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ADVERTISING IN WOMEN'S MAGAZINES. CASE STUDY: *COSMOPOLITAN*

This paper intends to explore the mechanisms of advertising, starting from *Cosmopolitan* magazine, one of the most important women's magazines worldwide. Thus, the analysis is based on an issue of this monthly publication and aims to illustrate the manner in which the advertisements of the magazine persuade the readers through their narrative, through photography or through language. After outlining briefly these advertising elements, our study includes a practical approach so as to reveal how they are used in several advertisements from *Cosmopolitan*.

Introductory aspects

Advertising has become a major aspect of our lives, although we are not conscious of its intrusion. We come across advertisements when we watch TV, when we listen to the radio, when we read a newspaper or a magazine and even when we walk on the street and our eyes meet them on the tower blocks or simply on pillars. However, it does not matter where they appear because they have the same structure and, undoubtedly, the same purpose. Thus, advertising is integrated in our existence and meanwhile we are swept into its net, by letting it *seduce us* in John Keane's terms: "Advertising deadens the nerves of civil society. It seduces citizens into using and discarding some things and into disregarding others." (1991: 85)

In the era when books, paintings or music no longer appeal to the individuals, they find the perfect refuge in advertisements, a "homogenous global art" (Pop 2008: 1). Mihai Zdrenghea insists on this aspect, perceiving advertising as a "popular culture" (2013: 63), which serves the interests of the consumerist society. Therefore, the major aim of any kind of advertisement is that of convincing people to buy the products which are advertised in order to satisfy their needs, even the non-existent ones. Jean-Michel Adam outlines the tendency of advertising to seduce the public, by projecting additional needs. Hence, advertisements influence the psychology of the individuals, aiming to convert them into consumers of a pre-established way of life or of thinking.

Every effort to promote a product has as its main purpose social and economic triumph. The former was discussed above and refers to the ability of a product to appeal to people, consequently gaining more and more *partisans*, while the economic success is related to competitiveness on the market. Hence, when a company promotes a product also aims to make the audience choose their product

(in a women's magazine as the one brought to discussion: lipsticks, perfumes, hair dye, cream etc.) instead of those produced by other brands. This double target can be obtained through "persuasive communication" (Zdrengea 2013: 68), through the way in which the advertisement succeeds in getting to the readers. Several aspects need to be taken into account: the way in which the narrative/the message is built, the role of the images or language itself. Through all these elements, advertising not only speaks about consumption, but it becomes an expendable object. Before starting the analysis of *Cosmopolitan* in terms of advertising strategies, it is essential to describe briefly what the above mentioned elements consist of, so as to point out what will be outlined in the following analysis.

Regarding the narrative, it seems to be omnipresent in television advertisements, but also in the printed ones. The main difference is that in printed version an advertisement involves more the readers' imagination and allows them to make speculations. Thus, the readers become part of the story. Generally speaking, people tend to be more opened to establish a connection with a particular product when there is a story that lies behind. Advertisers know this fact and take advantage of it. For instance, in television advertisements advertisers play with time and convert two or three minutes into an unforgettable story involving characters and a conflict that appeals to the viewers, making them able to correlate the advertised facts with their own existence. Mihai Zdrengea highlights the advertisers' tendency to offer stories in fragments so as to consolidate the connection between the consumers and the product: "advertisers prefer the serialized story when the same product is presented by the same characters" (2013: 69). People do not see just a product, they witness a way of life and they are also given the chance to adopt the evoked story, by just buying the advertised product.

In addition, another element which is worth taking into account when discussing an advertisement is the use of photography. Every advertising campaign is based on photography because images are *records of life*, which create an immediate connection with the readers and influence the maintenance of their interest, determining them to purchase that particular product in the end. As Vasile Sebastian Dâncu (2009) claims, the image is a rhetoric procedure, complementary to the metaphorical language. The emotions that arise in the public are essential for a successful image and implicitly for a successful advertisement. Various strategies need to be exploited so as to make the images of advertisements accomplish their mission: framing, angle of view, focusing or colour. By paying attention to each of these aspects, an advertisement can succeed in resonating with the readers.

Furthermore, when conveying a message which attempts to influence people, language plays an important role. The *umbrella-term* when considering the language of advertisements can be *loaded language* (Zdrengea 2013: 122), even though there is a significant aspect that distinguishes it, that is its *material goal*. People are induced to assign products and even a lifestyle that does not appeal to them because the products represent the new trend. Thus, we witness a change of opinions and of

attitudes, as individuals are bombarded with the “culture of the new” (Pop 2008: 2) and attempt to become its slaves. Advertisements do not have recourse to large sentences or to long words because the target is not to bother the reader or to make him get lost among rows, without being entirely convinced that the product is worth, but to attract him immediately. Hence, as Gillian Dyer suggests, it is very important to use words that grab the attention of the public and short sentences, without getting into details. The aim is to allure the public, to wake up lasting emotions by including a wide range of *adjectives*. Mihai Zdrengea offers an outline of the advertisements’ language, focusing on their main characteristics: “advertising language is generally informal and colloquial. Sentences are usually simply constructed and short. Imperative clauses are frequent (...) the tone is jocular, even disingenuous, the grammar is abbreviated and disjointed” (2013: 109). Concerning the syntax, nominalization is essential, as well as the prevalence of noun phrases, having as premodifiers comparative or superlative adjectives. Through connotation the role of the reader/viewer is amplified, as he is invited to find to guess what lies behind the words of a metaphor or behind a pun and to give his own interpretation.

The persuasion of women customers in *Cosmopolitan*

After having reviewed briefly the main aspects that have to be taken into account when dealing with advertisements, we now turn to the case study of *Cosmopolitan* magazine. Published for the first time in the US at the end of the 19th century, it has spread around the world and has changed its profile in time, being converted into a successful women’s magazine. The main purpose of the magazine is to allure women, by discussing aspects related to fashion, celebrities, beauty, relationships or entertainment, all of them bringing to the surface the image of the “independent women capable of earning their own living, and being sexually adventurous.” (Zdrengea 2013: 80) Making a target from what women seek, the magazine combines articles on the previously mentioned themes with attractive advertisements. If women obtain long-term pieces of advice regarding their body image, their spare time or their sexual and emotional life by dint of the articles, the advertisements are perceived as a source of immediate happiness, by exploring *goods* and by subsidiarily convincing women that they are able to adopt the particular lifestyle that they portray, starting with the acquisition of the advertised products.

The pursuit of the advertisements in the magazine reveals the promotion of a wide range of products, including lipsticks, hair shampoo and other hair care products, body care products, perfumes, chocolate, jewellery and watches, underwear and clothes, or even cars and gadgets. I will attempt to analyse some of the advertisements related to the themes above, focusing on the manner in which they are built so as to persuade people to buy them. Therefore, this paper will refer to the narrative of advertisements, to the choice of photography and also to language, outlining also the tendency of the advertisers to explore eroticism, sensuality or glamour in order to fulfil their aims.

Firstly, the advertisements concerning lipsticks promote brands like Dior, Chanel or Max Factor. Each of them tries to present the product in an original manner, resorting to celebrities, to feminine figures with perfect lips, to smiles or simply to memorable slogans which, as Delia Cristina Balaban (2009) argues, represent the essence of the advertisements in concise, short statements, establishing the interaction with the customers.

For instance, (*Cosmopolitan* 2005:283) involves a narrative and the viewer can reach this conclusion from its message: “a new velvet sensation”. This means that the consumers are accustomed with the *velvet sensations* offered by the brand, but advertisers want to challenge their expectations by creating a *new one*. Here intervenes the “culture of the new” mentioned in the Introduction, which enhances the connection between people and products. The *new* lipstick has to be purchased because it represents the new trend, the new item that distinguishes stylish women from the others. The colourful image plays an important role in conveying the message because its “transitivity” (Adam 2005: 92) enhances the involvement of the possible customer. Thus, we can identify a close shot of a woman with closed eyes who occupies the entire page. Lighting influences the atmosphere created by the image. Coming from the bottom right corner, it aims to emphasize the focus on the woman’s lips, which, undoubtedly, bear *the new Dior lipstick*. The camera shot is from eye-level angle, making the image seem more natural. The name of the brand is placed in the top left corner, while the miniature image of the lipstick (in contrast with the face of the woman) occupies the bottom right corner. The language used by the advertisers is also relevant for persuading the customers: “Dior ROUGE VELVET. A new velvet sensation. 6 shades, exceptionally radiant and sensual.” There can be identified short sentences, focusing on suggestive adjectives such as “radiant” or “sensual”. By using capital letters, the advertisers want to emphasize its recentness. The ideas of mystery and glamour (closed eyes, make-up), which appeal to women, are revealed also through language, by using the word “shade”. The insistence on the brand is also important for influencing the audience as there are four main references to it on the same page, including its logo on the lipstick. Hence, customers are reminded that they benefited by the product in the past and that there is no better option for them on the market.

Moreover, the advertisements related to shampoo or to other hair care products are relevant for the process of persuading the customers. Therefore, we come across eye-level shots of charming women, smiling, being proud of their look and eager to share it with every customer that resonates with the product. Images, narratives or language are also suggestive for this resonance. The main brands to which the advertisements refer are: Herbal Essences, Sunsilk, Garnier, Schwarzkopf, L’Oréal, Pantène or Head & Shoulders. Each of the advertisements presents the impressive effects of the product on the object of improvement (that is the hair) and on the woman using the product. Thus, advertisers exploit satisfaction, aiming to wake up this feeling in the consumers. The exploitation of satisfaction goes hand in

hand with eroticism and sex appeal to which advertisements currently require in the pursuit of more users and of profit, as it is claimed by Mihai Zdrengea (2013). This is the case of the advertisements which promote the Herbal Essences products (shampoo and conditioner) or the Sunsilk ones (hair dye). However, the exploitation of sex-appeal does not lead to the objectification of women, as in the case of other advertisements.

Concerning the Herbal Essences advertisement (*Cosmopolitan* 2005:38), it cannot boast about a pre-existent narrative because it is built through the speculations of the customers, from the moment seeing the product. The “culture of the new” is still present (“New Rainforest Flowers”), but the focus is on the effects that the product may raise among the women who use it: “Tonight unbottle your wildest fantasies”. The chosen image is taken from the eye-level, portraying a sensual woman in the middle of nature, smelling the *rainforest flower*, which represents the new essence of the brand. Lightning seems to spread from the flower itself, emphasizing the image of the healthy hair. Hence, the image becomes an imperative addressed to women to enter the paradise provided by the product. As to the language, once again it appeals to the customers’ interest. The allusions to eroticism are obvious from the slogan in capital letters “Tonight unbottle your wildest fantasies, being further present in the detailed description of the product (several imperatives): “Make a date with Herbal Essences/ Step out with sensually beautiful hair”. The key words that make sex-appeal obvious are: *tonight, fantasies, date or sensually*. Advertisers resort to these elements as they are convinced that the pleasure woken up by sexual suggestions or by a naked body will resonate with the public, serving their purposes.

