Teaching Latin American Migrations Through Theater

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Several years ago, I developed a course called "Theater and Immigration" because I wanted to complicate my students' notion of what "the border" was and is and where immigration happens or has happened in Latin America. The concept of migration offers a useful organizing principle for an introduction to Latin American theater, as it encompasses multiple theater styles and practices. Issues of migration, moreover, are often in the news and likely to stay there (in Latin America and beyond), thereby offering a point of entry for students who may not have studied theater in the past. Migration in its multiple forms (immigration, emigration, exile, return) has a long history in the theaters of the Americas, including not only contemporary plays set on the US-Mexico border but also Puerto Rican and Argentine theater from the first half of the twentieth century and recent theater from Ecuador, Chile, and Argentina. Potential course topics include: Italian immigration to Argentina in the early twentieth century; exile within and outside of Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s; migration from Puerto Rico to the US mainland; and outmigration from Ecuador to Spain at the turn of the millennium. In selecting plays, in addition to thematic relevance, I have made an effort to include both canonical and less well-known playwrights and a variety of theatrical styles, as well as to take advantage whenever possible of high quality performance recordings or staged readings that may be available locally.

The stage offers unique possibilities for the representation of migration. Theater is a liminal space, a temporal and temporary space. It is a privileged space for the consideration of the migrant's experience, an intrinsically provisional space, continually redefined. Theatrical techniques used to evoke the displacements of immigration, exile, and return include: narrative and temporal disruption (scenes that may be staged in multiple orders; plots revealed in fragmentary or incomplete form); multiple characters played by a single actor; the mixing of languages, with and without translation; the evocation of the absent or the disappeared, through offstage voices or empty spaces; and satirical or grotesque exaggeration. Themes include nostalgia, communication difficulties, assimilation, isolation, and loss. A common thread among many of these plays is a tension between the ephemeral nature of memory and the specificity of performance; identity, assimilation, and cultural appropriation all have performative aspects, such as more or less self-conscious role-playing and the assumption of costumes or masks (metaphorical and not). Highlighted on stage, such performances contribute to a self-referential theatricality.¹

The reading list evolves but has included:

- From Argentina: *Stéfano* (1928), by Armando Discépolo; *La nona* (1977) and *Gris de ausencia* (1981), both by Roberto Cossa; and *El Supercrisol. Open 24 hrs.* (2005), by the group Los Macocos.
- From Puerto Rico: *La carreta* (1953), by René Marqués, regularly supplemented by Luis Rafael Sánchez's essay "La guagua aérea."
- From Mexico, with a focus on the US-Mexico border: *El viaje de los cantores* (1989), by Hugo Salcedo; *La mujer que cayó del cielo* (1999), by Víctor Hugo Rascón Banda; and *Amarillo* (2009), directed by Jorge Vargas with Teatro Línea de Sombra.
- From Ecuador: Nuestra Señora de las Nubes (2000), by Arístides Vargas; Con estos zapatos me quería comer el mundo (2002), by Jorge Mateus and Pablo Tatés; El pueblo de las mujeres solas (2005), by Jorge Mateus; La Travesía (2002), by Nixon García; Los pájaros de la memoria (2008), by Patricio Estrella; and La flor de la Chukirawa (2007), by Patricio Vallejo Aristizábal.

The course centers on dramatic literature, supplemented by in-class dramatic readings, attendance at performances (when available), and video clips or recorded performances. Also stressed is the component of reading dramatic literature that demands an imaginative consideration of potential stagings. Both class discussions and written exercises invite students to consider, "How might I stage this?"

The goal of the class is to study plays that reflect different moments, experiences, and motivations for migration. While the joint consideration of diverse experiences can produce distortions, there are also commonalities. An emigrant from one country becomes an immigrant in another—a single individual thus belongs to multiple categories or groups. While the lines are not always clearly drawn, the distinction is not without consequences, as differing international responses to those labeled "migrants" or "illegal im-

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migrants" and those labeled "refugees" make clear. Is a refugee an immigrant? What counts as exile? Are exiles more deserving or less deserving? How does theater help to represent, understand, and address these experiences? These plays offer occasions to discuss such distinctions, as when Bruna, in Arístides Vargas' *Nuestra Señora de las Nubes* asserts, "Ahora nadie se exilia por motivos políticos, se exilian porque hicieron un desfalco, o porque robaron," to which Oscar replies, "Yo creo que hay un exilio por motivos políticos. [...] El que se exilia por hambre. El hambre es la forma más sutil de persecución política" (54).

