

‘BAÍA DOS TIGRES’ AND ‘MONGÓLIA’. MEETING THE OTHER IN EX-CENTRIC TRANSATLANTIC LOCALES

‘Baía dos Tigres’ y ‘Mongólia’: Encuentro con el otro en locales transatlánticos excéntricos

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This article is a comparative analysis of *Baía dos Tigres* (1999) by the Portuguese writer and journalist Pedro Rosa Mendes and *Mongólia* (2003) by the Brazilian journalist and writer Bernardo Carvalho. Written about Africa and Asia respectively, these travel narratives emphasize the pursuit of the Other in an attempt to overcome alterity, exoticism and a Eurocentric vision framed in the current discourse on Transatlantic Literary studies. *Baía dos Tigres* narrates the route crossing the African continent from the coast of Angola to Mozambique in 1997 and represents an attempt to overcome the colonial and ethnocentric ideology underlying the hierarchy of difference and racism. In *Mongólia* the reader is in touch with the recurrent Eurocentric position of a Western perspective of the exotic East, where the postcolonial Brazilian viewpoint does not reflect a critical intercultural dialogue as an alternative to the global epistemological structure. In this narrative there is the representation of irreconcilable forms of diversity that privilege cultural differences culminating in a search for social identity as well as an individual one. Both novels are examples of Transatlantic Literary Studies where a contact zone comes from different points of departure and arrival. Both reveal transatlantic visions of different and distant ex-centric locales, Africa and Asia. The search for the Other and for his own identity is common to both novels yet it arises from different perspectives and emphasizes different alterities.

Keywords

Pedro Rosa Mendes, Bernardo Carvalho, Baía dos Tigres, Mongólia, Transatlantic literary studies, cultural identity

Este artículo es un análisis comparativo entre *Baía dos Tigres* (1999), del escritor y periodista portugués Pedro Rosa Mendes, y *Mongólia* (2003), del igualmente periodista y escritor brasileño Bernardo Carvalho. Sobre África y Asia, respectivamente, se revelan como narrativas de viaje que enfatizan la búsqueda del otro en una tentativa por superar la alteridad, el exotismo y una visión eurocéntrica, encuadrándose en el discurso actual sobre los estudios transatlánticos. *Baía dos Tigres* narra la ruta (en 1997) a través del continente africano desde la costa de Angola hasta Mozambique y representa una tentativa de superación de la ideología colonial y etnocéntrica subyacente a la jerarquía de la diferencia y el racismo. En *Mongólia*, el lector está en contacto con una posición eurocéntrica recurrente de una perspectiva occidental del oriente exótico, donde el punto de vista brasileño poscolonial no refleja un diálogo intercultural crítico como una alternativa a la estructura epistemológica global. En esta narrativa existe una representación de formas irreconcilables de diversidad que privilegia las diferencias culturales culminando en una búsqueda de la identidad social, pero también individual. Ambas obras son ejemplos de estudios literarios transatlánticos desde una zona de contacto proveniente de diferentes puntos de partida y llegada. Ambas revelan visiones transatlánticas de lugares excéntricos diferentes y distantes: África y Asia. La búsqueda del otro y de su propia identidad es común a las dos obras, pero surge de diferentes perspectivas y enfatiza diferentes alteridades.

Palabras clave

Pedro Rosa Mendes, Bernardo Carvalho, Baía dos Tigres, Mongólia, estudios literarios transatlánticos, identidad cultural

One of the times he told me about his travels around the world, I asked him where he wanted to go and he told me that he was looking for a point of view. I asked him: "To look at what?" He replied: "A viewpoint where I'm no longer in the field of vision".

Bernardo Carvalho. *Nove noites*, pp. 148-149 (author's translation)