Sex-appeal is also exploited in the Sunsilk advertisement for hair-dye, a two-part advertisement. If readers reach page 293 of the magazine, they will come across a suggestive image, portraying three protagonists and a conflict that appeals to the potential customers: the cheating groom (*Cosmopolitan* 2005: 293). If they turn the page, they will see a different scenario for advertising another colour of Sunsilk hair-dye: the cheating widow (*Cosmopolitan* 2005: 295). The theatrical manner in which facts are exposed highlights another important aspect related to advertisements - humour, especially black humour - which helps to grab the attention of the customers. Even the intentional play with the hair colours is remarkable in this way. These advertisements definitely use the *shock effect* and violate norms in order to appeal to the readers. The focus is once again on the product’s ability to transform (“unexpected results”): this is why *the brunette* housemaid makes the groom kiss her in the first part of the advertisement and this is why *the blonde* widow makes the priest kiss her at the funeral. The shock effect is reflected not only by the image, but also by language. Therefore, the advertisers use capital letters and adjectives such as “unexpected” in the slogan: “INTENSE BRUNETTE. For unexpected results / INTENSE BLONDE. For unexpected results.”

Furthermore, although it may seem unconventional to include cars or gadgets in a women's magazine, *Cosmopolitan* does it because these products serve its main purpose, that of promoting the strong and independent woman. A car, a mobile phone or a camera are essential for a woman who aims to compete with men in all fields. For instance, a car induces the idea of power, becoming a requisite accessory for a woman.

A suggestive advertisement which emphasizes this image of the woman is related to *the New voice-controlled Ford Fiesta* (*Cosmopolitan* 2005:150/151). Thus, the woman who drives a car of this sort develops a process of taming and can play the role of the *boss*. A boss-subordinate relationship is evoked, where the car is definitely the subordinate: "Obeys when spoken to (unlike most blokes)". By introducing the additional comparison in brackets, the advertisers point out in a jocular manner the differences between men and cars so as to reveal the outstanding characteristics of the new car model. The image is relevant for persuading the customers due to its exploitation of contrast (black vs. white) and of shadows, which point out on the one hand the slogan "Obeys when spoken to (unlike most blokes)" and on the other the car. The "culture of the new" is present in this advertisement too, aiming to allure the public. Regarding the language, it is also simple and clear, but unlike other advertisements that were previously discussed, a longer description is included. Hence, the customers are offered details with regard to the car's new functions. By resorting to these strategies, the advertisers succeed in illustrating the originality of the new car and in appealing to the customers.

Conclusions

As shown in the present analysis, advertisements from *Cosmopolitan* resort to different techniques in order to fulfil their purpose, that is the persuasion of women customers. The latter ones are convinced to adopt a certain point of view, in the advertiser's attempt to make them purchase that particular product (lipstick, shampoo, watch or car in our review). In other words, they are manipulated, they are *seduced* and the main weapons of this seduction are the hinted captivating narratives which challenge the women's power of speculation, the attractive images (*lively, colourful*), idealized descriptions of the product and *models of identification* for the individual, as well as the rhetoric language, which resides in memorable slogans or in short sentences, subsidiarily aiming to explore the figurative sense of words. The references to eroticism, to glamour or to women's authoritarian position and the formatting pattern (the writing style - usually in capital letters, the position of the image or of the text etc.) serve the same purpose and illustrate once again how beautiful are the lies told in the advertisements' discourse. Alluring lies for an audience that has lost the ability to discern between appearance and essence, answering to projected needs and using, as Vasile Sebastian Dâncu (2009) claims, its already existing tastes in a pragmatic manner.

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THE INFLUENCE OF LANGUAGE DISTANCE ON THIRD LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: CURRENT RESEARCH

Introduction

Considering that second language acquisition (SLA) is still not a completely understood phenomenon, the area of third language acquisition (TLA) faces even more challenging questions. Yet, the rising need of knowing several languages in educational and professional contexts influenced a growing interest in areas such as multilingualism and TLA. More specifically, cross linguistics influence (CLI), as a field on its own, is focused on the interplay between languages in the mind of the speaker. Topics such as language distance, language dominance and the roles of background languages are thoroughly examined.

As the area of SLA is focused on the transfer of a first language (L1) on the second one (L2), the process of acquiring a third language (L3) implies the influence of two possible language systems. Most of the studies (Meisel 1983, Williams and Hammarberg 1998) have focused on the L2 status, as it is perceived as a very important factor in TLA. However, in recent years, much importance has been given to the genetic distance of background languages, and to the role of typology on TLA. The purpose of the present paper is twofold. It gives a review of the research which has been done so far in the area of typological distance. Next, it addresses the under-explored aspects of the phenomenon and suggests further research on the topic.

Third Language Acquisition

The area of TLA was given much attention in recent years. Even though it has been shown that the process of acquiring a L3 is essentially the same as the SLA (Sharwood Smith 1994, Gass 1996), there are also some opposing views. According to Clyne (1997: 113) the acquisition of a L3 is a more complicated process when compared with SLA, which has only one language system as a linguistic source. This is precisely the topic of CLI research, as it is concerned with the organization of prior linguistic knowledge and its influence on a target language. Understandably enough, the field of CLI takes a slightly complicated turn in comparison to SLA. Not only does L1 influence L2, but L2 also has an impact on L3. It is also crucial to mention that the effect can also go in a reverse direction. Gessica De Angelis (2007) also lists some of the factors affecting non-native language influence, such as language distance, recency of use, and order of acquisition.

Jessner (2008: 18) defines a third language as the language a speaker has come into contact with during her/his lifetime. On the other hand, other scholars prefer using the term L3 for a third language being learned. Moreover, Jessner suggests a typology of L3 learners according to the order and age of language acquisition. The examples according to Jessner (2008) are the following: children growing up with three languages from birth; bilingual children learning a L3 at school at an early age; and bilingual migrant children moving to a new linguistic environment (2008: 19). Moreover, not only are there many types of learners, but also routes of acquisition differ. Cenoz (2000) proposed four types of acquisition order, and those are simultaneous acquisition of L1/L2/L3; consecutive acquisition of L1, L2 and L3; simultaneous acquisition of L2/L3 after learning the L1; and simultaneous acquisition of L1/L2 before learning the L3.

Observing from a developmental perspective, scholars mostly focus on underlying cognitive mechanisms during the process of acquisition. Aside from language acquisition the focus is also on language maintenance, loss and attrition. However, highly researched aspects of the area of language acquisition are cross-linguistic influence (CLI) and effects of bilingualism on additional language learning. On one hand, some studies confirm that bilingual children ended up being more accomplished in the acquisition of English language (Cenoz 1991, Cenoz and Valencia 1994, Muñoz 2000, Errasti 2003). On the other hand, there are studies (Cenoz 2003) which have found mixed results in terms of effects of bilingualism on TLA. Still, scholars still support the claim that there are positive effects in regards to language learning strategies and metalinguistic awareness, among others.

Cross-linguistic influence

The field of CLI used to focus on the influence a L1 has on the second language being acquired. This is due to the assumption that native language is the only source of interference. However, the area of TLA required a more thorough research as the sources of influence are L1 and L2. Moreover, many studies have confirmed that both native and non-native languages can have an effect on each other (Cenoz 2001, Hammarberg 2001, Möhle 1989, Ringbom 1987, 2001). More precisely, scholars have attributed different roles to background languages in the process of TLA. Based on some studies (Hammarberg and Williams 1998, Hammarberg 2001) it has been shown that learners rely on their native language as an instrument for pragmatic and metalinguistic purposes, while their L2 is used for lexical storage.

Therefore, TLA as a field focuses on understanding the potential roles of all native and non-native languages in the process. One of the hypotheses of TLA is that learners are more likely to use L2 as source of information than the L1. Various studies (Ahukanna, Lund and Gentile 1981, Bartelt 1989, Hufeisen 1991, Cenoz 2001, Wei 2003) have shown that L3 learners rely on the L2 linguistic system. This inclination can be described in terms of *foreign language effect*. According to Angelis

et al. (2011), the foreign language effect is the tendency to label the L1 as a 'non-foreign' one, and therefore only utilize foreign languages as an aid in the process of acquisition.

Furthermore, the source of influence can be predicted by language distance. According to Cenoz (2001), languages that are typologically closer are more likely to influence each other. Many studies have also confirmed that psychotypology is one of the main sources of influence on a foreign language acquisition (Singleton 1987, Möhle 1989). Moreover, Ringbom (2001) notes that L3 learners will mostly rely on words from a L2, if that language is closer to the target one and shares a wide range of cognates. One of the possible explanations can also be found in the Universal Grammar. More precisely, Rothman (2010, 2011) introduced the *Typological Primacy Model* which argues that typological proximity is the primary factor in TLA. This claim entails that the order of acquisition is irrelevant for the L3 influence, and that both L1 and L2 can potentially be a source of influence depending on the language distance.

Typological Distance: Lexical, Morphosyntactic and Phonological Level

The terms *language distance*, *typological distance* and *psychotypology* are used interchangeably for the same concept in CLI. However, mentioned synonyms slightly differ from the perception of different scholars. Based on this inconsistency, Falk and Bardel (2010) suggested a classification of the concept with three possible connotations. The terms used are *language proximity/distance*, *psychotypology* and *typological similarity* (Solís 2015). Angelis defines *language proximity* as a "distance that a linguist can objectively and formally define and identify between languages and language families" (2007: 22). According to Cenoz (2001), it is an important source of influence in the lexical aspect of TLA. Moreover, in his study (Cenoz et al. 2001), he suggested that L2 and L3 have a closer relationship due to the typology.

Aside from the actual language distance, Kellerman (1983) and De Angelis (2007) mention the perceived language distance or *psychotypology*, which would imply the subjective perception of the individual on the typological closeness or distance of languages in the mind. Furthermore, there may be certain similarities between languages which are not genetically related. These similarities (*typological similarities*) can also be perceived by the learners as a language family closeness (Odlin 1989, De Angelis 2007).

The studies mostly focus on the lexical aspect of language typology influence. In the research studies conducted by Cenoz (2001) with Basque/Spanish bilinguals acquiring English as a third language, typology had a high influence. This was apparent in the lexical aspect, whereby learners mostly relied on Spanish, as English is also influenced by a high amount of Latin borrowings. Furthermore, a study by Pinto (2013) confirmed that in the case of native Arab students, their L2 (Spanish or French) was most often used as a source of lexical influence for the Portuguese as a L3.

Moreover, the innatist perspective has been very influential for the explanation of language distance in TLA. More specifically, the Universal Grammar (UG) proposed by Noam Chomsky (1965, 1986), argues that all the languages have a common underlying grammar which needs to be discovered in order for an individual to master a language. In recent years, two approaches arose which explain the morphosyntactical influence on a third language (L3). The *Cumulative Enhancement Model* (CEM) was proposed by Flynn, Foley and Vinnitskaya (2004), and it argues that any previous language can be a potential influence on a L3. On the other hand, Rothman (2010, 2011) claims that the typological distance is one of the major contributors for the selection of a language which will have a high influence on a L3. This approach is referred to as the *Typological Primacy Model* (TPM). His recent studies support his hypothesis of the importance of language distance (Rothman and Cabrelli Amaro 2010, Rothman 2013).

