understood as patterns organized on different, layered (i.e. vertical rather than horizontal) scale-levels" (BLOMMAERT, 2010, p. 05).

The notion of sociolinguistic scale is, according to Blommaert (2010), an important metaphor for the mobility paradigm as it seeks to capture the movement of people, messages, and semiotic resources throughout spaces filled of codes, ideologies, standards and expectations. These movements are made possible by the dual nature of language practices that allows them to be, in a particular scalar position, contextually unique and situated, while in another scalar position they are collective and relatively stable phenomena, connected to patterns of broader historical sense. The movement, or scalar jump, would occur from "the individual to the collective, the temporally situated to the trans-temporal, the unique to the common, the token to type, the specific to the general" (BLOMMAERT, 2010, p. 33).

Blommaert also recognizes that the paradigm shift to a sociolinguistics of mobility has a price, the disruption with totalizing

and stabilizers discourses on language, with which it must necessarily disagree, precisely because they tie the speakers in bounded well-defined horizontal spaces (BLOMMAERT, 2010 p. 43). One aspect of these regimes that matters directly here relates to the description of the world in processes of globalization from the perspectives of linguistic imperialism and linguicide. These are the most usual discourses to institute sociolinguistic realities of indigenous peoples around the world and also in Brazil.

In language studies of Western tradition, the indigenous societies have been object of analysis under two different hegemonic perspectives which share, nevertheless, the assumption that there is an unambiguous and stable link among language, culture and place: the description of the systemic-structural features of their languages at different levels of analysis and under different theoretical approaches; and that of a traditional sociolinguistics that seeks to present the situation of indigenous languages in classifying continua whose poles range from functional linguistic vitality to language extinction and death, according to different situations and levels of external threats.

A fundamental task of this second approach is to search for the underlying causes of the sociolinguistic situation of different indigenous communities around the world that, instead of as diverse and complex as they are, they would share within that field the imminent risk of language loss and the common fate of being victims of socio-cultural and linguistic homogenization. In the literature that makes up the field, categories such as language death, endangered languages, linguistic imperialism etc. are very common and, in recent decades, the term globalization has figured prominently among the threat factors, although there are few explicit discussions of what globalization is and how it affects, in fact, the linguistic and cultural diversity in the world (MUFWENE, 2002a, 2002b).

Obviously, it is not my intention to deny or to obscure the deep, violent and asymmetrical power relations generated by coloniality that end up impacting indigenous linguistic practices in postcolonial contexts. Rather, my main point is to provide elements for the epistemological decentralization of the field and for less totalizing and dystopic views that could bring to the core of the theorizing the different dimensions of the indigenous contemporaneities and agencies.

Blommaert still highlights the ideology underlying the discourse of language rights, including indigenous' rights, which is developed based on the classic Herderian triad territory-culture-language which territorialize language functions in static spaces where languages can fully work. Once that link is broken, the languages, often "native" or "mother" languages, lose their functions. According to the author, this discourse and the policies they bring to practice "ties the speakers of these languages to a place and reinforces the presumed fixed connection between people and their environment - a clear reflex of the Saussurean synchrony" (BLOMMAERT, 2010, p. 45).

For Blommaert, all this can be more or less acceptable, at least when some aspects of reality are conveniently neglected, such as mobility itself, one of the most disturbing contemporary aspects to stabilizing visions of communicative practices, since "in contemporary social structures, people tend to move around, both in real geographical space and in symbolic, social space" (BLOMMAERT, 2010, p. 45).This mobility, of course, also impacts the life and communicative practices of human groups that are not in major urban centers of the world. On the contrary, even if at different levels and with different effects, it also reaches the margins of the modern/colonial world system.

Wang et al. (2014) discuss sociolinguistic phenomena of globalization in marginal environments, addressing them specifically from the perspective of new media and communication technologies; new forms of economic activities and language commodification; and semiotic resources and authenticity. The authors argue that studies on globalization and super-diversity are concentrated primarily in places where their characteristic phenomena are more abundant, such as highly diverse megalopolis. Less typical places such as peri-urban, rural, and other remote areas of the world, institutionally peripheral, and areas to where minorities are relegated, have been less absorbed by that studies. For them, nevertheless, globalization impacts the entire world system, including its most remote margins and unexpected places.

Regarding the urban bias of the sociolinguistic studies, Wang et al. also recognize a much larger problem, since these studies continue "seeing the world through the lens of those societies that form the current centers of the world system, with assumption that what occurs there can

and should be used as a benchmark for studies elsewhere", what I see as an unequivocal feature of coloniality of knowledge (MIGNOLO, 2011). For language studies, this issue is of major theoretical importance, since "we cannot neglect detailed analyzes of local contexts of usage, local semiotic economies and local language ideologies if we wish to understand how people themselves make sense of their lives and life worlds" (WANG et al., 2013, p. 29).

Consistent with the theoretical convergence here adopted, it should be set, from a decolonial perspective, what in fact is understood by "margins". If geocultural globalization is the latest stage of a process that began with the constitution of America and of the modern/colonial capitalism itself, it is also important to recognize that the pattern of Eurocentered power that emerges in this context has as one of its cornerstones the hierarchical racial classification of all the peoples of the planet, which has permeated the most important dimensions of world power (QUIJANO, 2000, p. 193). That classification transforms differences in values and establishes margins, which are not just geographical, but "implies the existence of people, languages, religions, and knowledge on both sides linked through relations established by the coloniality of power (e.g. structured by the imperial and colonial differences)" (TLOSTANOVA; MIGNOLO, 2012, p. 62).

Margins are thus understood as spaces (geographical, subjective and symbolic) where subaltern alterities are instituted from the perspective of the coloniality of power, i.e., are geopolitical spaces, but also body-political as well. According to Mignolo (2011, p. 285), "the margins are places, histories, and people who, not being at once Christians and secular Europeans, were forced to deal with the encroachment of their modernity." Thus, if the indigenous discursive practices can be produced and/or accessible from anywhere in the world, we must remember that they remain marginal, not only because they emanate from the Southern peripheral geopolitical space, but mainly because their bodies and places of enunciation have long been defined as inferior by the racial hierarchy that historically usurped the validity of their voices and knowledges. This does not, however, prevent them from finding fissures in the spaces of colonial difference for the resumption of their voices in many forms, including through globalized resources.