Finding oneself in the transatlantic Other

This article engages in a comparative analysis of two novels, *Baía dos Tigres* (*Bay of Tigers*) by the Portuguese novelist and journalist Pedro Rosa Mendes and *Mongólia* (*Mongolia*) by the Brazilian journalist and novelist Bernardo Carvalho. The two novels are travel narratives portraying Africa and Asia, very different and distant ex-centric Transatlantic locales. In both, there is a search for the Other in an attempt to overcome alterity, exoticism and a Eurocentric vision. *Baía dos Tigres* and *Mongólia* are on the border of fiction and reality as they use fictional characters and real places, situations and events. In the book, *Transatlantic Literary Studies: a Reader*, Manning and Taylor propose that the *transatlantic* literary space "represents the textual collision of the 'integral' nation and those forces –material, ideological or aesthetic– that resist or distort the authority of the national imaginary" (2007, p. 6). The term *transatlantic* provides a contact zone, a relation that in this case will decenter from the usual North American-Europe relation. We are talking about an exchange, paradoxical in this case because the Brazilian perspective assumes itself as centered. As Manning and Taylor make clear in the introduction "the autonomously secure national space –whether defined through tangible or imagined characteristics– is no longer a viable category of self-definition." In a world categorized by increasingly permeable borders, identity can no longer be based on soil or land, but rather on "migration and exchange" and "the reciprocal flow of cultures" (2007, p. 6).

Travel literature: Fiction and Reality intermingled

Travel literature, also known as literature of travel or travel writing deals with, as the name indicates, travels, journeys, quests and searches. It is, however, a genre especially difficult to define as Susan Bassnett explains "[...] the boundaries between fact and fiction in what we shall call the genre of travel writing are often hard to discern" (2013, p. XI). According to Romano (2013, p. 45) literature of travel is an interdisciplinary, intertextual genre bordering fiction, where

"experiences of real travels are (re)transcribed and transfigured, molded into chronicles and poems, literary texts [...]"

Cristovão (2002, p. 38) considers literature of travel as a literary subgenre, whose texts intertwine with History, Anthropology and fiction. Literature of travel offers the travelers' perceptions of the space and culture of the Other. The travels are not only an account of the long and difficult path but also a description of what the traveler finds worthy of telling for its novelty or rareness. For the author, literature of travel texts stands out for their acceptable literary quality, working with language resources and representation.

In the Western world travel literature is said to have begun with the most well-known and classic example of Marco Polo's description of his travels through Asia. In the Fourteenth Century, the travels were carried out for state or diplomatic reasons and later in the Sixteenth Century, travelers went for personal reasons. In the Eighteenth Century it was mainly artists, poets and scholars in general who engaged in travels. It is from the Nineteenth Century onwards that the taste for travelling in search of exotic places related to the Bible or Ancient times, for example grew. Accounts of Africa and Asia, as is the case of the novels analyzed in this article, became popular from the Nineteenth Century onwards as they are "places where human endurance is tested to its limits" (Bassnett, 2013, p. V).

Literature and travel arise as a comparative experience transgressing the conventions and frontiers of the literary. For Pierre Brunel there is no comparative literature without the contact with the foreigner: "Traveling beyond national borders is, therefore, already a comparative act" (1986, p. 5; author's translation). As Stuart Hall mentioned, due to globalization, identities are unlinked and displaced from times, places, histories and traditions. The Portuguese researcher Maria Alzira Seixo reinforces this idea by adding that

[t]he notion of travel in literature transposes the cultural, narrative and thematic aspects which were usually affected to him [the individual]; It emerges as a discursive configuration, under modalities of dominance, and at different levels of the perspectives of research, ranging from specific aspects of textuality to the more recent questions of cultural studies, and especially post-colonialism (2000, pp. 5-6; author's translation).

If we take into account Walter Mignolo's concept of "geopolitics of knowledge" (2002) a similar position is defended. The Argentine semiotician states that there is no interpretation of history from a neutral, objective position. There is always a relation to the place of enunciation, there is no universally neutral space where writing can emerge. Julia Kristeva also contributes by stating that: "[s]trangely, the alien

dwells in us: he is the hidden face of our identity, the space that ruins our home, the time in which understanding and sympathy merge. [...] The foreigner begins when the awareness of my difference arises and ends when we recognize ourselves as aliens, rebellious to ties and communities" (1988, p. 9).