In contrast to the lexical and morphosyntactic levels of typology which have been of much interest, the studies on phonological aspects are currently lacking. This is potentially due to the fact that phonology is one of the most difficult aspects to acquire, especially in case of adult learners. Moreover, Cenoz (2001) states that learners usually retain the foreign accent influenced by the native language, or the first language (L1) in the case of bilinguals.

Yet, the importance of knowing several languages on a daily basis is a necessity in today's society. This need also requires a higher understanding of the phenomenon, as well as understanding the developmental stages one goes through in hope of reaching an almost-native proficiency. Exploring areas of cross-linguistic influence and foreign language acquisition in depth can aid not only scholars, but also help multilingual education and the practice of teaching a foreign language. In order to foster a foreign language acquisition, raising awareness is an essential point for learning through discovery, and therefore enabling a person to be an independent learner.

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EXPLORING THE JACOBSIAN SIDEWALK BALLET IN CONTEMPORARY BATTERY PARK CITY

Introduction

The patterns of modern urban development dramatically transformed the built environment of American cities following the Second World War. The resulting monotonous and decentralized cityscapes, land use segregation and the lack of commercial and residential density along with the complete disappearance of an active streetscape inspired Jane Jacobs' ground-breaking work, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) (Fowler 1987: 367). Working empirically and focusing on the functions and the uses of the basic urban elements, Jacobs described the ways in which vibrant neighbourhoods and cities work by introducing new concepts and principles to the various fields of urban studies that ensure social and economic vitality.

In this essay, I apply Jane Jacobs' concept of sidewalk ballet which, as the most essential element of the Jacobsian theory, functions as a prerequisite for the successful development of a diverse urban neighbourhood. Considering her ideas, I examine the streetscape of contemporary Battery Park City in order to find out the ways in which the sidewalk life of the neighbourhood supports the realization of the Jacobsian sidewalk ballet. My data collection methodology draws on Lev Manovich's (2015: 1) proposition that "user-generated media shared on popular social media services "open up amazing opportunities for the study of contemporary visual culture and urban environments". Thus, I used data acquired from popular social media sites such as Google Street View and Yelp to analyze the presence and workings of the public facilities Jacobs desired.

The Jacobsian paradigm of successful urban experience

The Jacobsian paradigm of urban experience is based on her concept of diversity of place that is grounded in the physical features of the built environment and the permanent presence of sufficient number of people, who, with their everyday habitual routines, support the proliferation of urban neighbourhoods, thus transforming urban spaces into diverse lived places (Seamon 2013:151).

Rooted in the simple messiness and spontaneity of the taken-for-granted daily life, this urban diversity generates and is nurtured by a comprehensive place

structure that Jacobs called a sidewalk ballet. Jacobs (1961:50) defined the complex order of her urban place ballet in the following way:

Its essence is intricacy of sidewalk use, bringing with it a constant succession of eyes. This order is all composed of movement and change, and although it is life, not art, we may fancifully call it the art form of the city and liken it to the dance [...] to an intricate ballet in which the individual dancers and ensembles all have distinctive parts which miraculously reinforce each other and compose an orderly whole. The ballet of the good city sidewalk never repeats itself from place to place and in any one place is always replete with new improvisations.

Thus, as Seamon (2012:143) explains, Jacobs' vision of sidewalk life highlights the woven structure of the predictable and unpredictable daily actions, situations and experiences of residents, workers and passers-by that by transforming the space into a lived place reflects a particular character, identity, ambience and styles of human attachment. Subsequently, the formation of a unique sense of place motivates the participants of the sidewalk ballet to take responsibility for the urban space (Seamon 2012:143).

Accordingly, the primary engines of the Jacobsian diversity are the urban sidewalks that she referred to as "the most vital organ of cities" (Jacobs 1961: 29), and the continual unstructured sidewalk ballet (Jacobs 1961: 29). Drawing on the rich system of pedestrian movements, situations and encounters, Jacobs argued that an essential peculiarity of a successful city neighbourhood is that its sidewalks should ensure neighbourhood safety, foster interactions by bringing people together and to assimilate children into society. Subsequently, she distinguished three essential qualities that the streets of successful neighbourhood must possess. Firstly, "there must be a clear demarcation between what is public space and what is private space" (Jacobs 1961: 35). Secondly, "there must be eyes upon the street, eyes belonging to those who we might call the natural proprietors of the street" (Jacobs 1961: 31). Thirdly, "the sidewalk must have users on it fairly continuously, both to add to the numbers of effective eyes on the street and to induce the people in buildings along the street to watch the sidewalks in sufficient numbers" (Jacobs 1961: 31). This network of voluntary and unconscious public surveillance can be established only when people have reasons to use the streets and when they enjoy being engaged with urban street life. As Jacobs (1961: 37) describes it, "a lively street always has both its users and pure watchers", and thus a fundamental prerequisite for such public surveillance is the presence of stores, enterprises, bars, restaurants and other public places along the sidewalks that are used not only during the day but preferably during the evenings and nights as well (Jacobs 1961: 36). These diverse types of facilities provide people with concrete reasons to use the sidewalks and to crisscross paths (Jacobs 1961: 36). Moreover, as Jacobs (1961: 37) argues, storekeepers and the owners of public facilities as "proponents of peace and order" and "self-appointed public characters" (Jacobs 1961: 68) watch and guard the sidewalks

persistently (Jacobs 1961: 37) and are in frequent contact with a large number of people on a daily basis, know the latest news and share them generating public sidewalk contacts (Jacobs 1961: 68). Subsequently, this "social structure of sidewalk life" (Jacobs 1961: 68) is constantly generated by the presence and movement of people who use and unconsciously police the sidewalks making it attractive for other people as well (Jacobs 1961: 37). Since sidewalks are public spaces bringing together strangers, the Jacobsian concept of unconscious general street surveillance and order can arise only when trust is formed "over time from many, many little sidewalk contacts" (Jacobs 1961:56) resulting in a "feeling of public identity of people, a web of public respect and trust, and a resource in time of personal or neighbourhood need" (Jacobs 1961:56).

Exploring the Jacobsian sidewalk in Battery Park City

Starting from the northern section of Battery Park City, Chambers Street is a tree-lined street that is bordered by two school buildings, P.S. 89 Elementary School and the Stuyvesant High School. The latter has its entrance on Chambers Street, generating heavy pedestrian circulation primarily in the form of school trips, especially during the mornings and early afternoons. Furthermore, Terry's, an overly popular deli located on the corner of Chambers Street, attracts students and teachers of the nearby high school, but it is also praised by the residents of the area, as one regular expressed that "Stuy [Stuyvesant] students love the place so expect some crowdedness during the lunch hours and afterschool. It's a really convenient place to grab drinks in the summer" (Terry's 2016). Another client claims that she loves Terry's as it is only a few blocks away from her house, and that being a regular means that "they finish my order before I can even say it, they know me so well" (Terry's 2016). Thus, I contend that both its popularity and the frequent contact between the employees and the regular customers presume the realization of the Jacobsian idea of fostering contacts. Moreover, since the deli is open every day between 6am and 12am, Terry's supposedly facilitates significant pedestrian presence in the area.

Another public place that I would like to point out as a facility that can enhance the Jacobsian sidewalk is the Le Pain Quotidien, a restaurant at River Terrace. Overlooking the Irish Hunger Memorial and the Esplanade, the restaurant is a highly popular amenity among local residents, workers of the Financial District and tourists as well, as crowdedness is the most frequent complaint. Based on submitted reviews, the facility is used as a favoured breakfast spot primarily by the residents of Battery Park City during the rush hours; it is visited by office workers due to its close proximity to the companies of the Brookfield Place (Le Pain Quotidien 2016). Following lunchtime until 7 pm when the restaurant closes both on weekdays and weekends, Le Pain Quotidien attracts locals, tourists or New Yorkers who wish to enjoy the Hudson waterfront. Subsequently, the facility generates significant and permanent pedestrian presence that is intensified by the popular

outdoor area. As the reviews about the restaurant suggest, the place has many regulars resulting random contacts favoured by Jacobs and a familiar staff, as one visitor expressed that "eating at this PQ [Le Pain Quotidien] is the closest it gets to eating at home. The wait staff is great and remembers me when I arrive..." (Le Pain Quotidien 2016).

Along North End Avenue, that is the main street of this section, public facilities and cultural facilities provide the sidewalks with constant surveillance and spontaneous contacts. I would like to emphasize Battery Park City Gourmet Market, which, being open 24 hours every day, is one of the most visited delis in this section of the neighbourhood (Battery Park City Gourmet Market 2016). Additionally, a Duane Reade can be found a few blocks away and one of the campuses of Asphalt Green is also located in this area.

The landscaped and residential northern part of the North End Avenue ends when it narrows at Murray Street and arrives at the busiest section of the North Residential Neighbourhood that is dominated by the more bustling financial hub. As Jason Sheftell (2012) noted, the opening of the luxury hotel The Conrad, sponsored by Goldman Sachs, contributed significantly to the animation of a vibrant sidewalk life in Battery Park City especially with its bar and restaurant atrium. Even though the hotel has its entrance on North End Avenue, the atrium can be reached from the Murray and Vesey Streets and it is dedicated to entertainment, dining and shopping facilities. In an article written in 2012 about the impacts of the hotel on the neighbourhood, Sheftell (2012) reports that the atrium is a favourite spot of the locals and notes that three Danny Meyer restaurants surround the hotel, including a Shake Shack, Blue Smoke and North End Grill. Financial District's favourite Harry's Italian is also part of the mix. On a recent Friday afternoon, the bar Blue Smoke was packed. Shake Shack had a small wait with all outdoor tables taken.

Blue Smoke, North End Grill and Harry's Italian open around lunchtime every day and populate the area until around 11 pm when the facilities close. As regards sidewalk life, I would argue that Shake Shack is the most important as it overlooks Murray Street, attracts large crowds of people and provides outdoor seating, enlivening the area even during late hours. One customer states that "the place is popular" (Shake Shack 2016) and that "we went at an off time, and it was still crazy busy, so expect that, I think most times" (Shake Shack 2016), while another says that "on a recent Saturday I passed by this location and was pleased to find that the line wasn't winding out the door. There's a plenty of outdoor and indoor seating, and it's in a great area" (Shake Shack 2016). Furthermore, the block adjacent to The Conrad and its atrium is owned by the leading investment banking firm Goldman Sachs, meaning large numbers of office workers and visitors who, with their trips to the nearby restaurants and cafés, bring about heavy pedestrian presence during rush hours, especially in this area.

