Aquí v alla, hier v dort: The role of Spanglish and Kanak sprak in identity formation

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A Thesis

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This study investigates the ways in which Turkish-Germans and Hispanic-Americans have historically represented themselves in literature, and the influence these literary representations have on the identity formation of members who are categorized with these ethnic groups. The evolution of minority literature, which increasingly rejects the concept of a “pure” or “natural” identity in favor of a created hybrid identity, point to the transformation of the conceptualization of identity and culture in both minority and mainstream society.

This study examines the development of Turkish-German and Hispanic-American literature in reverse chronological order, beginning with contemporary literary stylings of authors such as Feridun Zaimoglu and Gloria Anzaldúa. The study then analyzes earlier literary representations of Turkish-German and Hispanic-American authors which demonstrate an understanding of identity as an ideally “natural” or “pure” concept. The works of Zafer Şenocak, Sadi Üçüncü, Alev Tekinay, and Aysel Özakin, Pedro Pietri, and Rudolfo Gonzales, among others, are analyzed with a specific focus on represented perceptions of identity and culture.

Based on this study, I conclude that the ability of literature to present and analyze complex identity formations without relying on stereotypes or simplistic paradigms necessitates the analysis of immigrant literature to identify common patterns in identity formation among various immigrant groups. An important component of the creation and acceptance of a modern concept of identity has been the creation of hybrid languages. Language is a key component of identity and the language use of individuals is a public expression of identification with specific cultural or linguistic groups. The relationship among language, literature, and politics identifies the potential of language to both reflect upon and create social change.
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“What you learn, that no one can take away from you.” - Daniel Wald

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## INTRODUCTION

- The Evolving Value of the Kanake: Turkish Migration and Language Development in Germany  
  Page 5
- From Spanish to Spanglish: Hispanic (Im)migration and Language Development in the United States  
  Page 10

## CHAPTER I. KANAK SPRAK: REDEFINING THE PERCEPTION OF “KANAKE” THROUGH LITERATURE

- Von der Spaltung Leben: Liberation by Personal Speech (Contemporary Representations)  
  Page 22
- Beyond Entweder-Oder  
  Page 35
- “Klammer- und Klage-” Phase (The Beginnings of Turkish-German Literature)  
  Page 41
- Conclusion  
  Page 47

## CHAPTER II. SPANGLISH: INCREASING ACCEPTANCE OF THE “BORDERLANDS” IN HISPANIC-AMERICAN LITERATURE

- Contemporary Representations of Latino/a Literature  
  Page 56
- The Development of Spanglish  
  Page 62
- Living Within the Hyphen  
  Page 70
- Struggling to Maintain Cultural Purity  
  Page 79
- Conclusion  
  Page 84

## CHAPTER III. CONCLUSION

- Page 86

## WORKS CITED

- Page 95
INTRODUCTION

“Check One”
“I could give you an epic about my ways of life or my look
and you want me to fill in ‘one square box’
From what integer or shape do you count existing identities ... 
There’s no ‘one kind’ to fill for anyone..
I’ll check ‘other’, say artist
that’s who I am: a poet, a writer, a lover of man” (Cabico, 48)

Regie Cabico is a Filipino American poet and a regular performer at the Nuyorican Poets Cafe. In “Check One,” he criticizes the tendency of society, in this case the government, to categorize individuals by asking them to identify themselves by filling in “one square box.” The categorization of individuals by broad racial terms (White, African American, and Latino appear among the fifteen categories presented on the 2010 census) is limiting, as Cabico states, “there’s no ‘one kind’ to fill for anyone.” Cabico displays a contemporary conceptualization of identity, in which an individual can and must identify with more that one “label” or category of him or herself, such as race, gender, or religion. The view that identity contains multiple elements that coexist is the concept of a hybrid identity. Identity is no longer viewed as a concept that can be fulfilled by checking off one aspect, but a more complex term that requires greater explanation and attention to details.