Many of these plays share a preoccupation with space and place. Domestic spaces frequently are not spaces of refuge, but rather spaces in which characters must confront their failures and limitations. The pairing of Armando Discépolo's Stéfano with Roberto Cossa's La nona facilitates a discussion of Argentine theatre history (the early twentieth-century grotesco criollo and the later *neogrotesco*), as well as a comparison of US immigration history with nineteenth- and early twentieth-century immigration to Argentina. The grotesco criollo, with its distorted, tragicomic characters and mixing of individual and broader social concerns, has been extensively studied.² The uneasy comedy of the grotesco criollo is often discomfiting to spectators, who may identify with the personal struggles of the characters against an indifferent outside world; this would have been particularly true of the plays' contemporary audiences. The title character of Stéfano, a once-proud musician, carries the burdens of guilt, responsibility, forfeited dignity, and humiliation; even his attempts to express affection go awry. The streets of Argentina have not been paved with gold; the family's sacrifices—and Stéfano's outsized ambitions—have been for naught. In La nona, the title character is a voracious centenarian, the inverse of the archetypal nurturing grandmother. The legacies of immigration are evident in La Nona's speech, with its strong mix of Italian, in the imaginary inheritance waiting in the old country, and in the characters' frustration, which is tied to the lost dream of economic security. The play's dark humor arises through verbal misunderstandings and absurd exaggeration, as every attempt to be rid of La Nona rebounds against the would-be perpetrators. The stage empties as characters die and furnishings are sold off. Premiered the year after the 1976 military coup, the play attacks the myth of Argentina as a land of plenty and pointedly, if obliquely, critiques the harsh repression of the young.

In Cossa's *Gris de ausencia*, premiered as part of Teatro Abierto in 1981, the movement of characters is international and multidirectional. A family of

Italian immigrant origin has returned to Rome, where it runs the Trattoría La Argentina, selling typical Argentine culture in the form of traditional dishes and the tangos played clumsily on the accordion by the 85-year-old Grandfather. They are not Italians who have come home so much as Argentine immigrants forced to live off their "exotic" cultural identity. Miguel Angel Giella emphasizes the destabilizing effects of language loss in Gris de ausencia, arguing that the characters express themselves "en jergas que les incomunican entre sí" (120). Thus, while Lucía speaks mostly Italian, her daughter, Frida, about to leave for the airport to return to Madrid, has acquired a Spanish accent (72). Chilo speaks no Italian after twenty years in Italy; the idea that unintelligible speech is almost by definition threatening is evident in Chilo's certainty that the "tanos" are always insulting him. When Frida's brother, Martín, calls from London, the call is an occasion of miscommunication and incomprehension, portrayed with a strong suggestion that the same unproductive exchange has occurred many times before. Lucía asks, "¿Fa molto freddo a Londra?" but evidently does not understand her son's reply, asking "¿Cosa é 'andertan'?" and then saying to Frida, "Diche que 'no andertan" (74). Frida takes the phone and attempts to communicate in a broken mix of Italian and English. Lucía begs, "Domándagli quando verrá a vedermi," a question she has to repeat several times before Frida admits, "No te entiendo madre" (74). Near hysterics, Lucía changes questions: "¡Domándali si fa freddo a Londra!" Frida glosses the question, by sound more than by sense, and tells her brother, "Dice que vayas a ver a Fredy en Londres" (75). In this scene of failed translation, the translator-Frida-understands neither the language she is translating from (English) nor the one she is translating into (Italian). The audience hears Lucía's Italian; Martín's English is heard only in the repetitions (and distortions) of his mother and sister.

Many of the audience members for Discépolo's plays would have been immigrants themselves. For more recent plays, such as *El super crisol* by the group Los Macocos, that is no longer the case. The grim humor of the play and its over-the-top musical numbers allow the spectator to be at once part of and distant from the spectacle. Brenda Werth links *El super crisol* to both the *sainete* (an earlier short form) and the *grotesco*, arguing that "the *sainete criollo* documents the building of community and collective identity among immigrants, whereas the *grotesco criollo* offers a bleak, psychological assessment of the project's outcome" (243). While stressing the critical examination of discriminatory attitudes toward immigration in the play, Werth also notes "the recycling (however parodied) of reductive racist stereotypes" (253). Thus, the invention of an obviously fake, exaggerated Chinese accent for the shopkeeper Señor Wang might be interpreted as belittling the character, even as its evident artificiality might seem to either soften the blow or offer the spectator a sanctioned space in which to mock. Performance can both question and reinforce prevailing or discriminatory views.