In the Southern Residential Section, along South End Avenue, which is the main street of the predominantly residential southern part of the neighbourhood,

stores, restaurants and other public facilities are more frequent. Cafe Express, serving breakfast, coffee and ice-cream, provides the sidewalk with 24 hour surveillance, while in the next block, two additional facilities, Gristede's, a grocery store, and Pick A Bagle, a small restaurant, offer people practical reasons to use the street during the different times of the day. Also, The Black Hound, a bar in the same block, is open between 4:30 pm and 12:00 pm, animating the nearby sidewalks during the late hours. As regards the presence of bars, Jacobs wrote (1961:41) that even though they are often regarded as dangerous and harmful places, in reality, by attracting strangers, they can work as important assets in policing the sidewalks. In my opinion, The Black Hound corresponds in several ways to the ideal, familiar and cozy public place that is described by Jacobs as beneficial for a vibrant urban sidewalk. Reviewers claim that the bar is "an upscale-yet-cozy neighborhood bar" (The Black Hound 2016) with "diverse crowd" (The Black Hound 2016) and "very friendly people" (The Black Hound 2016).

Another facility I would like to point out is SouthWest NY, a traditional Southern restaurant that is located on the corner of South End Avenue and Albany Street. Being open between 11:30 am and 11 pm on weekdays and between 11 am and 11 pm on weekends, similarly to The Black Hound, it can also be regarded as a facility favoured by Jacobs. One client states that "tucked away on a pretty, relatively quiet street in Battery Park City, Southwest has a great location" (SouthWest NY 2016) and adds that both during lunchtime and in the afternoons the place "was pretty bustling and crowded" (SouthWest NY 2016). Another regular claims that "the service is really good, the staff treats you like family... the inside place is just gorgeous and [there is] an amazing outside space for the observers or the ones just looking for some fresh air" (SouthWest NY 2016). Subsequently, as the submitted reviews suggest, the facility animates the place with its outdoor seating area, but it also populates the nearby streets, as many people access the restaurant during lunchtime from the offices of the Financial District and following their visit at the nearby 9/11 Memorial (SouthWest NY 2016).

The next block between Albany Street and Rector Place houses the Hudson Produce Inc., a grocery store which, being located on the corner, provides both Albany Street and South End Avenue with permanent 'eyes upon the street'. Adjacent to the store, the Benvenuti Pizzeria attracts diverse groups of people at different times of the day. Community facilities such as the Battery Park City Day Nursery, the Preschool of America and the Kumon Math and Reading Center of Battery Park City are also located at this section, which results in the flow of families on the sidewalks and open spaces, especially during the mornings and afternoons.

At the southern tip of the neighbourhood, both pedestrian and vehicular circulation are concentrated on Battery Place, along which Battery Place Market serves as a main pedestrian motivation to use the sidewalk. Being the only grocery store in the area, it is open between 6:30 am and 10 pm on weekdays and between 6:30 am and 9 pm on weekends. A few blocks away, Battery Park City School is

located, populating the sidewalks regularly during the mornings and afternoons. As Battery Place reaches the historic Battery Park, the luxurious Ritz Carlton hotel can be found generating chiefly vehicular traffic in the area.

Furthermore, I would like to point out that both the Museum of Jewish Heritage and the Skyscraper Museum are also located at the southern tip of the neighbourhood, attracting visitors and tourists along with the nearby National 9/11 Memorial and Museum, while the participants of the organized tours to Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty also find the area due to its closeness to the ferry terminal. Thus, being further away from the major office buildings, Inatteso Café Casano at 38 Little West Street and Inatteso Pizzabar Casano at 28 Little West Street benefit greatly from their close location to the mentioned cultural facilities, as many of their customers arrive following their trips to these cultural institutions. Based on the reviews, both amenities are favoured spots by the locals because of their quality products, service, friendly staff and nice location, and in this way contribute to the Jacobsian streetscape. As one regular expressed about the café, “[...] [t]he staff seems to know the local customers and the details of their lives”, while another added that “[it’s] crowded and a little disorganized [...] (Inatteso Café Casano 2016). Also, Inatteso Pizzabar Casano is described by visitors primarily as a crowded place, as one reviewer claims that “the fact we went after lunch and on a weekday allowed us a chance to get seated and feed in a timely manner” (Inatteso Pizzabar Casano 2016). Similarly, another guest explains that they “came here for dinner Friday evening, around 7 pm and the place was relatively packed” (Inatteso Pizzabar Casano 2016). Subsequently, I would like to conclude that the streets of this section are dominated by the presence of both tourists and local residents. While tourists animate and control the local sidewalks by visiting the local cultural institutions and then using the public facilities of Battery Park City, residents contribute to the sidewalk ballet in the area in different ways during the day. As regards mornings and early afternoons, families populate sidewalks as part of their regular trips to school, offices, bus stops and the nearby subway stations, while in the afternoon and during the weekends families enliven the area as they enjoy the landscaped streets, public facilities and open spaces.

Conclusion

Given the presence of the different public places in Battery Park City, I contend that the Jacobsian vision of lively sidewalk life can be realized in the different sections of the neighbourhood. I would like to emphasize that it seems to be the most significant in the Southern Residential Section where, especially along South End Avenue, public facilities are more concentrated. Moreover, as the southern tip of the neighbourhood is dominated by the presence of cultural institutions and important tourist destinations, aside from the local residents, the sidewalks of the area are also enlivened by the constant flow of visitors and tourists. Even though the Northern Residential Section was originally considered largely as a

residential community, the growing number of office spaces and the flourishing of popular amenities animate the surrounding sidewalks in this area as well, in this way contributing to the formation of a vibrant urban neighbourhood.

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MORAL DECAY IN CORMAC MCCARTHY'S *CHILD OF GOD*

Having a Faulknerian taste for evil and violent bizarreness, Cormac McCarthy explores the multiple facets of this theme throughout all his novels. Whether he depicts rapists, prostitutes, murderers or cannibals, most of McCarthy's characters represent instances of a grotesque aggressiveness. Lester Ballard, the central character in *Child of God*, follows the same pattern of extreme moral degradation translated in his case into murder and necrophilia. But there is something uneasy about the way in which Cormac McCarthy chooses to depict this monstrous character. Despite his dreadful deeds, Lester Ballard is not presented as a degenerate exception, but as a rather common manifestation of human nature, "a child of God much like yourself perhaps" (McCarthy 1993). Thus, just like "real Gothic fear of the monster occurs [...] when we discover that the creature is within us, or us within it" (Crow 2009: 167-168), McCarthy seems to invite the readers to discover their own inner darkness by creating a character whose moral degradation becomes a symbol of all that is rotten inside humanity.

The effect is that of a novel that frightens not necessarily through its story, but through what this particular story tells about humanity in general. Although the reader cannot identify with McCarthy's characters, because, beside their repulsive identities, they also have a "totally opaque psychology" (Greenwood 2009: 17), Erik Hage observes that the author describes Lester's harsh living conditions in great detail and immerses the reader in the intimacy of the character's suffering which encourages the reader to empathize with him (2010: 55). Moreover, as terrifying as this character may seem, Hage claims that Lester Ballard's story is not "pure horror" (2010: 55) because the author combines "a peculiar sense of levity" (2010: 55) with an "elegiac, melancholy tone [that] compellingly humanizes the killer" (2010: 55). In this context, the purpose of the novel transcends that of creating fear or shock in a traditional sense where the dichotomy of good and evil, human and inhuman is clearly defined and the reader knows exactly what to feel about each side. In *Child of God* Lester Ballard is human and inhuman at the same time, which may be McCarthy's way of suggesting that the real monsters are actually hiding within and among us. It is this humanization of the monster that makes *Child of God* more than a horror story and Lester Ballard more than just a horrific creature.

The morally corrupt character is a representative feature of Southern Gothic, which is a subgenre rooted in the Gothic literary tradition. However, although Southern Gothic is clearly the focus when discussing Cormac McCarthy's prose, in

order to fully understand the mechanism behind Lester Ballard's story and the role of such a deranged character, a brief revisit of the Gothic, with both its European and American ramifications, is needed. This way, Cormac McCarthy's novel *Child of God* can be placed within a larger context that eventually reveals not only the way in which the book represents the genre, but also the way in which it distances itself from it.

The original Gothic literature appeared in Europe in the eighteenth century during the Enlightenment, as an artistic response to the political, social, religious and technological changes brought by the industrial revolution and the "rejection of feudal barbarity" (Botting 1999: 13). In this context, the early Gothic captured the fears and the anxieties of the eighteenth century (Cornwell 1999: 38) and mocked the former sources of power, the aristocrats and the monks, by transforming them into villains living in ruined castles and churches (Crow 2009: 3-4). In time Gothic fiction borrowed Romantic elements such as "individual freedom, untamed nature, disorder, emotion, dreams and innocent childhood" (Crow 2009: 4) and found new villains, "the lawyer or judge; the schoolmaster; and the abusive scientist or doctor" (Crow 2009: 4), each representing the same idea of authority and extreme rationality. In its classical form, Gothic literature has a clearly defined plot, explained by Neil Cornwell as enveloped in a supernatural atmosphere and focusing on "dynastic disorders" set in old castles, with intrigues caused by the "defence, or usurpation, of an inheritance", where the victims are usually women who are often saved, the villains are exposed and the supernatural events are eventually resolved (1999: 39).

As far as the American Gothic is concerned, at the beginning the Americans felt discouraged by the lack of history that should have provided the subject for their Gothic writings. There were no ruined castles, no grandiose churches, and "even the landscape seemed empty and raw" (Crow 2009: 10). However, in time, the American Gothic found its own sources of inspiration in "the potent and terrifying Indian of the frontier and [...] the sexually intimidating black slave" (Snodgrass 2005: 6). Exploring taboo issues like "miscegenation, incest and disease" (Crow 2009: 1), the American Gothic gained its own identity, becoming what Charles Crow calls "the imaginative expression of the fears and forbidden desires of Americans" (2009: 1). Mary Ellen Snodgrass identifies Nathaniel Hawthorne's works *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) and *The House of Seven Gables* (1851) as the first instances in which the European Gothic tradition has been adapted in the American literature by addressing original subjects like "persecution, sin, and guilt" (2005: 7).

A subgenre of the American Gothic, Southern Gothic emerged during the twentieth century, with the dark legacy of the American South as its main catalyzer (Crow 2009: 124). Because the Civil War revealed the ugliness of the Southern society, American writers used this new perspective to depict the South in an "atmosphere of decay and despair" (Greenwood 2009: 16). Critics like Charles Crow (2009: 124) and Mary Ellen Snodgrass (2005: 113) agree that the main figure to be associated with Southern Gothic literature is William Faulkner, who made his

imaginary land Yoknapatawpha County home to “blueblood aristocrats and slaves, including a number of mulattos and octoroons, all with varying degrees of vice, criminality, insanity, and mental retardation” (Snodgrass 2005: 113). Unlike Faulkner, who conveyed a picture in which the racial issues and class distinctions of the Southern society played an important role, Cormac McCarthy depicted his bleak vision of the South by using his “interest in the elemental and eternal problem of human depravity” (Greenwood 2009: 16). Thus, his more universal focus gave birth to violent and deranged characters, ranging from bootleggers and alcoholics, to prostitutes, rapists, murderers, cannibals, all meant “to create the vision of society that is falling apart” (Greenwood 2009: 16).