Signótica, Goiânia, v. 29, n. 2, p. 269-301, jul./dez. 2017

Nascimento, A. M. do. Globalization in the margins: toward elements for a...

275

In this way, whether in major centers of the modern/colonial world system, whether in its geo and body-political margins, the main conditions for the implementation of the processes of globalization are, according to Wang et al. (2014, p. 29), the availability of and accessibility to infrastructures of globalization that "enabling connections between purely local events and translocal processes, patterns and developments, and these connections are dialectic: effects of them occur throughout the different scale levels". One of the main forms of globalization in the margins is generated by specific levels and forms of access to new media and communication technologies, of particular interest in this work, whose appropriation has generated fluid, hybrid and complex communicative phenomena, here understood as transidiomatic practices.

Assuming that "the experience of cultural globalization and sociolinguistics disorder it entails, cannot be understood solely through a dystopic vision of linguistic catastrophe", Jacquemet (2005, p. 257) suggests that language studies must consider the "recombinant qualities of the language mixing, hybridization and creolization" through the reconceptualization of the communicative environment, and must consider communicative practices based on multilingual talks, mediated by electronic media and various semiotic resources with local and global scope.

In criticizing theoretical and analytical positions on globalization and their processes and consequences often polarized between neo-liberal celebration of global flows and the catastrophe of cultural homogenization, Jacquemet notes few engagement of linguistic studies with theories of globalization and, when it exists, it tends to be stuck in the dystopic view of linguistic imperialism and language loss or death; or still it focuses only on local contexts, face to face interactions, unmediated communicative experiences and physical proximity, even when dealing with mobility situations such as transnational human migration. According to the author, this view is strongly influenced by the modern conception of language that, in general, conceives speech communities as isolated and homogeneous entities within the limits of nation-states and analyzes their communication patterns also based on a clearly identifiable and limited object, "the dominant, standardized national language" (JACQUEMET, 2005, p 260). The author therefore

proposes that contemporary studies of language and communication address the effects of globalization on communicative practices and on new social formations resulting from the mobility of people, languages and texts, considering also "asymmetrical power relations and penetrations engendered for such flows" (JACQUEMET, 2005, p. 261).

This change of perspective in addressing communicative interactions becomes imperative in a world where more and more people interact in historically and culturally distant communicative environments through new synchronous and asynchronous communication technologies. For Jacquemet, besides expanding and significantly modifying the possibilities of interaction, the appropriation of these technologies enables people to gain or increase their social value because "they achieve power, in other words, by learning how to interact in a deterritorialized world" (JACQUEMET, 2005, p. 261). Jacquemet proposes, thus, the concept of transidiomatic practices to address "the communicative practices of transnational groups that interact using different languages and communicative codes simultaneously present in a range of communicative channels, both local and distant" (JACQUEMET, 2005, p. 264).

Transidiomatic practices are, therefore, easily recognizable where people experience a translocal multilingualism interacting with electronic communication technologies. Thus, they are not contained only in areas of colonial and post-colonial contact but are spreadthrough multiple electronic communication channels around the world. The "language" to be used in each situation depends on the contextual nature of the interaction, but in any case, will be "mixed, translated creolized" (JACQUEMET, 2005, p. 266).

3. GLOBALIZATION IN THE MARGINS: INDIGENOUS APPROPRIATIONS OF TRANSLOCAL COMMUNICATION INFRASTRUCTURES

Nowadays, in different regions of colonized territories, it is possible to see how the appropriation of infrastructures of globalization has increasingly been part of indigenous communities, changing their sociolinguistic landscapes and their communicative practices, especially

SIGNÓTICA, GOIÂNIA, V. 29, N. 2, P. 269-301, JUL./DEZ. 2017   277

NASCIMENTO, A. M. DO. GLOBALIZATION IN THE MARGINS: TOWARD ELEMENTS FOR A...

through the use of newer communication technologies. Two situations I witnessed in a Brazilian indigenous area illustrate this statement.

In one of them, a group of young indigenous is gathered in front of the TV in a house of Xambioá people community, Northern Brazil, to watch anepisode of a US TV show very successful worldwide, which now reach the village through cable TV (Fig. 1).

FIGURE 1 - INDIGENOUS YOUTH OF XAMBIOÁ PEOPLE WATCHING THE US TV SERIES "THE WALKING DEAD" VIA CABLE TV.

PHOTO: AUTHOR, 2014.

FIGURE 2 - SATELLITE DISHES IN XAMBIOÁ VILLAGE.

PHOTO: AUTHOR, 2014.

The presence of TV sets with satellite reception in the aldeias of Xambioápeople is not new (Fig. 2). What is very new, instead, is the access to many new transnational channels made possible by reception via cable TV, which now enables much more diverse and frequent contact of this population with "repertoires of speech and cultural artifacts constituted in other languages, from several parts of the world" (MOITA LOPES, 2013, p. 102).

In another situation, in the same community, this time in the area of the only indigenous High School, several young boys and girls have gathered in the schoolyard to connect their cell phones and some laptops to the recent school internet wireless network (Fig. 3 and 4). The courtyard of the school became then an important offline and online interaction space for the population, especially for teenagers, who now can interact with other realities beyond that indigenous land.

FIGURES 3 AND 4 - YOUNG XAMBIOÁ CONNECTED VIA CELL PHONE AND LAPTOP TO THE SCHOOL INTERNET WIRELESS NETWORK

PHOTOS: AUTHOR, 2015.