In another play, La carreta, René Marqués employs elaborate foreshadowing and marked repetition of significant images. The play is both more linear in its narrative development and more heavily symbolic than some of the more experimental plays. One reading challenge is the transcription of the characters' dialect, which can be difficult to follow. The use of dialect might be viewed as a stereotyped depiction, but it is also an attempt at a kind of mimetic realism. The characters, moreover, are well aware that language usage is not socially neutral. Language-based privilege is openly discussed and acknowledged by the characters, as when Luis urges Chaguito to stay in school so that he will speak better (29), or in the stage directions that describe Doña Isa: "Su fonética demuestra influencia urbana y escolar" (92). La carreta is almost obsessively place-based, representing a double migration (first rural to urban, then from San Juan to New York) and presenting an understanding of national and personal identity as being rooted in a specific geography. Identity markers are narrowly defined in Marqués' play, with gender identities interpreted according to rigidly traditional norms as well. The distinct settings (the countryside, the San Juan slum, the New York metropolis) exercise a clear, often pernicious influence over the characters who occupy them. Luis Rafael Sánchez's essay "La guagua aérea" provides a counterpoint to Marqués, both in its validation of a more mobile sense of identity-a nation in transit that does not cease to exist the moment its members leave the island—and through a playful, elaborated humor that resembles a performance monologue more than a manifesto.

While the process of migration—ongoing, multidirectional—is bittersweet in Sánchez's depiction, in other cases it is tragic. Mexican playwright Hugo Salcedo's *El viaje de los cantores* (1989) reconstructs the perilous journey undertaken by undocumented immigrants. The text opens with a clip from the newspaper *La Jornada* detailing the asfixiation of eighteen undocumented Mexicans in a sealed boxcar in July 1987. Already dead, the men become present on stage through a variety of flashbacks, as subsequent scenes show them leaving home, preparing to cross the border, and passing the time on the train. The reminiscences and gossip of the women left behind are also included. *El viaje de los cantores* offers several options for staging, with no set order in which the ten scenes must be performed. The text also proposes two alternatives for scenery, either a realistic representation of a Missouri-Pacific boxcar or a black box staging. Priscilla Meléndez argues that Salcedo establishes throughout the play "a parallelism between the instability of life on the border, the inherent tension of poetic language, and the fluctuating possibilities of theatrical discourse" (34). The play often has a ritual tone, as when El Desconocido repeats, "Ruega por nosotros," the refrain alternating not with the expected prayer, but with the names of *cantinas*, which the men cry out in an attempt to keep their spirits up. The play also makes important use of silence, as many scenes close with the stage directions "*sin contestar*" or "*no hay respuesta.*" Although Miqui, the sole survivor, describes how the trapped migrants sang, the theater audience does not hear them sing.

Another Mexican play, Víctor Hugo Rascón Banda's La mujer que cayó del cielo is based on the real-life experience of Rita Patiño Quintero, a Tarahumara woman from northern Mexico, lost in the US in 1983. The play is structured in brief scenes, with little description of scenery beyond a suggestion of prison bars or other barriers. Language contact is one of the central problems of the play; Rita is unable to make herself understood by those around her, who in turn are unable (or unwilling) to recognize her speech, Rarámuri, as language. Consequently, she was diagnosed as schizophrenic and mentally retarded and interned in a Kansas state mental hospital for twelve years. In Scene III, "Cuando las palabras son ruido nada más," two police officers play cards and drink beer close to the bars behind which Rita waits, quiet and fierce as an animal hunting (93). After an extended exchange in English between the two officers, the narrator, Giner, who will later intervene on Rita's behalf, asks the audience whether any of them understood and then answers his own question: "Probablemente sí, porque desde niños los mandaron a un colegio bilingüe" (94). Still, on the off chance he's wrong, he paraphrases the conversation before affirming, "Los sentimientos no necesitan traducción"-a problematic assertion at best (94). Laura Kanost notes that "the painfully comical exchanges between Rita and her doctors invite a bilingual audience to flaunt their own linguistic mobility" (31). Kanost also marks what she terms "the play's self-consciously literal reiteration and interrogation of the conventional concept of mental illness as fundamentally a pathology of language" and continues, writing that "the play at first seems to suggest that Rita's unidentified language and culturally-bound behavior may have been the only 'symptoms' that led to her diagnosis and confinement at the hands of ethnocentric Kansas hicks" (32).