Revolving around the idea of moral degradation, which is presented as a rather common feature of humanity, *Child of God* addresses a series of taboo subjects like necrophilia, incest, and cold-blooded murder, with Lester Ballard as the main representative of this violent and disturbing mixture of crimes. First introduced as “a child of God much like yourself perhaps” (McCarthy 1993), Lester Ballard is portrayed throughout the book as a social outcast, a necrophiliac, a serial-killer and a cave dweller whose gradual isolation from society coincides with his descent into madness.

Unable to carry out normal social interactions, being crippled by poverty, and having no other talent than being a good shooter, Lester withdraws from society and from normality. The moment when he discovers a dead couple in a car by accident, he also discovers the possibility to obtain something to which he would not have access otherwise. In this context, not only does he possess the dead girl, but also takes the corpse of the girl home, buys her new clothes and tries to create the impression of normalcy by transforming the initial spontaneous act into a ritual:

He sat and brushed her hair with the dimestore brush he’s bought. He undid the top of the lipstick and screwed it out and began to paint her lips.

He would arrange her in different positions and go out and peer in the window at her. After a while he just sat holding her, his hands feeling her body under the new clothes. He undressed her very slowly, talking to her (McCarthy 1993).

Moreover, after losing the house he has been living in and the dead girl’s body in a fire, he tries to re-enact this scenario, only this time by actually killing a girl. From this point on, the crimes continue with the result suggestively captured in a macabre image: “Here in the bowels of the mountain Ballard turned his light on ledges or pallets of stone where dead people lay like saints” (McCarthy 1993).

But Lester Ballard is not the only character in *Child of God* to have such a depraved behaviour. From the imbecile child biting off the legs of a bird, to the promiscuous girls of a dump-keeper that become “pregnant one by one” (McCarthy 1993) and the same man committing incest with his daughter, all the characters in *Child of God* seem to have grotesque flaws. In this sense, Lester Ballard becomes the main representative of an entire society that is falling apart.

Despite this grotesque identity which would normally place Lester Ballard in the position of the culprit unworthy of compassion, he is actually depicted as a victim, thus challenging the traditional understanding of such a monstrous character. Lester's victimization develops on multiple levels. James R. Giles sees Lester Ballard as "the naturalistic victim of historic, as well as economic, forces" (2009: 127). As the novel opens with the auction of Lester Ballard's house after which the character is left without a home, he appears to be a victim of poverty. Moreover, the multiple rejections that he experiences from the people around him transform Lester into a victim of society. His failed attempts to approach several women, among whom one falsely accuses him of rape, and the community's judgemental attitude towards him and his family, determine Lester's isolation from society to the extent that he starts living in a cave. At the same time, the character's tough existence as a whole translated into "hunger, pain, and exposure to the elements" (Hage 2010: 55) eventually make Lester become a victim of life, thus "aligning us in tenuous empathy with him," as Erik Hage (2010: 55) observes.

Consequently, the relationship between the reader and the fictional monster is challenged as well. No longer constructed in total opposition with other characters or even the readers themselves, the monster becomes part of humankind in general. This way, the readers are made to question their own contribution to the perpetuation of evil:

He could not swim, but how would you drown him? His wrath seemed to buoy him up. Some halt in the way of things seems to work here. See him. You could say that he's sustained by his fellow men, like you. Has peopled the shore with them calling to him. A race that gives suck to the maimed and the crazed, that wants their wrong blood in its history and will have it. But they want this man's life. He has heard them in the night seeking him with lanterns and cries of execration. How then is he borne up? Or rather, why will not these waters take him? (McCarthy 1993).

Cormac McCarthy's departure from a strictly Southern oriented theme is explained by James R. Giles by referring to the setting of *Child of God*. The critic claims that although the spatial and temporal coordinates of the novel are clearly defined as Sevier County, Tennessee and the middle of the twentieth century, "the text evokes a [...] sense of unreality" (Giles 2009: 108) given by the frequent erasure of the "physical and social space" (2009: 108). There are times when the idea of an imaginary, dreamlike setting developed by James R. Giles may seem insufficient to describe the universe in which Lester Ballard lives:

Going up a track of a road through the quarry woods where all about lay enormous blocks and tablets of stone weathered gray and grown with deep green moss, toppled monoliths among trees and vines like traces of an older race of man (McCarthy 1993).

In such instances, the surreal character of the setting is doubled by a mythical, ancestral sensation given by the elements of the scenery that seem to have been there since the beginning of time.

But the setting of the novel is not the only aspect that pushes the story to the very beginning of history or even out of it. Willard P. Greenwood observes that Cormac McCarthy's characters "hearken back to the Bible or Homer's epics as figures who are trying to convey something about the mysterious process of suffering the elemental realities of life" (2009: 17). Similarly, Marcus Hamilton argues that the way in which McCarthy's characters are presented as "symbolic children of God divorces their depravity from that of the real South" (2016). This way, in the case of *Child of God*, Hamilton claims that read in the "context of original sin" (2016), the main character's deeds appear "less uniquely depraved and more symbolic of a universal human capacity for evil" (2016).

The idea of universal maliciousness is reinforced throughout the entire novel. Even when the author seems to adopt a more realistic approach and introduces more or less subtle references to the dark history of the South, the purpose of capturing the evil aspects of human nature remains unchanged, since the racist past of the American Southern society is in fact one of the manifestations of humanity's violent potential. A suggestive example in this sense appears towards the end of the novel when an old man talks about the White Caps, a real negative episode from American history. Although inserting this reference to reality which at first may seem like a criticism against the South, McCarthy ends the scene by emphasizing once again the universal significance of the story. Thus, at the end of the discussion, the deputy of the county asks the old man if he thinks that people were "meaner" in the past, to which the old man answers "I think people are the same from the day God first made one" (McCarthy 1993). A confirmation to this statement comes at the end of the book, when Lester Ballard's corpse is dissected by four students "who saw monsters worse to come in their configurations" (n.d. 58-59). Thus, Lester Ballard appears again as only one of the possible manifestations of evil within the entire human race.

As it appears in the analysis suggested above regarding Cormac McCarthy's *Child of God*, moral decay seems to be used as an instrument of revealing the vision of doomed humanity. Through his novel, McCarthy goes beyond the limits of the Southern Gothic and uses the Southern society only to paint a larger picture about human nature in general, thus creating a terrifying effect which is different from the traditional horror because it shifts the attention from a monster that is outside of humanity to a monster inside of it. Although this analysis can be extended into a more detailed one, the findings presented above may open the discussion about McCarthy's other novels, as well.

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PERFORMANCE OF THE SELF, PERFORMANCE OF THE COMMUNITY IN PING CHONG'S *UNDESIRABLE ELEMENTS*

In 1877, the U.S. government tasked the Senate Joint Special Committee with investigating the flux of Chinese immigrants and issuing a report. The Committee reached the conclusion that "an indigestible mass in the community, distinct in language, pagan in religion, inferior in mental and moral qualities, and all peculiarities, is an undesirable element in a republic" (Scott 2008: 71). History shows us, through government acts and the public voice, that this view expanded to include most, if not all, immigrants, regardless of their capabilities. At the time of the report, the Chinese immigrants in America – and for that matter, all immigrants – were already the *Other*, fulfilling merely an economic need, as cheap labour for the construction of railroads. In consequence, following the report, they became the marginalized *Other*. Roughly a century later, Ping Chong created a theatre play that exposes, through personal histories, the hypocrisy of the freedom and equality rhetoric advertised in a society not ready or willing to accept the *Other*. In twenty-four years the play evolved, always changing, morphing around the community it is aiming to give voice to, still as relevant as it was in its first instalment, in 1992, and having been recreated by Chong more than thirty times so far.

As such, having Chong's *Undesirable Elements* central to the discussion – the 2000 staged play, in New York, and the 2006 scripted version –, which is placed in the context of a dual America that welcomes otherness, and at the same time rejects it, sterilizes it or quarantines it, this paper focuses on the marginal, that is, the *Other*, the *undesirable*, discussing the ways in which the marginal addresses and mediates the community and the self, by performing both its role, therefore its assigned stereotype, and its actual identity.

Belonging to the community-theatre genre, the play is based on interviews with people from one particular community or another, looking at their personal histories, going far beyond their known and experienced history, as far back as those of their grandparents and as extended as those of their cousins and aunts. In time, Chong addressed more and more specific communities, such as children survivors of sexual abuse, for example. However, for the purpose of the present discussion, the community analyzed is formed by ethnic people, whose visible ethnicity makes all those around them gratuitously adding another dimension to their Americanness. Chong's theatric strategy adds, to the audience's experience, a feeling of bona fide history, that is embodied by the identities of the performers. As such, instead of

actors playing characters with strange, desolate, isolated or stereotyped histories, it is the *undesirables* who play themselves, that is, they perform their own stories and once again, their assigned places and roles within the American society. In a 2012 interview with Jody Christopherson, for Huffington Post, Chong argues for his strategy, pointing to a definite honesty resulted as such, that has more chances to impact and produce results, at least when it comes to re-telling traumas, collective or personal:

There is a huge difference between an actor saying "if I had been in the bedroom that day when the bomb went off and killed my family, I wouldn't be here today" and knowing that the person telling you this actually experienced the event.

The witness-as-actor, where "actor" translates to "survivor", is thus urged to leap into the performance realm, in order to animate and legitimize the self, and by extension, the community which originated that self. Because Chong's subjects are also transplanted from one community to another, into the American society, it can be argued that the singular subject, with one initial identity – or, indeed, set of identities – is thus confronted with the obligation of developing yet another identity, whose performance is not even subordinated to an active participation of the individual in American society, the only requisite being the physical existence of the individual in the American space. In other words, the *Other* performs an identity which is assigned by default, and which translates to stereotypes that the *Other* is expected to embody and perform. For example, Angel, an interviewee whose story was chosen for the 2006 written version, talks about the identity assigned to her even by her friends:

Angel: The guy at the Lofty's Couscous in the Village swore I was
All: Moroccan!

Angel: Every day, people speak Spanish to me on the street and assume I know what they are saying. People never assume I'm an African-American Jew who was born in New York City and raised by white, middle-class Mennonites in Northern Indiana. Some of my friends assume that I'm only interested in the latest film by Spike Lee, the latest book by Toni Morrison, while other friends say:

Ping: "I don't think of you as black"

Angel: Do they assume that's a compliment? People who know me assume.