These situations, I believe, are quite characteristic of contemporary realities of many indigenous peoples and communities in which we see the appropriation of infrastructures of globalization which leave no untouched their communities and, as I seek to argue, also their communication practices. Such appropriations

have allowed, in many contexts, that indigenous communities and individuals make more evident their historical demands, their voices and worldviews and their contemporaneity denied by the coloniality of power. In this process, indigenous discourses are raised to a higher translocal sociolinguistics scales which align different local discourses in the same network of broader sociohistorical meanings related to colonization and its consequences. Similarly, the appropriation of these new communication channels has created spaces of use of indigenous linguistics resources which have emerged as important means of circulation and dissemination of linguistic and semiotic repertoires politically subalternized, which also can reach higher scale-levels, especially through transidiomatic practices.

In what follows, I seek to present two relatively recent phenomena enabled by the appropriation of these infrastructures by indigenous individuals and groups. The first one refers to the appropriation of the cultural apparatus for the production of rap music, and the second relates to the widespread use of social media, specifically Facebook.

3.1 Indigenous Rap Music

According to Wang et al. (2014), one of the most prominent effects of appropriation of new information and communication technologies by marginal populations is the creation of a broad and diverse market for popular forms of cultural expression in which "marginal performances can make it to the mainstream by means of access – however limited – to contemporary media and communication technologies" (WANG et al. 2014, p. 31). The spread and appropriation of Hip Hop culture and its manifestations worldwide, especially rap music, are one of the most remarkable contemporary instances.

Brô MC's - Koangagua

Photo: Youtube.

Drawing on deterritorialized resources, especially digital editing means and internet (Fig. 5), and usually at low costs, many indigenous groups from Brazil and Latin America have been using rap music to make visible their communities and local stories. As stated by the Bolivian rapper from La Paz, Sdenka Suxo Cadena, this is because anyone can produce rap music, even if s/he does not have or does not know to play an instrument. As she says, "all you need is a pen and paper. You don't need money. You can do it anywhere. People largely identify with it in marginalized neighborhoods" (CADENA cited in DANGL, 2006).

These markedly local appropriations in different places provide, moreover, the institution of symbolic discursive communalities that, in many cases, are based on common histories of groups that more strongly have been facing the impacts of the colonial experience, not coincidentally, those who stands today where the intersection of socioeconomic and racial marginality is perceived in a more latent way.

Signótica, Goiânia, v. 29, n. 2, p. 269-301, jul./dez. 2017

Nascimento, A. M. do. Globalization in the margins: toward elements for a...

281

In indigenous rap lyrics and discourses, it also can be seen how specific signs are used in order to enable translocal scalar jumps (from local to national or even transnational scales) through which their discourses are aligned with others discourses from different geographical spaces in cyberspace. These virtual networks, thus, bring together different indigenous peoples and individuals from different regions, since, despite their diverse local experiences and trajectories, they share common contemporary situations generated by colonialism. In this sense, such pan-ethnic translocal networks strengthen indigenous discourses that denounce the racism and marginality they experience locally, while seeking also to widely expose their demands for better living conditions.

Apprehended, according to Blommaert et al. (2014, p. 4-5), as the spatiotemporal scope of comprehensibility, sociolinguistic scales can be understood as the degree in which it can be expected that specific signs are included and make sense in different framings. In other words, the more explicit and socially available is the meaning of a sign, the higher is its scalar level.

Example (1) demonstrates how in the Brô MC's discourse, a Brazilian indigenous rap group from Kaiowá people, entextualized in a press interview which can be found online, there is a scalar jump from a local scale, considering the indigenous community as a reference scale from where they produce their lyrics and discourses (i.e. the margins of the modern/colonial world system); to a broader trans-local scale in comparing the aldeia (indigenous village), a more local sign in this scalar universe, to a favela (shanty town), a more widespread sign in a Brazilian urban sociocultural "ideological topography", common to almost all major cities of the country. In a temporal dimension, their discourse retakes current and bygone socio-historical processes of exclusion and oppression, and thus discursively align indigenous villages and urban peripheries, both highly racialized spaces:

> (1) "*Aldeia* é como *favela*. O que muda é que lá eles usam fuzil e aqui é facão" (Brô MCs apud AJINDO, 2012)

In this translocal scalar jump, not only there is the positioning of their discourses and their criticism in a wider spatio temporal frame,

but also the symbolic confluence of struggles for social justice that is, if not identical, at least similar to marginalized urban areas in Brazilian context, which is inevitably intersected by contemporary effects of racial hierarchy, one of the fundamental pillars in the construction of the modern/colonial world (MIGNOLO, 2011).

Such semiotic process of scalar jump also can lift the discourses of the Kaiowá group to a transnational scale, as can be seen through common indexes of racial identification in the discourses of other indigenous rap groups from Latin America, who have shared the colonial experience and its contemporary consequences. As can be seen in the examples (2), from Brô MC's' lyrics, and (3), from the Bolivian collective Raza Insana's, the sign índio is common in both lyrics and indexicalizes a shared subalternized racial identity, which goes beyond local spaces, and which, at the same time, positions the current discourses in broader temporalities and in a common history of oppression.

> (2) Mais de quinhentos anos, uma ferida que não cicatriza/ [...] Sei que não é fácil levar a vida desse jeito/ Fazer o quê? Me rendo ou luto contra o preconceito?/ *Sou índio sim* e pobre, mas não burro/ Como pensa esse sujeito/ Daquele jeito/ Continuo a minha sina/ sabendo muito bem quem gerou minha ruína (*A vida que eu levo*, Brô MC's).

> (3) Del Tawantinsuyu somos los hijos/ *Somos* latinos, negros, *indios* y mestizos/ Hoy vivimos cambios, complicaciones/ Cómo no, si somos hijos de violaciones (*Hijos del Tawantinsuyu*, Raza Insana).

In examples (4) to (6), taken respectively from Brô MC's', the Bolivian *Wayna Rap's* and the Chilean *Kollectivo We Newen's* lyrics, the same symbolic resources ofscalar jump can be found. The groups take up the common ancient past of their people in "America" and, nowadays, uses their indigenous voices, speeches and words through rap music to rise themselves from the obscurity where they were placed by the construction of modernity (MIGNOLO 2011):

(4) Sempre levando a *palavra* de verdade/ através do *rap*/ Mostrando a nossa realidade/ Periferia da cidade, aldeia (Tupã, Brô MC's).