The purpose of the journey is what differentiated the traditional travel from tourism as the tourist went on a personal adventure and the traveler went for a specific need. In travel literature, the difference between tourist and traveler is noted as it is referred to a subgenre "that describes the hardships and traumas of travel, as if to reinforce the gap that divides the 'true' traveler from the armchair traveler, who can only even aspire to become a tourist" (Bassnett, 2013, p. XI). Tourism is about comfort and familiarity and "shields you from shocks of novelty and oddity. It confirms your prior view of the world instead of shaking it up" (Fussell apud Bassnett, 2013, p. XII). Romano (2013, p. 35) further states that tourists nowadays cover pre-established travel itineraries ruling out risky and discomforting situations while the traveler, on an idealized adventure may also allow for his self-transformation. This is the traveler who searches for and mingles with the Other and through this experience may even find his own identity as in *Baía dos Tigres* and *Mongólia*. Otherness becomes two-fold and may be experienced by the traveler towards the native or by the native towards the traveler. Edward Said sees orientalist exoticism as a construction by the West of a stereotyped imaginary of the Orient (2004). Our travel writers, Pedro Rosa Mendes and Bernardo Carvalho reveal an attempt at proximity and comprehension of the Other's culture similarly to Benjamin's definition in *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (1935), later developed by Meireles (1980) explaining that the traveler's look tends to "culturize" the visited land and experience its "aura".

Writers of travel literature or literature of travel have as their aim to encounter the Other and their culture, eventually witnessing and experience their way of living: "[...] but always the object of their gaze is a culture different from their own. Travel writing has built into its very existence a notion of otherness" (Bassnett, 2013, p. X). By meeting and getting to know the Other and describing it to the reader, the author also searches for and redefines his own identity:

Writing about other places, other contexts, involves writing (albeit implicitly) about one's own context, about oneself. Hence all travel writing exists in a dialectical relationship between two distinct places – that designated by the writer and perhaps also by readers as "home", and that designated as the cultural other. (Ibidem).

In the late Twentieth and Twenty-First centuries and partly due to globalization, shorter distances and cheaper travelling, travel literature has become so popular that it is an "object of study in its own right" (p. XIII). On the back cover of *Baía dos Tigres*, José Eduardo Agualusa writes: "Portugal needed a book like this one. A book capable of justifying a common past of world travels and of renovating the so-called literature of travel. In this case, great literature" (1999).

Literature of travel embodies subjectivity and is self-reflexive so it may be said that the cultural difference is not a stable "exotic otherness; self-other relations are matters of power and rhetoric rather than of essence" (Clifford, 1994, p. 14). *Baía dos Tigres* and *Mongólia* present different ways of constructing otherness. Both portray the attempt to bring together two different and distant worlds and reveal that subjectivity in the search for the Other. The notion of difference is present in both through the intercultural dialogue.

'Baía dos Tigres': lending voice to the silenced

The Bay is on the maps but doesn't exist.

Mendes, 2004, p. 307

Baía dos Tigres entails fictional stories intertwined true elements. Pedro Rosa Mendes is a Portuguese journalist who has written several reports as a war correspondent for the newspaper *Público* on various countries as Afghanistan, Angola, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe. *Baía dos Tigres*, published in 1999, is a travel narrative of the route crossing of the African continent from Huíla on the coast of Angola to Quelimane on the coast of Mozambique in 1997, covering 6000 miles and lasting for three and a half months. Since being published this exceptional travel narrative has been translated into thirteen languages and won the P.E.N. Clube Português de Narrativa (Portuguese Narrative Club) prize. As a traveler and reporter, Rosa Mendes embarks on this voyage alone and on his own free will. Although he reveals no apparent purpose for this adventure, the author gets to 'know' the local population personally and intimately, aiming at proximity and comprehension of the Other's culture. For Westerners or Europeans who live under a global neutralization, known as 'pacific coexistence' and under a private daily 'pacific monotony' Baudrillard (1991, p. 59), what Rosa Mendes is describing is the exotic: off-bounds, unknown and impervious territories and the horrors of warfare, the limits of hunger, suffering, fear, survival and death. On this voyage or better-said series of voyages where fiction intertwines

with reality, the author interviews people he meets along the way, and offers the historical and political context, going backwards and forwards in the present and past. Rosa Mendes is both a reporter and the narrator of fictional stories. He uses a mixture of direct speech and interview faithful to the local original way of speaking. Rosa Mendes writes in a literary yet realistic and sensitive way. To describe António, who takes him downriver, for example, he states "The sun, ever lower, spills honey from his hair to his shoulders" (2004, p. 24) and to define the cold inside a train traveling at night "and the metal, like the bones, stored up the cold" (p. 117). To describe the hopelessness of the population he uses "It's good to laugh at ourselves when that's the only lucidity left" (p. 85) and to show the desolation of the land "only the barking dogs testified to our existence" (p. 75).