In dealing with such sensitive issues as racial and ethnic integration, one cannot help but wonder what the criteria are in selecting these specific people to tell their stories, and notice that there will always be a bias, even unwittingly employed, that ultimately shapes the outcome of the play, and therefore, the question of the methodology of choosing out of a pool of interviewees must be considered at all times if the story ought to be read objectively. However, it is just as important to note that Chong's choice of staging confessions and personal histories doubly

achieves Brecht's vision of a liberating, political theater that engages the audience: first, by use of non-actors who tell their own stories; second, by employing a minimalistic stage set-up. In the 2006 script version, which premiered in 2006 at Lafayette College, Chong included himself as part of the cast – the first time he had done so – thus adding up to five participants, with the rest of four having had participated in previous stages of the play. Fewer cast means more focus on each individual because the audience is not overwhelmed with dozens of stories, and the space becomes an intimate gathering of sharing pain, experiences and finding answers. Usually, there are five to seven people selected from the pool of interviewees, who will tell their stories and histories on stage. However, there still is a further, minimal intervention from Chong's part, who arranges the text and who declares, in the same Huffington Post interview: "I work so closely so with the performers so that I get the story right and that they are comfortable with the stories they share" (Chong 2012). Nevertheless, there is no denying that Chong's intervention shapes and modifies indefinitely the story and the experience of the audience. As such, even the community-based theatre, which is supposed to be a free, genuine space for and about the community, in any of its forms, is still subjected to some form of subjectivity and selection, which is, in fact, another form of performance, as the selection of interviewees, in Chong's case, is executed in order to convey a certain message and atmosphere. An example might be the chemistry between the actors and the relevance of their stories, in relation to one another.

Moreover, as to deepen the experience, and complete the veracity of the stories and of the project, Chong makes use of theatre-specific elements, such as music, light, and space – in other words, staging. As such, the 2000 production of the play, at the Ohio Theatre in New York, enhances the experience – of both the performers and the audience – by placing each performer under a spotlight at all times (barring the poetry, song and dance pieces, whose function is, of course, to validate stories). In both versions discussed in this paper – written (2006) and staged (2000) – the performers are seated in a semicircle, with the scripts readily available, at times having to read from them. On stage, the performance is interspersed with photographs that correlate with what is being uttered by the participants. For instance, in the "What do you think of...?" segment, when Tania – who participated in both instalments, in 2000 and 2006 – talks about Lebanon, a picture of a young woman – presumably her – is projected on the screen in the background. Music also completes the experience, helping the performers and the audience connect with the words and with the personal history that goes from being told to being re-lived. For example, in both the written and the staged play, right at the end of the "What do you think of...?" segment, Tania belly-dances on Lebanese pop music. In the 2000 staged performance, Patrick, born in Uganda, delivers a native tongue twister which, towards the end, becomes accompanied by tribal music and a photograph of a Ugandan sunset: one of the advantages of performance is its multi-dimensional aspect and the possibility of adding meaning to the written text.

The ethnic dimension is fully expressed in the play, starting from the very beginning, when the performers introduce themselves in their native languages, which they use throughout the play, even though sometimes the words are deliberately not translated. The refusal to translate could be considered a psychological device with the sole purpose of creating tension between the audience and the performers, thus unsettling the audience because, for a brief moment, it is the audience who becomes a performer, having to struggle to understand the *Other*. The spectators are thus transplanted into a foreign space: people speak languages they don't understand, and it is within that moment that they are perhaps the most present and most aware of the people in front of them, on the stage. The words spoken are in a few instances names of foods, which are then explained. Using native language to name dishes and then explaining what they mean, creates a comic after effect. The audience is torn from the comfort of its language by a sudden unknown word such as "fesunjun", only to find out that it is a chicken dish, thus realizing that they have been in a familiar space all along. The unknown was in fact only bearing a different name.

When someone has a name, it means that they can be addressed. If they can be referred to, then they are present in the public space. Chong stated that "It is amazing how the 'simple' act of naming oneself in public is so powerful – both to the person telling their story and to the audience bearing witness to it" (Chong 2012). As such, the beginning of the 2006 written play introduces a whole list of names, from Chinese to Iranian to Native Mexican, for example. Upon further reading, and supporting the idea of unity and solidarity among the multitude of *others* in the American space, it is interesting to learn that in all of these cultures, there seems to pervade the idea of giving meaning to names. Names thus must mean something, they must make sense within that culture, they must have a previous existence of their own. Whether it is the name of a god (Mexico – Yolihuani means "source of life"), of a famous writer (Iran – Hafez wrote *The Book of Life*), or it is meant to symbolize a characteristic or element of life (Chinese – Gum Ping means "golden harmony"), the act of naming a person is imbued with superstitions. Perhaps it is an attempt at controlling fate, somehow – name a child "harmony" in the hopes that harmony will find them. In any case, giving a child a name that truly "matters" seems to be a practice that countries and ethnicities across the globe have in common.

Even though the play is meant to deliver the personal history – and by extension, the ethnic history – of each performer, it is, by no means, composed of clusters of monologues. Along the way, the performers interact with each other, completing one another, essentially performing the inclusive characteristic of the *Other*, not as a singular individual, but as a category of people where ethnicity does not matter, because it is only defined as non-white and non-American. In the historical chronology segment of the play, the performers sometimes state the year together, as if to stand in solidarity or to emphasize their common historical

oppression in the United States. Sometimes they complete each other's sentences and sometimes still, they "play" other characters from each other's stories. In this way, they become part of each other's lives, once again emphasizing the common historical struggle and pointing to the common, simplistic identity assigned to them as a whole, thus annulling not only their individuality as entities stripped of cultural markers, but also their individuality as ethnics. Thus the performers become part of each other's histories, extensions of their ethnicities, which could be construed as a discourse on embracing diversity. It is also a sign of support: they are standing together in their personal histories and their shared one, as ethnic minorities, outcasts, the others, the undesirable elements, showing that in difference and in suffering people are united. The comment, maybe unwittingly, seems to be on the coincidence of being born into a given identity already, or perhaps within an established context that will construct one's identity, and where the individual has no control over their ancestry.

A social observation that Chong makes is rendered subtly in the "What do you think of...?" part, where language plays a very important role, as words are infused with the meaning that each individual gives. Each performer asks others "What do you think of when you hear the word...?" and each of them is asked that question related to their native country, or their parents' or ancestors' countries. For example, in the 2000 version – which has one extra person as opposed to the 2006 one –, when a participant asks "What do you think of when I say the word 'Philippines'?", some people say things like "Americanization" or "beautiful women" but there is someone who makes a personal "connection to the people of the Pacific". Whenever a crass stereotype is uttered, the whole cast participates. For instance, they equal Philippines with "Shoes, shoes, shoes!" and when asked about Tonga, they conclude: "I have no idea". The group vocalization could indicate the collective stereotype about a particular country or ethnicity, and this time the group stands together not in solidarity, but in ignorance. This is very fair, it could be said, on Chong's part, because his aim is not to demonize one community – in this case, the white American community – but to make a social comment based on objective realities. As such, it could be argued that the *Other's* performance both of the self and of the community is laid out before a heterogeneous audience, as the *Other*, meaning non-white, also assigns roles and identities to other *Others*.

Both versions of the play centre around belonging and identity. Angel – in the 2006 version – makes an insightful distinction between belonging to a place and belonging to a community, when she says that thinking of Goshen (the place where she grew up) makes her think of "being an outsider in my own community" but when she thinks of Anabaptists she thinks of "belonging to a community of outsiders", which can also be a reading of the relationship between the many *Other* and the American society. Towards the end of the play, each performer explains their view on ethnicity, nationality and identity. Some of them are scraping for parts of their cultural background: Chong paints a picture of himself carrying groceries

from Chinatown in a "red plastic bag filled with the essence of his being". Some know exactly who they are, like Saul, who, even though he is officially American, will always consider himself Mexican. The play tackles the visible ethnicity that people can't help but display. The first mention of "undesirable elements" in the 2006 version is triggered by Leyla's childhood memory. She recounts the time when, in kindergarten, a gypsy girl was bullied by other kids who pulled her hair out, and since Leyla looks like that little girl, she started making friends who were either blond or redheads, so as not to be bullied. The whole cast participates in calling out "UNDESIRABLE ELEMENT" (capitals in original), performing the voice of fear, of discrimination or, on the contrary, of support for the *Other*.

The group vocalizations resemble the Greek songs that the muses sang about heroes. They function as an objective oral history, which is what Chong intended to produce: "a highly structured oral history documentary theatre work" (2012). This oral history gains even more weight, by letting the actual people who have experienced it also deliver it, especially since some of them – for example Patrick, in the 2000 staged play – have heavy accents, which adds to the credibility and immediacy of the stories. Even though accents can create distance, because they are an obvious marker of the *Other*, they can nonetheless be employed to better express the diversity of the discriminated minorities, thus creating a space in which minorities don't see themselves as singular entities, but rather come together to voice their existence and experience. Community-based theatre is meant to be an open space, a hybrid between a confessional play and a documentary one. It gives personal perspectives of the actual people involved in specific issues.

However, a performance where the actors are not actors delivering history, but are living history itself, in flesh and bone, has more than a social function. This kind of theatre, and Chong's work in particular, as I have shown throughout the paper, have become platforms for political discourse, a way for diverse kinds of minorities to speak up, to address and to shatter the identities assigned to them, which they had to falsely perform, and to pick up new, chosen performances of their selves. Especially in these two versions of "Undesirable Elements," one witnesses community in its broad dimension, that of *otherness*, which is ultimately a vague term, malleable, that can be contracted or expanded, according to the rhetoric employed, and to the aim of its performance. Thus, the *Others*, the undesirable elements, can mean the LGBTQ community, women, women of colour, Chinese immigrants, Natives, mentally disabled, school dropouts, prisoners, and so on. In the end, otherness is a performance, both individual and collective, that defines each individual and each community, until all find their place. But some individuals are lucky to have their otherness masked by the status-quo of the place they inhabit.

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THE NARREME: FROM PAPER TO SCREEN

The narrative is a concept that permeates all artistic and even social layers. Narratives can take many forms, from banal conversation and daily banter to folklore, theatrical plays, cinematic works and video games. From paper to touchscreen, narrative plays a role in recreating experiences, perpetuating beliefs, educating, and experimenting with narration itself. Its fundamental unit, the narreme, has had a traceable evolution throughout history, yet the most radical paradigm shift it has seen is very recent, stemming from the development of the virtual medium.

The narreme is the basic, atomic unit of the narrative. It encodes the state of the narrative, marking changes along the narrative axis (Bal 1997). The narrative axis (or axes, in the case of more complex narratives) represents a dimension in which changes in the world are captured, other than world time. Regardless of measure, it quantifies and categorizes these changes in two ways: intentional or incidental axes, which represent deliberate, directed changes between world states, and coincidental axes, which represent unplanned, natural changes.

The way narratives change across media has been studied intensely in the past few decades. From the Russian Formalists who created the distinction between *fabula* and *sujet* (also known as the story-plot couplet), to Vladimir Propp's (et al.) structuralist theory of thematic narratology and Genette's (et al.) theory of modal narratology (Ronen 1990), these theories, although they focus on different aspects and present different perspectives, do converge, are not mutually exclusive, and some scholars agree that they should not be treated differently (Baroni 2007). And in modern narratology, indeed they are not.