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Amarillo, directed by Jorge Vargas and performed by the company Teatro Línea de Sombra, is an example of a theater practice that privileges movement and visual elements. The title, Vargas suggests, carries three meanings: the color yellow; a reference to Amarillo, Texas; and the myth of El Dorado (personal communication). The text, written by Gabriel Contreras, divides the play into ten named scenes, but gives little indication as to how to stage the piece.³ There are a few stage directions, but no description of the set or of particular audio or video effects. On the page it is nonetheless a powerful piece, both evocative and open-ended. In Jorge Vargas' staging, the border is rendered by a wall across the back of the stage. The wall is partially climbable, with grips at several points that the actors use to climb or balance on, but it remains insurmountable. Importantly, the wall is also the side of a boxcar: the border in motion, as process; the border as both place or line, an experience or state of being. Amarillo is a representation-and a forceful denunciation-of the thousands of lives lost in the desert as increasing border restrictions have pushed more and more migrants to attempt more dangerous crossings. Plastic water bottles, some filled with sand, are among the most significant props. At various points, actors scatter sand on stage, outlining boots and other belongings left behind by those attempting to cross the desert, or tracing an ephemeral map. Bags of sand suspended from the ceiling drain like hourglasses as the migrants' time runs out. A heart-shaped bag of red sand hangs above a table where two women sit reading letters originally sent to the US embassy in Mexico pleading for fair treatment for their absent partners. The bag is punctured and finally set to spin, scattering sand like blood. The use of sand in Amarillo is especially powerful in rewriting or redefining the stage, filling space in a way that somehow still leaves it empty.

Recent Ecuadorian plays likewise depict the dangerous journeys of immigrants, their difficulties in assimilating abroad, and the experience of those left behind.⁴ Ecuador has long experienced emigration (particularly to the US and Spain), with a sharp increase precipitated by the economic crisis of 1999. The plays of Argentine-born Arístides Vargas, resident in Ecuador since 1975, do not always clearly invoke a specific geography, but exile and deterritorialization are central concerns, and political exile is not necessarily presented as distinct from economic exile. Most of Vargas' plays have been premiered by the group Malayerba, which he cofounded in Quito in 1979. Word play and subtle humor are constant features of Vargas' plays. *Nuestra Señora de las Nubes*, subtitled "segundo ejercicio sobre el exilio," treats in part the migration born of economic desperation; to flee hunger is to be exiled.

Two characters, Bruna and Oscar, assume a variety of roles in the reenactment of their past experience. The two meet repeatedly, vaguely sensing they have met before, even as the details are lost in the mists of memory. With few stage directions, the text leaves much to the collective work of any group that might stage it. In performance, the members of Malayerba foreground movement within limitation, the expected spatial limitations of a finite stage, coupled with a limited number of props and little or no scenery. For instance, the two swing their arms expansively in a way that signals striding across space, even if they are only walking in place. They are thus able to use both the possibilities and the restrictions of the theater to reflect the experience of the uprooted migrant who is never settled, never able to permanently arrive.

Jorge Mateus' plays, Con estos zapatos me quería comer el mundo (written with Pablo Tatés) and El pueblo de las mujeres solas, both address the surge in migrants leaving Ecuador in the late 1990s. Con estos zapatos centers on the experience of four migrants who leave Ecuador for Europe and North America. Their reasons for emigrating include economic crisis, local unrest, trivial legal violations, and failure in school. Once abroad, they take on a variety of jobs, among them factory work, housecleaning, and prostitution. They dream of returning home, but even partial return in the form of a longdistance phone call is interrupted, as the accents (English, Italian, French) they have acquired begin to color their Spanish and the callers become tangled in their phone cords to the point of strangulation. El pueblo de las mujeres solas centers on those left behind. The cast is made up of four women, a widow and her three daughters-in-law, whose names are those of the girls in Gabriela Mistral's poem "Todas íbamos a ser reinas," a portion of which is recited at the end of the play. By turns mutually supportive and jealously hostile, the women confront loneliness, absence, silence, and a relatively unexamined view of the woman alone as being somehow incomplete.