Homi K. Bhaba, one of the most influential thinkers in the field of post-colonial studies and the Director of the Humanities Center at Harvard University, suggests the emergence of hybridization, the smooth incorporation of multiple characteristics into a comprehensive entity, with regards to identity and culture during the time of post-colonialism in The Location of Culture:

“Hybrid hyphenations emphasize the incommensurable elements - the stubborn chunks - as the basis of cultural identifications. What is at issue is the performative nature of
differential identities: the ... negotiation of those spaces that are continually ... remarking the boundaries, exposing the limits of and claim to a singular or autonomous sign of difference.” (Bhaba, *Location*, 219)

In this passage, Bhabha questions the “stubborn chunks” that make up hybrid labels, addressing the performative, fluid nature of these boundaries in reality. He states that instead of being separated or chunked into separate elements, individuals with hyphenated identities have fluid identities. These identities do not exist within the either/or conceptualization of identity, but in a third cultural space in which identities change. Bhabha also states that identity is performative, meaning that individuals consciously represent themselves using various “identities” based on their preferences as well as the effects of socialization. There can be no “claim to a singular or autonomous sign of difference” (Bhaba, *Location*, 219) since individuals are multi-faceted and aware of the pluralistic nature of their outward identities.

Individuals identified by the culture of the nation or region in which they live as existing outside of the dominant culture are labeled as having hyphenated identities and names (e.g. German-American). These individuals may be immigrants, or first-, second-, or later-generation members of these ethnic or cultural minorities. As a result of being marked as “other,” individuals with hyphenated identities are challenged to redefine their personal conceptualization of identity, often leading to multiple and fluid conceptualizations of identity. This process of identity creation, as the word fluid implies, is constant, creating an environment of perpetual evaluation and re-creation of identity. The literature of these minority populations not only

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1 Immediately following this passage, Bhabha goes on to state, “Such assignations of social differences - where the difference - where difference is neither One nor the Other but *something else besides, in-between* find their agency in the form of the ‘future’ ... an interstitial future that emerges *in-between* the claims of the past and the needs of the present” (*Location*, 219). This passage establishes an understanding of time that exists outside of the familiar boundaries of the accepted order, and allows the future to not be fixed by past experiences but free for the establishment of new performative identity concepts.
mirrors, but also helps articulate these perpetual changing identities by creating a platform to explore and analyze the creation of hybrid identities.

This study will focus on the ways in which members of two hyphenated ethnic groups – Turkish-Germans and Hispanic-Americans – have historically represented themselves in literature, and the influence these literary representations have on the identity formation of members who are categorized, either by themselves or others, with these ethnic groups. The evolution of minority literature, which increasingly rejects the concept of a “pure” or “natural” identity in favor of a created hybrid identity, points to the transformation of the conceptualization of identity and culture in both minority and mainstream culture. The movement of minority authors to represent the hybrid, performative aspects of identity indicates an increased awareness and acceptance of the pluralistic dimensions of identity that exist for minority populations as well as individuals in mainstream society.

To come to a better understanding of how group and individual identities are created through discourse, including written discourse in the form of literary works, I want to draw on the American philosopher and pragmatist Richard Rorty. In his essay “Rationality and Cultural Difference,” Rorty distinguishes different notions of culture and rationality. Rorty defines culture₁ as a “set of shared habits of action ... that enable members of a single human community to get along with one another” (188). He then asserts that there are higher levels of tolerance in societies that have established a culture₁ of hope. Therefore, these cultures₁ allow minority populations to find their voice in the form of public expression, including literature and other
forms of media\textsuperscript{2}. Rorty emphasizes the emergence of identity in the “self-creation and artistic creation” of individuals (200). What is important in Rorty’s analysis of culture is that he reverses the traditional relationship between identity and literary or linguistic construction. He acknowledges identity as a linguistic and literary construction, not preceding, but created through and after linguistic and literary endeavors. The way in which authors depict their culture in literature then influences the way in which they are viewed by both the majority population as well as other members of their minority group (197). Such a transformation of the concept of identity is present in the literature of Turkish-German and Hispanic-American authors. My study will demonstrate how we can understand the linguistic and literary changes that reflect and influence identity creation within these two minority groups following the theories of Rorty\textsuperscript{3} and Bhabha, namely as a transformation from the conceptualization of identity as “natural” to the gradual incorporation of elements of fluidity and performativity in identity. This progression allows minority authors and individuals to move from fighting to embracing the ideal of having pluralistic, changing identities.

In order to effectively interpret the varying literary sources analyzed in my study, a basic understanding of the historical (im)migration patterns of Turkish-Germans and Hispanic-Americans, which explain the changing social status and roles of the minority populations in

\textsuperscript{2} The idea of tolerance is important, because both minority populations that I am studying exist within Western populations that have allowed minority populations to take part in literary and political discourse. Without this opportunity, Turkish-Germans and Latina/os would not have been able to create a public body of literature that at once establishes current social conditions and identity concepts as well as create a public stage on which to challenge current notions and create an arena for social change.