(5) Los Aymaras somos originarios de América/ vivimos hace miles y miles de años de estas tierras/ Están hablando/ Están creciendo de la sombra/ Estás saliendo para hablar por siempre/ no y non sin avergonzarse, si ah!/ Miles, miles, son millones mi pueblo Aymara/ [...] La voz del Aymara, del Quechua/ Se levantan de la oscuridad/ Alumbrando a Latinoamérica con una gran luz/ salen, crecen (*Chamakat Sartasiry*, Wayna Rap).

(6) Mi pueblo, sus voces ya no *callaran*!/ [...] Mi sangre gerrera se hace escuchar [...]/ Nuestro pueblo no para/ puñonado resiste/ con valor y valentía/ porque el Mapuche existe/ nuestro pueblo no para (*Rap Reivindikativo*, Wenu Mapu, Kollectivo We Newen).

The appropriation of infrastructures of globalization from the margins of the modern/Colonial world system also has direct impact on the use of linguistic resources, especially in so porous and dynamic practices such as those that make up the Hip Hop culture. Wang et al. (2014, p. 31) point out, for example, that Hip Hop cultural and political emphasis on "authenticity from below" is what allows this style creates links between marginalized individuals and communities and, in the very process, the local linguistic resources, including those of minoritized and "endangered" languages, a reproductively used. Similarly, Blommaert (2010, p. 64) argues that the appropriation of these infrastructures can also reveal the vitality of minoritized languages communicative resources so that they can be up to the task of globalized meaning-making, including new forms of literacy and models of message.

In the context of rap production by Latin American Indigenous groups, it is also important to notice the extremely productive use of indigenous communicative resources, specially through transidiomatic lyrics.[1] The examples (7) and (8) below seek to illustrate transidiomatic practices of rap music performed by Brô MC's and by the Peruvian Kukama group Niños Kukama:

(7) Rap guarani ha kaiwá/ Ndendokatúieremanha/ Ere-manharõxe-rehemba'evenderehexái/ A-pe rap guarani ogwahẽpehenduhagwã/ Áraete ore ra'arõ/ Entonceeju ore ndi-ve/ Entonceejuxendive/ Xerohenóieju ore ndive/Venha com nóis nessa levada/ Xerohenóieju ore ndive/Aldeia unida mostra a cara (BRÔ MC's, *Eju ore ndive*).

(8) Kumbarikira urupukira/ tsa kumbari utsu ukaima/ kurachi wiri tima tsa katupi/ tsa kumbari kira urupukira/ Yo soy de Nauta y me gusta rapear/ pero cantar en Kukama me gusta mas/ Dicen que Kukama no vale la pena/ Yo digo que tonto, porque no se esmera!/ [...] Por eso te digo/ Vien y canta comigo/ Canta en Kukama/ Atravete amigo! (Niños Kukama, *Kumbarikira*).

Besides defying ideologies of monolingualism through practices between languages and cultures, which in turn puts in suspicion the unequivocal connection between language, culture and territory as constitutive of an indigenous authenticity,transidiomatic rap has positive effects on the vitality and updating of indigenous linguistic and other semiotic resources, since it evidences their full potential for globalized contemporaneity and, at the same time, it amplifies their audience through hybrid uses of non-indigenous linguistic resources (Portuguese and Spanish in examples above) so that the messages they convey can reach non-indigenous societies and so higher sociolinguistic scales. In this way, Wang et al. (2014) point out that such access to translocal scalar levels generates new linguistic and semiotic possibilities for communities located at the margins, since their languages, usually politically minoritized, acquire new contexts of use and translocal movement through new media and mobile technologies. Thus, they explain, "this also has effects on their broader cultural traditions, now also circulating in novel and dynamic ways" (WANG et al., 2014, p. 32).

It is not only in rap production that infrastructures of globalization are extremely productive in communicative practices in the margins of the modern/colonial world system. In the following section, the appropriation of social media by indigenous individuals is also addressed.

SIGNÓTICA, GOIÂNIA, V. 29, N. 2, P. 269-301, JUL./DEZ. 2017

NASCIMENTO, A. M. DO. GLOBALIZATION IN THE MARGINS: TOWARD ELEMENTS FOR A...

285

3.2 Indigenous Social Media

On March 2015, the newspaper *El Pais* in its online Brazilian version, stamped a message which reached its office through the application for mobile phones *WhatsApp*. In the message, Anselmo Yanomami, a Brazilian indigenous man of Yanomami people denounced the Special Secretariat of Indigenous Health – SESAI for the terrible health conditions of their people, as well as for deaths caused by diseases resulting from the contact. The author of the message also requested the spreading of the situation of his people in Brazil and abroad[3].

If, on one hand, this event denounces the conditions of indigenous life in recondite ignored by most part of Brazilian population, including the State itself, on the other, it shows the degree of appropriation of infrastructures of globalization by Brazilian indigenous peoples and points to how indigenous agency in using mobile and translocal means of communication has strengthened and became more visible lately. As highlighted by Lima (2014), it is clear that indigenous people have more and more occupied spaces as producers of information about themselves, refuting the privileged white interpreter of their lives, interests and perspectives. In this way, they "create communication channels within each and among different and geographically separated peoples, and so creating mutual understanding and possibilities of articulation" (LIMA, 2014, p. 09).

According to Mignolo (2011, p 283), this movement is part of a broader process of decentralization and decolonization and configures itself as one of the greatest paradoxes of globalization, that is, it makes possiblethat "subaltern communities within the nation-state to create transnational alliances beyond the state to fight for their own social and human rights" (MIGNOLO, 2000, p. 298). In Brazil, as in many Latin American countries, there are many translocal virtual networks mediated by information and communication technologies implemented by indigenous groups to make visible their contemporaneity, their historical struggles and projects of life and future which, in many cases, are similar projects to fight coloniality of being and knowing; more precisely, against racism and all its social, political, economic, epistemological, cognitive and cultural consequences.