Nixon García's *La Travesía*, its title the name of a small town on the Ecuadorian coast, takes place in an unnamed country where the three characters do not speak the language and are unable to make meaningful contact with their neighbors. A married couple, Dora and Pablo, share an apartment in a snowy European city with Dora's brother Santiago. Pablo recounts his terrifying and ultimately unsuccessful attempt to leave Ecuador via Guatemala, one of many accounts of harrowing voyages. The migrant's life in a new home demands multiple performances—new roles, new voices, new ways of moving through the world. Some of these performances may be trivial, but the comical may come joined to the demeaning, as when Santiago wears a reindeer costume to distribute restaurant flyers. The characters of *La Travesía* attempt to recreate their hometown's traditional fiesta, although the audience to this performance—the neighbors—may well be hostile or indifferent. As in Cossa's *Gris de ausencia*, there is a sense that the unintelligible speech of unknown others is an all but impenetrable wall, a hostile barrier.

The central character of Los pájaros de la memoria, written by Patricio Estrella and performed by the group La Espada de Madera, is Daquilema, the orphaned son of a migrant mother who was lost at sea. One actor plays Daquilema, while two others, the birds of the title, take on additional roles (teacher, traveler, parent) as needed. The birds are the Curiquingue (in blue, fishing for memories) and the Güirachuro (in yellow, playing a musical instrument).⁵ The title is drawn from Mario Benedetti's collection of poems El olvido está lleno de memoria; one poem, "Pájaros," describes "los pobres pajaritos del olvido / que también están llenos de memoria" (39). The Curiquingue repeats lines from Benedetti's poems, but the bird's memory is unreliable; he does not recall whom he is quoting, though he recognizes the lines as borrowed: "¿Quién dijo esto?...;Bah, ya recordaré!" (17). Daquilema does not speak, but he reshapes the stage as he assembles carts into a makeshift classroom or weaves a rope net on the floor. His silence is filled by the birds, who function as a kind of internal monologue. Daquilema attempts to retrieve some portion of his mother, even if only symbolically, while the birds recount Ecuador's history in an indirect, elliptical fashion. The play closes with the image of a sea of hands, the last remnant of the shipwrecked migrants: "Una gran tela desciende del mástil, se asemeja al mar, está llena de manos. Daquilema desliza por ella un barquito de papel, mientras se escucha una marcha religiosa popular" (61). Estrella's play is one of the strongest of this group, subtle and haunting.

La flor de la Chukirawa, by Patricio Vallejo Aristizábal, again evokes the absent emigrant. Made up of twelve scenes, it shares the fragmented narrative line and short scene structure common to many of these plays. The central figure, Madre, is a highland peasant, her rural Spanish notably Quichua-inflected. The mother relates fragmented memories, sometimes interacting with her dead son's spirit (Ángel del Hijo Muerto), sometimes with the Ángel Mensajero, a television reporter. The Encantador de Feria, a traveling musician, completes the cast. The mother has been saddled with heavy debts incurred by her son in the course of several unsuccessful attempts to emigrate; the cost to those left behind is economic as well as psychological. Local corruption is suggested by the mother's references to the Police Colonel to whom she owes money. The mother and the reporter are described as belonging to two different worlds. The reporter documents much of what the mother tells her, but this reporter is not disinterested; the reporter speaks most clearly near the end of the play, when she pedantically clarifies the title of her regular broadcast: "Punto en blanco, periodismo de investigación. Primero lo uno y de subtítulo lo otro. ¿Entiende?" (88). The flower of the title is found at relatively high altitudes and used in herbal remedies; the mother tells the reporter that if someone gives you a Chukirawa flower, it is to wish you good luck. The mother's marginalization is emphasized, both as a highlander and as a bearer of traditional knowledge or folk wisdom, knowledge the investigative journalist might tend to discount. The flower, moreover, lovely as it is, is spiny and hard. Although she has only a small television and no telephone, the mother is intrigued by the possibility of seeing herself on the screen, even offering to fix herself up if the reporter wants to reshoot the scene. The television provides a link to the world beyond the mother's rural community. More than that, it can be a sign of prosperity and of successful migration; the mother notes that her neighbor's children, earlier migrants than her own son, do send money home, and the neighbor has both a larger television and a phone. The reporter in turn dreams of a bigger stage, longing to cover Miss Universe or perhaps the World Cup.