He shows great compassion and humanity for the people he lends a voice to, all "the dead [who] stay behind" (p. 120), trapped in a surrealistically traumatized land resorting to imagination and fantasy in order to survive.

During the entire lonesome travels, the narrator is in close contact with all kinds of local individuals, from widows and orphans, soldiers and survivors, human rights officials, international aid workers, to corrupt officials. The narrator interviews and listens to these subjects he encounters along the way, interacting with them and giving them voice, without offering judgement. He lends his voice to a war-torn Africa of real lives but mostly real deaths. He describes Angola as an unsafe, unstable territory of warfare, road attacks, bombings, land-mine explosions, segregation of families, sexual assaults, epidemics, hunger, thirst, lack of hygiene and instruction, malaria and rabies. The "unhappy country" of those named using adjectives as – maimed, injured, attacked, ambushed, burnt, starved, evacuated, blind, deaf, amputated, mutilated, disabled, jobless, displaced, demobilized, on crutches, sugarcane stalks, prostheses, legless. Traffickers and refugees who "are lower than animals" (p. 279). People caught in the cycle of caring or loving and loss, between birth and war (p. 278). The Angolan interior where not one building is standing, where "death is cheap" and "... the higher price is staying alive..." (p. 282).

Although the author is well acquainted with territories devastated by war, this becomes an enriching but harsh and painful adventure. For three and a half months, Rosa Mendes lives as the Other. He travels on crowded trains with no doors, windows or seats, on buses and trucks that barely work, on bikes and boats. He carries only the bare minimum, a small backpack with his camera and tape recorder, some tinned food but not much else. The travelling is done mostly at night under extremely

difficult conditions witnessing and experiencing the cold night, hunger, thirst. Although Rosa Mendes is well used to war-stricken places, this voyage is demanding on a physical but also mental and emotional level. The author describes and feels the horrors of amputation and death due to abundant mined fields. He bears witness to immense suffering due to hunger, lack of minimum resources and infrastructures in a devastated, disillusioned and almost hopeless territory. He describes lines of villagers awaiting their turn to enter a tent and receive treatment for numbing "the phantom pain" (p. 33) of mutilated, inexistent limbs, their mouths filled with scurvy lesions. Artificial limbs are made of "a water pipe made of galvanized plastic, a strip of rubber from a tire" (pp. 69-70). It sheds a new light on the Other's broken, devastated, war-torn existence of debris and misery. A population who "have mines at the end of their crutches, grenades where hands are missing, and bombs within reach of their eyelashes" (p. 282) and where "there's nothing left over of normality" (p. 280). Rosa Mendes wants to be enriched by personally and humanly experiencing and revealing the Other's identity and diversity, getting to know the Other personally, physically, historically, culturally and geographically, as Segalen (2002, p. 18) explains "the knowledge that something is nothing than one's self; and Exoticism's power is nothing other than the ability to conceive otherwise". Attempting to leave behind all colonial prejudice or misconceptions to reconstruct the Otherness that will enrich him (and the reader) and help him find his own identity: "That identity is outspokenly expressed through the game between the *subject* and the *other*, between the diverse and the different, in a pedagogical writing where the appeal to knowing the *other* is a reassuring necessity" (Mata, 2014, p. 75). Besides exploiting the African territory and using the local population as hard labor force, one of the most important intents behind the Portuguese colonization of African territories was to impose a model of civilization originated by an ethnocentric ideology and which was foreign to the Other and ignored the Other's social and cultural identity. Close links have been maintained with the five former African colonies (among them Angola and Mozambique) and this travel novel represents an attempt to overcome the colonial, ethnocentric and Eurocentric ideology underlying the hierarchy of difference and racism. That Other who was once silenced by the colonial forces and discourses, gains a voice and becomes center-stage in *Baía dos Tigres*.

Between the Occident and the Orient – *Mongólia*¹

A gente só enxerga o que está preparado para ver.

Bernardo de Carvalho,
Mongólia (2007, p. 184)

Inquietante, o estrangeiro está em nós: somos nós próprios estrangeiros –somos divididos.