To this end, internet and many forms of digital communication have become powerful tools for actors and localized struggles that constitute new types of translocal and global policies and subjectivities, even when the actors are geographically immobile or have little mobility, and have limited resources of infrastructures of globalization. In other words, the Internet allowed these groups simultaneous and decentralized access to participate in translocal struggles that are repeated in different regions (SASSEN, 2010). According to Anapuaka Muniz (2014), a Pataxó leader and intellectual, social medias further political demonstrations and then indigenous individuals now understand the value of these tools, especially since the powerful campaign #*SouGuaraniKaiowa* (MUNIZ cited by AIRES, 2014).[4]

Although many are the means and tools of communication mediated by the Internet, the focus in this work is in the more recent phenomenon of indigenous appropriation of social media, specifically Facebook. This appropriation has been occurring at different levels in the internet, from the level of pages and applications programming in different languages, to the level of collective and individual uses of social media.

According to Oliveira (2014), because it is composed by people or organizations that share values and goals, one of the main characteristics of a social media is the capacity to absorb people and different thoughts from some common trait. Furthermore, according to the author, social media allows less hierarchical relationships among participants, decentralizing the sharing of information, knowledge and interests, hence strengthening larger social participation and mobilization.

In Brazil, given the condition of marginality of indigenous populations, including the representation of their real conditions of life by the hegemonic media, the appropriation of social media has become an important tool of articulation, mobilization and denunciation of innumerable situations experienced by the indigenous communities and as a way to achieve the adhesion of the non-indigenous population to their agendas. An exemplary case is the page "*Resistance of Terena People*" (Fig. 6), created on *Facebook* to denounce to Brazilian population offenses committed against that people in the state of Mato

Nascimento, A. M. do. Globalization in the margins: toward elements for a...

Grosso do Sul, Brazil's Middle-West region, where state policies are explicitly favorable to agribusiness and against indigenous rights.

On the occasion of the worst conflict caused by a reintegration of Fazenda Buriti, in the municipality of Sidrolândia, Mato Grosso do Sul, in 2013, when there was a murder of an indigenous man, Terena individuals used cell phones to post information in real time about the atrocities committed by the police against them, which until then were not broadcast by hegemonic press. The indigenous area, legally claimed by former deputy Ricardo Bacha, was declared an Indigenous Land in 2010, but in 2012, the Federal Regional Court accepted an appeal granting Bacha property of the area, which led to police action against indigenous people.

Another exemplary case of appropriation of social media in favor of indigenous collectives interests is *Radio Yandé*, which has a website and a Facebook page, aimed at "the diffusion of indigenous cultures through traditional perspectives, but adding the speed and scopeof technology and the internet".[5] On Facebook, the appropriation of this globalized infrastructure is reflected in the use of semiotic resources that put different spatio-temporal scales into play, as can be seen in the post reproduced below (Fig. 7).

Figure 7 - Post from the page "Radio Yandê" on Facebook.

Considering the post in the social media as a multimodal sign, in which meaning-making occurs in complex multisemiotic modes, some features stand out, such as the background image, which reproduces an indigenous headdress, and the mottos "With the strength and willingness of great warriors" and, superimposed on the image, "The traditional indigenous way, now in digital format". This combination of semiotic elements takes up historical indexical orders that produce different scales by juxtaposing the locally-situated signs "great warriors" and "traditional indigenous way", with "now in digital format" which, in turn, elevates the discourse in the post to a higher scale in which indigenous contemporaneity is indexed.

In this processes of appropriation of social media, it also becomes clear that the communicative practices are impacted. As highlighted by Mignolo, "[globalization] made possible the resurgence of indigenous languages suppressed by colonial and imperial expansion and by the surge of fractured imperial languages within and outside national territories" (MIGNOLO, 2000, p. 255). In this way, it is possible to observe that linguistic-discursive resources of indigenous languages have been increasingly used in different contexts and practices on the

Signótica, Goiânia, v. 29, n. 2, p. 269-301, jul./dez. 2017

Nascimento, A. M. do. Globalization in the margins: toward elements for a...

289

internet and social media, demonstrating their creative and adaptive vitality to new interactional environments.

At the level of individual use of social media, there are different uses of indigenous linguistic resources in different communicative practices. The following examples, taken from Brazilian indigenous' Facebook profiles, between February 2015 and January 2016seek illustrating some of that uses. This is, however, a preliminary incursion into what Ivkovic and Lotherington (2009) have called virtual linguistic landscape, understood as a way to delineate complex language resources, practices, and statuses coexisting in virtual spaces intersected by power relations (IVKOVIC; LOTHERINGTON, 2009, p. 19). Thus, for reasons of space and scope of this work, the following examples (9 and 10) will not be explored in their semiotic complexity, which could only be made through an extensive and expanded Ethnographic Linguistic Landscape Analysis, as suggested by Blommaert (2016). Thus, the next two examples are presented here only to illustrate two productive different strategies of employment of indigenous linguistic resources in social media, highlighting their potential for mobility in virtual environments and on broader sociolinguistic scales:

(9) Multimodal posts and comments with linguistic-discursive resources of indigenous languages (Fig. 8 and 9):

FIGURE 8 - POST IN KARAJÁ LANGUAGE   FIGURE 9 - POST IN XERENTE LANGUAGE

PHOTO: PRINTSCREEN ON MARCH 2015.   PHOTO: PRINTSCREEN ON MAY 2015.

(10) Translation from indigenous language to Portuguese language or vice versa (Fig.10 to 13):

FIGURE 10 - TRANSLATION FROM PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE TO MARAGUÁ LANGUAGE

PHOTO: PRINTSCREEN ON MARCH 2015.

FIGURE 11 - TRANSLATION FROM XERENTE LANGUAGE TO KARAJÁ, TAPIRAPÉ, KAMAIURÁ E PORTUGUESE LANGUAGES
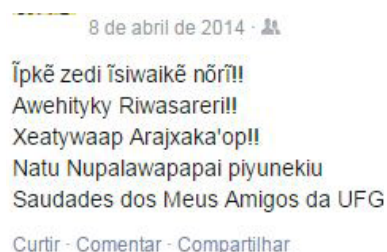

PHOTO: PRINTSCREEN ON MAY 2015.