The mother's son was finally able to reach the US (never explicitly named but implicit), only to die in a desert war. Again the absent migrant is on stage only after death. The mother muses, "dizque es héroe de no sé bien qué patria. ¿Cómo se llama la patria de los gringos? No sé bien, pero lo que sí sé es que hasta hablan distinto a nosotros. Cómo va a ser héroe si ni ha de haber entendido lo que querían" (78). The mother's knowledge of her son's circumstances is partial, dependent on infrequent and imperfect communication. She posits, plausibly, a similarly restricted scope of understanding for her son in his new surroundings. In Scene X, "La guerra," the Ángel del Hijo Muerto reenacts the dead son's military and linguistic training: "¡Sí señor! (Después de un tiempo, como imitando con acento a alguien que le dio una orden en inglés.) Yes ser" (85). Her son was buried "over there," because it was too costly to ship the coffin home; the man from the embassy told her not even to dream of indemnifications (a word she pronounces with difficulty) given how short a time her son was in the army. She remembers the functionary's accented words, imitating them to herself: "Nosotros sentir mucho lo que pasarle a su hijo, señora. En nombre de la nación más poderosa del mundo, tanquiu" (87).

Learning a new language, or attempting to understand those who speak a different language, is a repeated motif in these plays, a way of representing isolation, assimilation, and change, and also of putting the spectator, to a degree, in the position of the migrant unable to understand the speech that surrounds her. The mix of languages and pronunciation in plays as varied as Gris de ausencia, La mujer que cavó del cielo, La flor de la Chukirawa, La carreta, and Stéfano is the result of historical circumstances (e.g., colonization, migration, exile, and education), which complicate or interrupt communication not only between characters, but also between stage and spectator. The fragmented narratives and short scenes found in many of these plays reflect the lives of the migrants represented. Such fragmentation may also mirror the lived experience of migrants outside the theater, as well as the individual's need to construct a coherent personal narrative despite continual disruptions, displacements, and obstacles. In the effort to follow and make sense of a story that is often disjointed, but not for that less meaningful, the play's structure, then, obliges the spectator to share some part of the migrant's experience.

Theater in performance stresses presence and visibility. The making of invisibility or absence visible on stage is thus critically important. Absent migrants are evoked in these plays through offstage voices or empty spaces, through ghostly stand-ins, and through telephone calls that do more to impede than facilitate communication. The staged phone call reduces an apparent dialogue to monologue, demanding that the spectators either fill in the blanks or tolerate a degree of uncertainty. Solitude or loneliness on stage is represented within a social context, as the characters struggle to create a new interpretive community. Plays may be performed (or intended for) a community of immigrants, for audiences in the sending country, or for a mixed audience in the receiving country. The audience may be included or held at arm's length, denied access. Scenes of incomprehension may provoke sympathy and identification, but also alienation or distancing, even boredom or outright rejection. The theatrical space can in effect heighten isolation even as it reproduces the situation of excessive visibility that may plague the marginalized individual singled out for ridicule or blame. Representing migration on stage can be risky, but it can also forge connections. Plays of migration ultimately favor indefinition, the capacity-if not the untrammeled freedom-of migrants to rewrite their stories and redefine their spaces using the most improbable, impermanent of media: gesture, silence, sand.

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Notes

¹ The scholarly literature on migration is extensive. Within theater scholarship, in addition to those quoted directly in this essay, scholars whose work has informed my thinking about theater, performance, and migration include Ruth Behar, Marvin Carlson, Una Chaudhuri, Ileana Diéguez, Beatriz Rizk, and Adam Versényi.

- ² See, for example, Pelletieri and Aguiar.
- ³ The dramatic script was published by Enrique Mijares in the anthology Dramaturgia del noroeste.
- ⁴ I have written about several of these plays in greater detail elsewhere. See Works Cited.

⁵ Color photographs in the published 2009 edition of the play offer helpful visualizations of the birds.

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