Julia Kristeva (1988, p. 190)

Bernardo Carvalho is a Brazilian writer who has been designated by Nelson de Oliveira as belonging to the “Generation 90”. This generation consists of writers born in the 1960s who started to publish in the 1990s and are inheritors of the Latin American Boom. Bernardo Carvalho received a grant from the Fundação Oriente² and Livros Cotovia to travel for two months in East Asia in 2002. *Mongólia* was published in 2003 and won the Jabuti Prize in 2004.

This book is an example of the genre travel literature and explores the theme of alterity in an intersection of perspectives between the Occident and the Orient. As the writer defends: “To me, it is essential the feeling of not belonging to a place, a certain dislocation that makes integration and recognition impossible, while allowing you to keep seeing things from the outside [...] what I always look for is this excitement of strangeness” (2007). Full of spatial descriptions and short dialogues between the Brazilian and Chinese-Mongolian people, the West is also questioned by the East in a discourse of perception and representation of the real that explores the difficulty of translating the Other culture. Different views are intersected in a discourse that reflects the civilized vs. primitive, the Western vs. Eastern. The novel starts with an epigraph from Kafka’s *A Message From the Emperor* about hopefulness and resignation, metaphysical yearning and psychological insight. It works as an introduction to the novel that is full of reports interrupted by different narrative perspectives.

The reader is in contact with a recurrent Eurocentric position of a Western perspective on the exotic Orient where the post-colonial cultural Brazilian viewpoint does not reflect a critical intercultural dialogue as an alternative to the global epistemological structure. There is the representation of irreconcilable forms of Otherness privileging the cultural differences as one of the characters highlights “[r]eality is more complex than it seems. We do

not understand anything of what we see in China” (2007, p. 23).

The novel is divided into three chapters that correspond to geographical references: Beijing – Ulaanbaatar, the Altai Mountains, Rio de Janeiro (the smallest with just five pages) with different fonts relating to the diaries and narrators. The reader is faced with a labyrinthine and enigmatic narrative with diverse points of view, with an overlap of texts with three diegetic narrations contributing to linguistic alterity based on each of the perspectives. The first is the diary of a photojournalist assigned in Mongolia who gets lost in the Altai Mountains, East of Mongolia. Similarly to the other characters, he is mentioned by his nickname, Buruu Nomton: “the one who does not follow the customs and does not follow the rules, the one that you call misfit in the West” (p. 61) in relation to his homosexuality. This reveals that he is stigmatized in his own country and in the country he is visiting. The diaries of the photojournalist are full of impressions about travels, landscapes, costumes and meetings with the different cultures. Ironically, the photographer, used to expressing himself and communicating through image, questions the “transfer” of the real to a linguistic reference. “The landscape does not surrender. What you see cannot be photographed” (p. 41). In a modern, consumerist society, image is probably the most important feature and he questions the invisibility of the Other through the lens, that is, the image is unable to reflect the true Other, outside of an exotic image. Paradoxically, photography possesses timelessly the Other in its exotic foreignness. When the photographer discovers the story of the Narkhagid goddess and the old lama and is captivated by Mongolian legends, he decides to stay in Mongolia in search of the mystery but gets lost.

On the second level, there is a diplomat in China nicknamed intentionally as Occidental who is asked to find him but he lacks empathy or desire to understand the Chinese or Mongolian viewpoint. Following the steps of the photographer, the Occidental diaries are full of rewritings to the previous diaries and interpretations and comments about the photographer’s impressions. It is a second register of the same landscapes, completely different from the ones of the photographer. The search leads him to discover that the photographer was the brother that he had met once when he was five. There is a reconstitution of family ties in the space of the Other and in the individual edification of identity. With the same tourist guide who had accompanied the journalist, the Occidental begins the journey through the Mongolian deserts. Subsequently, the guide reveals that he had let the journalist leave on his own because he did not want to be identified as his homosexual partner.

¹ All translation of the novel *Mongólia* are the author’s responsibility.

² Fundação Oriente is an organization that promotes cultural inter-Lusophone and Asian dialogue.