FIGURE 12 - TRANSLATION FROM XAVANTE LANGUAGE TO PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE

PHOTO: PRINTSCREEN ON APRIL 2015.

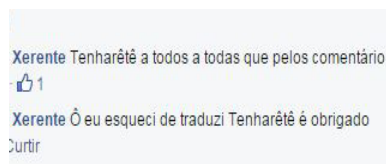FIGURE 13 - TRANSLATION FROM XERENTE LANGUAGE TO PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE

PHOTO: PRINTSCREEN ON APRIL 2015.

In this virtual landscape, hybrids and more complex uses of communicative resources emerges, which here have been called transidiomatic practices. The following example illustrates how these practices have been performed in virtual environments by indigenous users. The two communicative situations were captured, and here

presented with the user's previous consent, from posts on Facebook and, as I argue, demonstrate how transidiomatic practices can fulfill some communicative functions:

(11) Multimodal posts on Facebook employing resources of Portuguese and indigenous repertoires (Figures 14 and 15)[6]:

FIGURE 14 - TRANSIDIOMATIC POSTING ON FACEBOOK, EMPLOYING PORTUGUESE AND KARAJÁ RESOURCES

PHOTO: PRINTSCREEN ON JANUARY 2016.

As can be seen in Figure 14, multimodality, that is an important dimension in virtual communication environments, integrates images and digital literacy practices in meaning-making. In the figure above, we can see an indigenous student in a university environment where he attends an undergraduate course in Intercultural Education. The situation captured in the picture in itself reflects the geographical, cultural and social mobility through which he moves between his home community and the university, in a Brazilian capital. Considering, as Blommaert (2010, p. 23), that "repertoires are grounded in people's biographies and in the wider histories of the places where they were composed", the student's mobility is indexed in the use of language resources of Portuguese language and

Karajá language, in a hybrid juxtaposition that along with the semiotic resources of photography, and mediated by a virtual channel, constitutes a transidiomatic practice (JACQUEMET, 2005).

When asked about the use of different linguistic resources in his post (personal communication to the author on January 2016), the Indigenous teacher pointed out that the use of Karajá resources is a way to enhance his community language and to draw attention to the multiple literacy opportunities that this digital environment allows, despite considering that social media is not yet fully prepared to indigenous repertoires, and points as an example the impossibility of use of certain orthographic characters of his language. Concerning the hybrid use of languages resources, the indigenous student does not see any damage to the indigenous language, instead he believes that the complementarity of resources is important for intercultural communication, and it may even destabilizes the use of tori *rybè*, i.e. Portuguese language, as hegemonic repertoire on social media.

The communicative situation illustrated in Figure 15 is also generated in the interaction on Facebook by indigenous university students. It is a post by a Krikati student who informs his network he will change his undergraduate course, so the use of Portuguese language resources to reach a wider audience, but what draws attention is the comment of his former colleague, using resources of Portuguese language and Krahô language, this one the language of her people.

Figure 15 - Transidiomatic Posting on Facebook

Pepyaká Maykon Krikati 🙂 sentindo-se feliz com Márcia Krikati e outras 30 pessoas.
12 de fevereiro de 2015 · 🎓

Apesar de gostar do Curso Educação Intercultural Superior Indígena. Tive q abrir mão desisti e busca o meu objetivo maior de realizar o desejo meu q sempre gostei .
Enquanto outros vão saindo e se formando, eu vou entrando. Deus no Controle véi eh nós.
#Ciênicias #Biológicas aí vou eu.

Tais Pocuhto Kraho Pajiiire mẽ apyrẽm mẽ ijakry crinaare . Boa soete, vamos sentir muita sua falta, mais vá enfrente. Ate ihkin xaa nã acator. Meus parabéns, fico feliz por vc. Abraço..
13 de fevereiro de 2015 às 16:48 · Curtir · 👍 1

Photo: Printscreen oon January 2016.

Signótica, Goiânia, v. 29, n. 2, p. 269-301, jul./dez. 2017
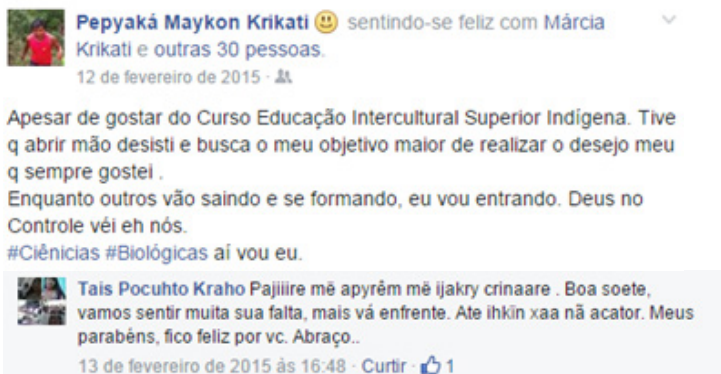
Nascimento, A. M. do. Globalization in the margins: toward elements for a...

293

To understand this communicative situation mediated by the social media, it is important realize that Krikati and Krahô peoples use communicative repertoires made of partially convergent resources, i.e. there is partial mutual linguistic understanding between these different people, so that they can understand each other when using their own "language". When asked about the reason of linguistic hybridity in her commentary (personal communication to the author on January 2016), the Krahô student said to have used the indigenous resources that she knew would be understood by his interlocutor, as far as possible, a practice which can be interpreted as an index of solidarity and ethnic affirmation among indigenous students at university; and to ensure the whole meaning of her comment, resources of Portuguese language complemented her practice, filling gaps for which there would be no convergence between indigenous repertoires.

In this process of social media by indigenous individuals, it is still interesting to see how linguistic-discursive practices and resources of indigenous languages can also be positioned in translocal scalar levels, following the flow of messages and content posted all the time in social media, from different parts of the world, concerning different socio-cultural realities and using diverse linguistic and multimodal resources. As the following examples show, comments in indigenous languages on shared contents can be seen referring to a regional musical event (Figure 16) and also to an abroad event, which shows a dancer performance at a baseball game in the United States (Figure 17). In both cases, indigenous resources make the posts even more complex semiotically by adding heterogeneous linguistic resources that will circulate in an even wider network. At the same time, in tagging the posts with indigenous resources, they became also more local, since it will make sense for indigenous who share the same linguistic resources, especially, in their home communities.