Difficulties arise, however, the more narratives stray from the textual medium. Modern narratology struggles to extrapolate the rigid, almost dogmatic, text-based definitions established for written narratives to other media where narratives persist and prevail. Ultimately, narratives do not change in nature, as much as they do in their expression. Theatrical scripts are still written down, then played, and so are movie scripts. Even video game scripts act the same. Yet the different expressions raise several arguments among certain groups, such as ludologists' arguments against narratives in video games, or game theorists' adaptations taken from narratology.

For the purpose of this paper, a brief diachronic observation will be made in order to outline features accumulated throughout history, accompanied by brief

synchronic observations for comparison. Shifts within concepts such as performativity, narreme delivery, narrativity, world building, authorial status and cognitive involvement will be detailed using material from each medium or genre discussed. The first medium in which narratives were expressed is the oral medium, as part of oral culture (folklore, traditions, etc.) and propagated cultural values and knowledge. Narratologically speaking, the oral medium is marked by instability, since oral narratives that are not recorded tend to change over time. Authorship is often unclear, while the predominant narrative mode is telling rather than showing, leaning on diegesis. Mediacy is created by a storyteller, who actively delivers narremes to an audience. The audience is cognitively involved via imagination and through visualising the descriptive passages in the narrative. Narremes are actively instantiated by the storyteller, and passively by the audience. The setting may or may not be described, and characters are not static, but may change, along with the narrative, from one instance of storytelling to another, indeliberately.

Oral narratives, for various reasons, have been transposed to the textual medium. One of the main reasons was the preservation of the narratives as they were, with credit given where it was due. Thus, the textual medium has brought the following additions to what concerns narratives and narreme delivery: there no longer was a need for a physical narrating instance, narrative rights instead being passed on to an intratextual entity, hence the passive narreme delivery, but active instantiation (through reading).

In those days, in those far remote days, in those nights, in those faraway nights, in those years, in those far remote years, at that time the wise one who knew how to speak in elaborate words lived in the Land; Curuppag, the wise one, who knew how to speak with elaborate words lived in the Land. Curuppag gave instructions to his son; Curuppag, the son of Ubara-Tutu gave instructions to his son Zi-ud-sura: My son, let me give you instructions: you should pay attention! Zi-ud-sura, let me speak a word to you: you should pay attention! Do not neglect my instructions! Do not transgress the words I speak! The instructions of an old man are precious; you should comply with them! (*The instructions of Shuruppag* 2001)

The implied author can exert diegetic control through a narrating instance that can be complex, taking up different points of view, voices, tones, and degrees of involvement (hetero- vs. homodiegetic). The implied reader's cognitive involvement is high due to the fact that every detail about the narrative, characters and setting is relayed through descriptors, and it is up to the implied reader's imagination to form a coherent mental image of what is told. The predominant mode is telling, or diegesis, since descriptor and narrative passages, mixed with dialogue, predominate. Authorship is reserved, authors are recorded and credited, creating stable, long-lasting narratives. Written works can be transposed to other media (theatrical, cinematic, virtual) and can originate from other media (virtual, oral, cinematic, theatrical), thus being bidirectionally transmedial. Inherently, textual narratives are

not performative. The theatrical (or dramatic) medium followed soon after, in Ancient Greece. These brought forth a plethora of narratological innovations, most notably performativity, multiperspectivity, the issue of transmedial narratology and conceptual changes. Thus, a typical, classical dramatic narrative presents the following characteristics: a linear series of narremes, lack of a clearly defined narrating instance bringing up the issue of transgeneric mediacy, narremes present and easily identifiable as descriptors within the script, characters briefly, if at all described, exposition and description relying on showing and diegesis *dia mimesos*, and multiperspectivity (worldview is relayed through actors'/characters' points of view).

CHORUS singing

Ten livelong years have rolled away,
 Since the twin lords of sceptred sway,
 By Zeus endowed with pride of place,
 The doughty chiefs of Atreus' race,
 Went forth of yore,
 To plead with Priam, face to face,
 Before the judgment-seat of War!
 (Aeschylus 1998: 6)

The setting is described by the author in the script, usually briefly, along with the characters. This is then transposed into the real world as props on the stage, and costumes and makeup worn by characters, through which the implied author communicates with the implied audience, trading narrative accuracy for cognitive involvement. The narratives themselves are delivered by the implied author to the first tier of narratees (actors in this case) through the script (passively), and by the actors to the second tier of narratees (the audience) through acting (passively). Narreme instantiation is done passively, by watching the play develop, yet it is not done so through a conventional narrator, but rather through a bifunctional actor, which takes both the role of a character and that of a narrator (see Greek Chorus, or stage managers). These actors tread the line between intra- and extradiegesis, interacting directly with both the audience and characters. As the entire narrative is performed and written to be performed, it is considered performative by nature. Plays are written by dedicated playwrights, authorship being reserved. Oral, written and other narratives can be adapted for theatrical performances, but theatrical performances are usually confined to their medium, being considered unidirectionally transmedial.

The next step in the evolution of narratives once again aims to address shortcomings with the previous medium. Namely, it aims for a better representation of the setting, characters and narrative coherence than what the dramatic medium allowed. The cinematic medium thus retains features similar to the dramatic one, with a few notable differences: the bi-functional narrative agent is replaced by a

more complex audiovisual narrating instance (the first example of a non-language based narrating instance), much higher fidelity in setting reproduction (*mise en scene* or arranging the setting in front of the camera), temporal fidelity (i.e. daytime is realistically reflected in the rendition, so is night time, time passage, etc.). Other features from the dramatic medium are exaggerated, such as the lack of cognitive involvement and eliminating the need for a live performance. The narrative and actor performance is recorded and replayed whenever the audience is willing to review it. The setting is created with Computer Generated Images (CGI) in order to improve immersion.

Narratologically speaking, narreme delivery is done actively through the actors' performances, and passively through the script itself. Narreme instantiation, authorship, transmedial portability, narrative mode and performativity are inherited from the progenitor medium. The narrating agent is different in that it relies on narreme delivery through points of view and musical elements rather than language-based narration.

It wasn't, however, until the emergence of the digital era that narratives took a different turn. Compared to previous media, immersion and involvement lie at the foundation of virtual narratives. Here is where the greatest paradigmatic shift in narreme manipulation takes place. Among the innovations brought by the virtual medium are: the bifunctional role of the implied audience (which takes the role of 'player'), the involvement of the audience in the narrative, shared authorship, presents various degrees of narrativity (across genres and games), no fixed narrative instance, even higher fidelity in the representation of the narrative world, alternation and incorporation of ludic sequences and narrative or cinematic sequences and spatial narration (storytelling through elements of the setting).

Narremes are subjected to a paradigmatic shift. They exist in both their usual, pre-generated status (i.e. predefined, waiting to be either acted, read or otherwise accessed) and in a potential state, through the input of the "player" agent. The "player" agent can assume authorial powers within the world, generating narremes by: creating or triggering an event, making a choice, taking an action, creating a character, modifying the setting, etc. Thus, narremes are instantiated actively, by the audience, through cognitive involvement (decision-making or otherwise). Other features from other types of presented narratives may manifest, depending on the genre of the game.

Narratologically speaking, narreme delivery is active, through player involvement. Narreme instantiation is active for the same reason. Cognitive involvement is high, since active participation is required for narrative progression. There can be an assisting narrative instance, but part of the narration is also done through player input. There is also the case of first person games, where the player can assume the role of narrator (if the issue of mediacy is brought up), hence the double role of the implied audience. Since the player is able to create their own narrative, authorship is considered shared (with the implied author). Virtual

narratives are, by definition, not performative. However, live actors may be used to manipulate virtual characters (motion and face capture technologies, along with voice acting). Video games can be created from established narratives from other media (movies, oral culture and textual) and can also inspire the creation or transposition to other media (movies and novels). There is a mix between showing and telling modes, but the main mode of delivery is interactivity, which is novel in regards to narratology.

All of the aforementioned features have been aggregated into the table below, which serves to reinforce the argument for the paradigmatic shifts in narratological concepts across Media. To conclude, this brief analysis serves as proof that narratives have shown remarkable adaptability when it comes to emergent media, and warrants future analyses in order to better determine the specifics of these adaptations.

Medium	Oral	Textual	Dramatic	Cinematic	Virtual
Narreme Delivery	Active	Passive	Passive-Active	Active-Passive	Active
Narreme Instantiation	Passive	Active	Passive	Passive	Active
Cognitive Involvement	Medium	High	Medium	Low	High
Narrating Instance/Agent	Physical Narrator	Complex Narrator	Bifunctional	Audiovisual	Mixed
Implied Audience Functionality	Listener	Reader	Spectator	Spectator	Bifunctional
Authorship	Unclear/ Unreserved	Reserved	Reserved	Reserved	Shared
Performativity	Partial	No	Yes	Yes	No
Transmedial	No	Bidirectional	Unidirectional	Unidirectional	Bidirectional
Predominant Mode	Telling/ Diegesis	Telling/ Mixed	Showing/ Mimesis	Showing/ Mixed	Interactivity

Fig 1 - Reference Table

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INTRA-CULTURAL HOMOPHOBIA: LGBT+ CHARACTERS WITHIN THE CHICANO COMMUNITY

The visual media has played an important role in increasing awareness about the lives of several different categories of people living in America; from immigrants to locals, varying in gender, sexuality, ethnicity, religion and race. I will be focusing on the representation of sexual and racial minorities on television and in movies, basing my analysis on the impact of culture on the acceptance of said minorities. My essay will follow three LGBT+ Chicano/a characters and their journey of coming out to their families, as well as the reasons to why they are not accepted. The characters that I will be analyzing are Santana Lopez (*Glee*) and Michael Green (*Gun Road Hill*), each representing a different LGBT+ category. Through the analysis of said characters, my aim is to prove that LGBT+ Chicano individuals are being discriminated against by their own community, being faced with both intra-cultural homophobia and internal colonization.

Moreover, my focus will be on presenting the way in which LGBT+ Chicano/a individuals are unaccepted by their family (first or second generation immigrants), taking into consideration different aspects: culture, spiritual belief, sex and age. It should be noted that there are different variations of disapproval towards newer generations of LGBT+ Chicano/a, some individuals facing more discrimination than others. For example, Chicana females are more prone to be rejected by their family due to their sexual orientation, while Chicano males are more unwilling to accept the “deviant” aspect of their children’s sexuality. Also, my analysis will include the idea of internal colonialism and intercultural homophobia within the Chicano community, arguing that LGBT+ Chicano and Chicana individuals are internally colonized and sexually discriminated by their own community.

The decision to base my paper on television and movie characters is motivated by the fact that they represent the reality within the Chicano community, and will serve as examples for my theoretical basis. I believe that visual media, as opposed to literature, reflects these situations more accurately due to the use of individuals as visual aid, causing the audience to associate more with the characters. Visual characters can illustrate a more compelling image of the double colonized and internalized homonegativity, portraying the message of racism and homophobia that Chicano individuals have to face directly through real people. I do not deny that literature conveys a powerful image of the Chicano community, but I believe that in

today's time the portrayal of such issues with the help of visual aids and real people makes a stronger impact, potentially educating the overall community.