On the third level, there is an extradiegetic narrator who compiles the stories and completes the plot with historical Brazilian facts. This character is a former Brazilian ambassador in China, who holds both the diaries of the photographer and the travel notes of the Occidental and decides later to become a writer. This super-narrator of the novel also disbelieves the possibility of understanding Asia. There is a one-sided, Western perspective that ironically resists to dialoguing with the chaotic East although coming from a disordered West, Brazil. In summary, the characters live in a strange inner exile and in an emotional uprooting. The construction of the novel is like a labyrinth in the search of the Other, where the writer is artificially transformed into a character in multiple narrative levels. There are several themes that can be portrayed in Carvalho's novel as the displacement of identity and cultural references, strangeness in between verisimilitude and fiction, which contributes to the transgression of borders between the real and the imaginary in a dreamlike atmosphere. Segalen relates exoticism with the notion of alterity and with the perception of the diverse stating that it "is not the perfect understanding of an out-of-itself that one would embrace in oneself, but the acute and immediate perception of eternal incomprehensibility" (2002, p. 35). The experience of alterity is not the assimilation of the Other, but the awareness of the difference that contributes to the knowledge of what it is to be another. This irreducible alterity is related to the singularity of the Other presented by Baudrillard. In the lecture "The Murder of the Real" (2000), the French sociologist mentions that:

To challenge and to cope with this paradoxical state of things, we need a paradoxical way of thinking; since the world drifts into delirium, we must adopt a delirious point of view. We must no longer assume any principle of truth, of causality, or any discursive norm. Instead, we must grant both the poetic singularity of events and the radical uncertainty of events. It is not easy. We usually think that holding to the protocols of experimentation and verification is the most difficult thing. But in fact the most difficult thing is to renounce the truth and the possibility of verification, to remain as long as possible on the enigmatic, ambivalent, and reversible side of thought (p. 68).

The estrangement provoked by the confrontation with the Other and the search for an imaginary geography of cultural difference is also present in Carvalho's novel introducing exoticism in different perspectives: "in the so-called Eastern taiga region, which is more accessible and where there is even a family that cashes over any tourists, posing as an exotic model so as not to disappoint the expecta-

tion of Western looks" (2007, p. 43). There is a clear tension between the common representation of the exotic, the fake search for the Other pursued by the common tourist that is distinguished from the one of the Segalen's "exote". Space emerges as a non-definitive place enunciated by three different subjective views on the Mongolian reality. The journey arises not only as an attempt to understand the Other but to understand the self, "[y]ou are not looking for a place. You are looking for someone." (p. 9). There is also a reflection on nomadism, the allegorical search and a double look between the traveler and the Other. A cognitive, cultural and anthropological search also occurs at a linguistic-meta-narrative level emphasized by the diaries. The novel is filled with intertextualities of Chinese writers like Lao She or Lu Xun among others like Melville or Salinger. Carvalho intended to narrate the desire for a wandering life without the constraints of a capitalist society yet experience is thwarted insofar as literary discourse turns out to be insufficient without dominating economic practice. Mongolia emerges as a space emptied of meaning if we use Marc Augé's words a "non-place". Carvalho raises questions about his own literary purpose and function introducing disappointment on the idealistic characteristics of nomadism and a deconstruction or demystification of the pacifist philosophy of Buddhism by providing unworthy gestures of the monks.

Conclusion

Both *Baía dos Tigres* and *Mongólia* are examples of travel literature about very distant and far apart transatlantic locales. Both examples of Transatlantic Literary Studies where a contact zone comes from different points of departure and arrival. In common, the search for the Other and for his own identity, albeit through different processes or perspectives and in a critical intercultural dialogue highlighting different alterities. According to Chateaubriand (1999, p. 42), the journey leads to an attempt to describe what is seen and observed but ends up focusing on the character's identity. *Baía dos Tigres* aims to overcome colonial prejudice, ethnocentric ideology where the hierarchy of difference and racism underlies. The author gives voice to those silenced by colonialism and war and reconstructs the Otherness that will enrich himself and the reader to find his own identity that, in a way, is still Eurocentric. *Mongólia* is a search for both social and individual identity where characters feel displaced anywhere. Carvalho is the writer of unstable identities, which dilutes the boundaries between time and space in a game of mirrors and reflexes. A cross-cultural appropriation ques-

tions the position of cultural testimony because of its conditional position. The reader is placed before a collection of stories in which various storytellers interpret other characters constructing a story of the Other and at the same time of the individual. This explains the different intradiegetic levels that reveal a paradoxical approach of the Other. The transatlantic journey works as space of linguistic, cultural, social and identity intersections.

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