FIGURE 16 - TRANSLOCAL SCALAR POSITIONING OF XERENTE LANGUAGE RESOURCES

PHOTO: PRINTSCREEN ON MARCH 2015.

FIGURE 17 - TRANSLOCAL SCALAR POSITIONING OF XAVANTE LANGUAGE RESOURCES

PHOTO: PRINTSCREEN ON APRIL 2015.

In these translocal scalar jumps, indigenous language resources, which from a traditional view would have to be fixed in local events of interaction in order to full functional performance, acquire through social media not only a chance of recognition by wider audiences, but mainly new possibilities of movement and spreading, and consequently

of expansion of their uses. This phenomenon, according to Jacquemet (2016, p. 338), is made possible because the several possibilities of sampling and recontextualizing content in virtual environments, and in that process adding new semiotic elements, even if they are indigenous "bits of language" (BLOMMAERT, 2010).

4. Final Remarks

In this work, I sought to present sociolinguistic elements that show how appropriation of infrastructures of globalization by indigenous groups and individuals has generated possibilities to make visible indigenous peoples themselves and their historical and contemporary demands and agendas and, with regard to language practices, how this appropriation has given rise to new transidiomatic communicative environments in which indigenous language resources are used productively, challenging ideologies which undoubtedly predict as evil the effects of geocultural globalization to indigenous languages.

This appropriation does not occur out of power relations, nonetheless. The speedy flow of languages resources and texts also increases and intensifies the otherness clashes that constantly reaffirm a pattern of racially hierarchical power, in which indigenous peoples and their subjectivities, identities, contemporaneities and also their communicative resources are publicly denied or challenged.

With regard to communication practices performed with indigenous language resources, the clashes at higher translocal sociolinguistic scales occur primarily by a wider naturalization of language ideologies that, on one hand, do not allows conceptualizing mobile individuals and communicative practices within the limits of an utopic Nation-state and, on the other hand, subsumes deviant and historically marginalized individuals and linguistic practices. This ideology can be illustrated, for example, by indigenous profile names blocked on Facebook in the United States in 2015, simply because their indigenous names did not fit the company's standards[7]; or even by the translation "request" made by a non-indigenous individual in Brazil as a comment to a post employing indigenous language resources and targeting an indigenous audience, also in 2015 (Figure 18).

296   Signótica, Goiânia, v. 29, n. 2, p. 269-301, jul./dez. 2017

Nascimento, A. M. do. Globalization in the margins: toward elements for a...

Figure 18 - Monolingual and hierarchic ideology on Facebook

nătô trom tu (30/04/2015) nã za têsto, azană aipâ aisim ktâprezu kâr
pibumã. Arê Akwe skuwa wasi waihkã kwaba, aisimã wasku kba mõnõ!

Curtir · Comentar · Compartilhar

👍 4 pessoas curtiram isso.

traduz menino!

3 de abril às 12:17 · Curtir

Photo: printscreen on April 2015.

The monolingual ideology associated with the idea of hegemony
of the Portuguese language in Brazil is probably what causes the
strangeness and the request for translation into Portuguese by the non-
indigenous interlocutor. Not translating his text, the indigenous user
assumes a counter-hegemonic attitude, consistent with Anzaldúa's
powerful criticism, according to which minoritized peoples "no longer
feel that we need to beg entrance, that we need always to make the
first overture – to translate to Anglos, Mexicans and Latinos, apology
blurting out of our mouths with every step. Today we ask to be met
halfway" (ANZALDÚA, 1999, p. 20).

This monolingual ideology, reinforced by modern foundations
of sociolinguistics of distribution (BLOMMAERT, 2010, p. 8), has
nevertheless shown its limits in the field of language studies, making
room for new theories and linguistic ideologies that are concerned with
concreteresources, or bits of languages, or even of literacy practices,
which together form complex linguistic repertoires employed in real
practices. In this direction, the sociolinguistics of mobility has allowed
the understanding that such repertoires, since that they are intrinsically
linked to speakers' life trajectories, become more and more complex
and often apparently truncated in contexts of diversity generated, in the
cases discussed here, by the colonial difference.

Even considering the cultural complexity and the identity politics
in which indigenous peoples move nowadays, deny their cultural and
linguistic mobility and their appropriation of globalized resources that
impact this mobility, for whatever reason, is once again deny their

contemporaneity, the same strategy used for over five hundred years to position them in a pastperformatively built by modernity/coloniality and where, it appears, the traditional Western based language studies want to keep them in their thoughts, even by that ones most well-intentioned.

Globalização nas margens: elementos para uma sociolinguística da mobilidade desde experiências indígenas

Resumo

Este artigo analisa, desde abordagens da sociolinguística contemporânea e de estudos decoloniais, como a apropriação de infraestruturas de globalização por povos indígenas tem gerado novos meios de interação através dos quais podem tornar visíveis suas demandas atuais, assim como tem criado novos ambientes de interações transidiomáticas. A análise enfoca elementos discursivos do rap e de postagens e comentários em redes sociais nas quais são produtivamente usados recursos das línguas indígenas. O principal argumento é que saltos escalares translocais são possibilitados por esta apropriação de infraestruturas de globalização que pode ter efeitos potenciais positivos na vitalidade linguística dos povos indígenas.

Palavras-chave: Globalização, infraestruturas de globalização, povos indígenas, Práticas transidiomáticas.