Theoretical background

Firstly, I will give a definition of the terms that I will be using throughout my paper, more specifically the terms Chicano and LGBT+. According to the Merriam Webster dictionary (2015), Chicano or Chicana refers to an individual residing in the United States that has parents or grandparents that emigrated from Mexico. On the same explanatory note, LGBT+ is a common abbreviation used for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and other sexually and gender diverse individuals, as part of a community. Although the community is quite diverse, my focus for this paper will be on lesbian, gay and transgender Chicano/a characters, as well as their Chicano family's reception of their sexuality. In the case of my chosen characters, each represents a different category of LGBT+ individuals; Santana Lopez is a lesbian and Michael Green is gay and transgender.

Secondly, I will be clarifying the notion of internal colonialism, as it is relevant to my analysis and explanation as to why the Chicano community does not accept sexually diverse individuals. Starting with the definition of internal colonialism, I would like to point out that I will be providing the traditional definition of the term, but will be interpreting it from a queer point of view. In Charles Pinderhughes' view, internal colonialism represents "a geographically-based pattern of subordination of a differentiated population, located within the dominant power or country" (2011: 236). Thus, in a traditional sense, we could give the example of the Chicano population living in the United States (the dominant country).

In this manner, I would like to treat the definition in a different approach, from a queer perspective. If the Chicano population is an internal colony of the U.S., I would like to view the LGBT+ community as being an internal colony within the Chicano population. In a way, both examples can be viewed as the same process, a "differentiated population" (the queer community) is located within the "dominant power" (the Chicano community). Due to homophobia, the LGBT+ population results in a "systematic group inequality" (Pinderhughes 2011: 236) by the dominant power in the form of discrimination in all aspects, such as public safety, employment or health.

Lastly, I will be speaking about the notions of intra-cultural homophobia and homonegativity, which will be central terms in my analysis. Intercultural homophobia refers to the hatred of queer individuals and their society in the context of one's culture; in my papers, the Chicano culture. David Foster writes about intra-cultural homophobia in regards to the Chicano culture, and explains that it stems from the "defense of Chicano manhood" (2005: 140). Foster analyzes homophobia in the Chicano community through the literary works of Michael Nava and his gay fictional character, Rios, and brings into discussion the story of marginalization that Rios has to face due to his sexuality (2005: 140).

Moreover, the author suggests that homophobia in the Chicano community comes as an attack to one's manhood, and gives the examples of the father who did not accept his son's sexuality because he did not fit into the father's ideals of masculinity (Foster 2005: 140). What Foster is trying to say is that intra-cultural homophobia stems from the inability of Mexican and Chicano men to accept any deviation from heteronormativity due to the culture's high level of masculinity and patriarchal views. In the author's views, homophobia in the Chicano community is "bound up with maintaining an 'authentic' ethnic identity" (Foster 2005: 153), resulting in homophobia starting within the family and continuing with the rest of the community.

In addition, homonegativity works approximately in the same manner. Homonegativity describes "all possible negative attitudes towards homosexuality" (Mayfield 2001: 54), and focuses mainly on negative attitudes towards the individual and the societal ways of living of the queer community (Mayfield 2001: 54). Thus, homonegativity goes beyond the reflection of one's sexuality, including queer society and way of living, which is an important aspect in my analysis due to the character's inability to accept not only one's sexuality but also their lifestyle choice. Weber believes that in some cases LGBT+ individuals might even experience internal homonegativity, resulting in internalizing the negative attitudes towards the queer community and in "negative views of self" (2001: 32).

Character analysis

Taking into consideration the theoretical background that I have provided, the second part of my paper will focus on identifying and analyzing the provided terminology in two television characters and one movie character. Firstly, my focus will be on the gay and transgender character Michael Green from the movie *Gun Hill Road*. The issue with this character is that his father refuses to accept the fact that his son is transitioning to become a woman, which he believes to be an insult to his own manhood.

At this point, I would like to bring into discussion a study by Gregory M. Herek & Milagritos Gonzalez-Rivera on the Latino community and their views on sexual diversity, specifically targeting U. S. residents of Mexican descent and their attitudes towards homosexuality. They state that former studies in the field have brought up the theory that homosexuality has been viewed as disgraceful among the Latino community, and more specifically in the Chicano communities of the United States (Herek and Gonzalez-Rivera 2006: 122). The study concluded that males were more intolerant towards other gay men than towards lesbians, while females were more intolerant towards lesbians than towards gay men (Herek and Gonzalez-Rivera 2006: 128).

This is the case at hand in the movie; Michael's father cannot come to terms with his son's sexuality and gender, which leads him to become verbally and physically violent with his son. Instances of abuse include the father cutting

Michael's long hair in an attempt at making him masculine again, while repeatedly telling Michael that "you're a man, not a woman" (Green 2011). The father believes that he is defending his son by telling him "I love you, I'm not going to let you do this to yourself" (Green 2011), which reflects the patriarchal views that the father possesses in relation to gender and sexuality. He believes that Michael is ruining his life by transitioning because being transgender is unacceptable in their community and being Chicano and transgender is unacceptable in the U.S. Also, the father refuses to accept any of his son's interests if they do not have masculine connotations, and verbally abuses him when he rejects his father's offers to sporting events. One such instance is when Michael reveals that he is not interested in baseball anymore; this occasion leads to Michael's father getting aggravated as his son's new interests and calling Michael's friends "faggity ass friends" (Green 2011). This leads to Michael's father telling him to "talk to [him] like a man" (Green 2011), again attaching his son's gender and sexuality.

This constant attack towards one's masculinity brings in mind Hofstede's study about femininity and masculinity in different cultures. Hofstede claims that cultures with a high acceptance of masculinity tend to be less accepting of homosexuality, and includes Mexico as being one of the least tolerant countries in relation to homosexuality (Hofstede 1998: 165–166). Also, Sherrod and Nardi (qtd. in Herek and Gonzalez-Rivera 2006: 122) bring up the fact that Latino males were more predisposed to opposition against sexual diversity than Latino women, and that the Latino community in general is more overt at expressing their disapproval towards the LGBT+ community as opposed to non-Hispanics and African Americans. In a way, the father feels that Michael's sexuality and gender is a direct insult to his own masculinity, due to what the community will think of him if they found out that Michael is transitioning to become a woman. One example of this instance is when Michael's father finds out about his son refusing to use the boy's bathroom, to which his concern was "what does this say about me" (Green 2011), as opposed to what it means to Michael.

Thus, Michael is experiencing multiple levels of discrimination; he is internally colonized by his community for being a queer Chicano, a trait that is considered deviant within the community, while at the same time experiencing intra-cultural homophobia and homonegativity that first starts within the family (his father), and eventually leads to the outside community (the school). The story of Michael has all the more impacts if we consider the fact that the actor playing him is also a Chicano transgender woman, and is ultimately telling the story of her own life. This detail might also influence the public's reception of Chicano gay transgender individuals struggles in their day to day lives, while at the same time having to deal with the homophobia stemming from their own community.

Secondly, I will be analyzing the case of the lesbian Chicana character, and the way in which her immigrant family assimilate the news of her sexuality. As previously mentioned, the Chicano community – and mainly the older generations –

does not accept their familial or community members to go beyond the gender binary or heteronormativity. I will be discussing the case of Santana Lopez (*Glee*) and the way in which her lesbian sexuality was rejected by her Mexican grandmother. This case, as I will discuss, involves Christian beliefs and the concerns of facing the rest of the Chicano community as primary reasons for rejecting the sexually diverse characters.

Moreover, referring back to Herek and Gonzalez-Rivera's study, the participant's sex was not the only factor that was taken into consideration; the study also targeted religiosity and traditional gender attitudes. Thus, the religious factor played an important role in analyzing Chicano attitudes towards the LGBT+ community, and resulted in a higher intolerance towards said community for Chicano/a individuals that frequented religious services more than once a week (Herek and Gonzalez-Rivera 2006: 128). Also, Chicano/a individuals who supported traditional gender roles were more likely to present higher intolerance levels towards gays and lesbians (Herek and Gonzalez-Rivera 2006: 129).

This is the case of Santana Lopez and her grandmother; the woman's spiritual beliefs, as well as her concern about the community's reception, prevent her from accepting Santana as a lesbian. Santana's grandmother's reply to her coming out is to tell Santana to leave her house immediately, adding that she never wants to see her again because it was "selfish of [Santana] to make [her] uncomfortable" (Murphy, Falchuk and Brennan 2012) and that "the sin isn't in the thing, it's in the scandal when people talk about it" (Murphy, Falchuk and Brennan 2012). At this point, Santana is faced with homonegativity from her grandmother, stemming from her religious belief and also the potential "scandal" that comes with being a lesbian Chicana. Santana is, as in the case of Michael Green, internally colonized due to her sexuality by a member of the Chicano community. Due to the dominant influence of religion within the Chicano culture, Santana's sexuality is being rejected even by her own family; leading the viewer to believe that community is more important than family, in relation to the topic of sexuality.

Thus, by refusing to accept her granddaughter as a lesbian, Santana's grandmother is applying intra-cultural homophobia as well as internal colonialism; she is representing the Chicano community that refuses to accept any sexual diversity within the Chicano culture, regardless of the individual. Santana is thus faced with discrimination directly from her grandmother, but also indirectly from the Chicano community – it being a major influence in the grandmother's decision to distance herself from her granddaughter. Santana is constantly reminded by her grandmother that, in the religious views of the Chicano culture, her love for another woman is a sin and that "girls marry boys, not other girls" (Murphy, Falchuk and Brennan 2015). Her grandmother also refers to Santana as being a "disappointment" (Murphy, Falchuk and Brennan 2012) because she does not adhere to the socially acceptable way of heteronormativity, which is considered standard in the Chicano community.

Gloria Anzaldua speaks about this issue, about how Chicano women are expected to have a greater commitment to the system of values than men (1998: 1018), and how being a lesbian goes against her native culture because, in the views of the Catholic Church, one chooses to be queer (1998: 1019). Thus, Santana goes against her culture by being a lesbian and not being able to conform to what is socially expected of her as a Chicana woman. This is ultimately the reason why her grandmother does not accept her as a lesbian; due to the cultural values of the Chicano community and the Catholic Church's influence of their culture.

All in all, LGBT+ Chicano/a individuals face constant discrimination from their families and their own communities due to their sexuality. Homonegativity towards LGBT+ individuals stems from the cultural and religious beliefs of the Chicano community, and their unwillingness to abandon their traditional views in favour of the progressive views of today's times. Although the examples from my paper do not reflect all Chicano individuals' experiences, they do reflect a reality within the LGBT+ Chicano community and how they are faced with intra-cultural homophobia and internal colonization due to their culture's high intolerance towards sexual diversity.

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