Globalización en los márgenes: elementos para una sociolingüística de la movilidad desde experiencias indígenas

Resumen

Este artículo analiza, desde enfoques sociolingüísticos contemporáneos y descoloniales, como la apropiación de la infraestructura de la globalización para los pueblos indígenas ha generado nuevos medios de interacción que pueden hacer visibles sus demandas actuales así como ha generado nuevas formas de interacciones transidiomáticas. El análisis se centra en elementos discursivos de rap y de mensajes publicados en las redes sociales en las que se utilizan productivamente recursos de las lenguas indígenas. El argumento principal es que los saltos escalares translocales son posibles gracias a esta apropiación de infraestructuras de globalización con potenciales efectos positivos sobre la vitalidad lingüística de los pueblos indígenas.

Palabras clave: Globalización, infraestructuras de la globalización, pueblos indígenas, Prácticas transidiomáticas.

5. Notas

1 Available in: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IBafJlZxT6s>; retrieved on August 2015.

2 Also addressed in Nascimento (2013; 2014).

3 See   <http://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2015/03/20 politica/1426888546_164934.html>, retrieved on April 2015.

4 The campaign was launched at the end of 2012 in solidarity to Guarani Kaiowá people who in a public letter announced the extermination of their people by agribusiness representatives. The letter had great repercussion in the press and in social media and immediately motivated millions of users to share the hashtag #SouGuaraniKaiowa and to add Guarani Kaiowa to their profile names.

5 See <http://radioyande.com>, retrieved on March, 2017.

6 These communicative situations were more broadly discussed in Lucena and Nascimento (2016).

7 See: <http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/gadgets-and-tech/news/ native-americans-blocked-from-using-facebook-when-using-fake-indigenous-given-names-10038142.html>, retrieved on September 2015.

References

AIRES, Kellen. Mídias digitais e ativismo: a etnomídia e o poder político dos indígenas nas redes sociais e internet. Panorama, n. 2, 2014. Disponível em: <http://network2013.wixsite.com/panorama2014/ativismo>. Acesso em: 24 jul. 2017.

ANZALDÚA, Gloria. Borderlands/ La Frontera: the new mestiza. 2. ed. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999.

BLOMMAERT, Jan. The sociolinguistics of globalization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Signótica, Goiânia, v. 29, n. 2, p. 269-301, jul./dez. 2017

Nascimento, A. M. do. Globalization in the margins: toward elements for a...

299

_____. The conservative turn in Linguistic Landscape Studies. Research on alternative democratic life in Europe, 2016. Disponível em: <https://alternative-democracy-research.org/2016/01/05/the-conservative-turn-in-linguistic-landscape-studies/>. Acesso em: 24 jul. 2017

_____ et al. Further notes on sociolinguistic scales. Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies, 2014. Disponível em: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/29c9/36bf43 93ba8ad712153f5a4669e6c22c55dc.pdf>. Acesso em: 24 jul. 2017

DANGL, Benjamin. Rapping in Aymara: in Bolivia, hip-hop music and culture are becoming key parts of a larger liberation struggle. Upside Down World. Sep. 2006. Disponível em: <http://upsidedownworld.org/archives/bolivia/rapping-in-aymara-bolivian-hip-hop-as-an-instrument-of-struggle/>. Acesso em: 24 jul. 2017.

IVKOVIC, Dejan; LOTHERINGTON, Heather. Multilingualism in cyberspace: conceptualizing the virtual linguistic landscape. International Journal of Multilingualism, v. 6, n. 1, p. 17-36, 2009.

JACQUEMET, Marco. Transidiomatic practices: language and power in the age of globalization. Language and communication, 25, p. 257-277, 2005.

_____. Language in the age of globalization. In: BONVILLAIN, N. (Ed.). The Routledge Handbook of Linguistic Anthropology. London: Routledge, 2016. p. 329-347.

LIMA, Antonio Carlos de Souza. Prefácio. In: OLIVEIRA, Bruno Pacheco. Mídia índio(s): comunidades indígenas e novas tecnologias de comunicação. Rio de Janeiro: Contracapa /LACED, 2014. p. 9-10.

LUCENA, Maria Inêz Probst; NASCIMENTO, André Marques. Práticas (trans)comunicativas contemporâneas: uma discussão sobre dois conceitos fundamentais. Revista da Anpoll, v. 40, p. 46-57, 2016.

MIGNOLO, Walter. D. Local histories/ Global designs: coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

_____. D. The darker side of Western Modernity: global futures, decolonial options. Durham/ London: Duke University Press, 2011.

MOITA LOPES, Luiz Paulo. Como e por que teorizar o português: recurso comunicativo em sociedades porosas e em tempos híbridos de globalização cultural. In: _____ (Ed.). O português no século XXI: cenário geopolítico e sociolinguístico. São Paulo: Parábola, 2013. p. 101-119.

MUFWENE, Salikoko S. Colonization, globalization and the plight of 'weak' languages. Journal of Linguistics, v. 38, n. 2, p. 375-395, 2002a.

_____. Colonisation, globalisation, and the future of languages in the Twenty-first century. International Journal on Multicultural Societies, v. 4, n. 2, p. 1-48, 2002b.

NASCIMENTO, André Marques. Ideologias e práticas linguísticas contra-hegemônicas na produção de rap indígena. Signótica, v. 25, n. 2, p. 259-281, 2013.

_____. O potencial contra-hegemônico do rap indígena na América Latina sob a perspectiva decolonial. Polifonia, v. 21, n. 29, p. 91-127, jan./ jul. 2014. Disponível em: <http://periodicoscientificos.ufmt.br/ojs/index.php/polifonia/article/view/1285/1440>. Acesso em: 24 jul. 2017.

QUIJANO, Aníbal. Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina. In: LANDER, Edgard (Ed.). La colonialidad del saber: eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales. Perspectivas latinoamericanas. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2000. p. 193-238.

SASSEN, Saskia. Sociologia da globalização. Translation Ronaldo Cataldo Costa. Porto Alegre: Artmed, 2010.

TLOSTANOVA, Madina; MIGNOLO, Walter D. Learning to unlearn: decolonial reflections from Eurasia and the Americas. Columbus: The Ohio University Press, 2012.

WANG, Xuan et al. Globalization in the margins: toward a re-evalution of language and mobility. Applied Linguistics Review, v. 5, n. 1, p. 23-44, 2014.