\textsuperscript{3} It is important to note that although I use Rorty as a model when analyzing the development of the concept of identity in the literature of minority populations, he questions the “exaltation of the non-Western and the oppressed,” stating that, “it sometimes seems as if only oppressed cultures count as ‘real’ or ‘valid’ cultures” (190). I will attempt to avoid presenting an argument that equates cultural worth with being oppressed and focus on the progression of identity conceptualization that is seen in minority literature without presenting a value or lack of value of culture based on power differentials.
their majority cultures, as well as the corresponding language developments is necessary. The following sections briefly introduce both the (im)migration and linguistic developments among Turks in Germany and Latino/as in the United States.

The Evolving Value of the Kanake: Turkish Migration and Language Development in Germany

“The linguistic behavior among Turks, more specifically its change over time, reflects their changing position and status in German society.”
(Watzinger-Tharp, “Turkish-German,” 285)

In her essay “Turkish-German Language: An Innovative Style of Communication and its Implications for Citizenship and Identity,” Johanna Watzinger-Tharp identifies an important connection between social status and linguistic behavior. Watzinger-Tharp states that changes in linguistic behavior reflect changes in the social status of Turkish-Germans. I would argue that the relationship also functions inversely. While the linguistic behavior of minority groups is affected by changes in social or legal status, authors can use their linguistic resources purposefully to achieve changes in social status or group identification. Watzinger-Tharp identifies the changing social status of Turks in Germany from Gastarbeiter, who were not expected to have linguistic skills and did not have many legal rights, to the development of Turkish communities and improved social status as the trigger for linguistic change. The two-way relationship between social status and linguistic behaviors will be shown in “Kanak Sprak: Redefining the Perception of ‘Kanake’ through Literature.”

Kanak Sprak reflects the transformation from purist conceptualizations of identity to the increasing acceptance of hybridity and performativity. This progression is reflected in the three stages of immigrant literature as defined by Barbara A. Fennell in Language, Literature, and the Negotiation of Identity: Foreign Worker German in the Federal Republic of Germany. In order
to understand the transformations the concept of identity undergoes between these stages, one must first understand the historical circumstances encountered by Turkish or Turkish-German authors during these stages.

The linguistic and socioeconomic status of first generation Turks greatly impacted their ability to communicate with German individuals and thereby feel a sense of fellowship or identification with German culture. After World War II, Western Germany underwent a rapid economic reconstruction and many new industries were developed. Called the *Wirtschaftswunder*, this economic miracle created more jobs than German workers could fill. In order to fill these vacant positions, Germany enacted the *Gastarbeiterprogramm* under which, between 1955 and 1968, male workers who came to Germany from Southern and Eastern European countries were expected to work menial jobs in Western Germany for a period of one to two years and then return to their home countries, to be replaced by new *Gastarbeiter*.

The name of the program points to the fact that the individuals who arrived in West Germany were not considered possible citizens nor were they recognized as individuals. Instead they were regarded as “guest workers,” emphasizing the transitory nature of their employment status as well as their position (or lack thereof) within German society (Watzinger-Tharp, “Turkish-German,” 286). Despite the expectations that this labor force would be transitory, many *Gastarbeiter* did not return to Turkey, but continued to reside in Germany and work. Although they were not able to obtain citizenship, they did have access to Germany’s social welfare system. Many brought over wives and had children, greatly expanding the number of “foreigners” living on German soil.

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4 The number of *Gastarbeiter* (including workers from Southern European and North African countries) was over two and a half million by the early 1970s.
As a result of the transitory expectations of *Gastarbeiter*, most workers did not learn German, but developed a linguistic variety of German known as *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* (Watzinger-Tharp, “Turkish-German,” 285). *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* was a morphologically and semantically limited form of German, which allowed Turks to communicate only on the most basic level with Germans. These Turks form the basis for Fennell’s first stage of immigrant literature. Their inability to communicate or identify with mainstream German society caused first generation Turks to develop a purist notion of identity. The literature in this stage is characterized by lamentations about the socioeconomic and political status of Turks in Germany at the time and was written mono-linguistically, emphasizing the dichotomous relationship between German and Turkish language and cultures.

However, as children were born to *Gastarbeiter*, a new form of linguistic communication began to develop. Second and third generation Turkish-Germans went to German schools and achieved fluency in both German and Turkish. They were also eligible to claim German citizenship – between the ages of 18 and 23 after the year 2000. Having achieved fluency (or at the very least proficiency) in both German and Turkish, many second and third generation Turkish-Germans did not limit themselves to communicating in exclusively German or Turkish. The linguistic acceptance of German as one of “their” languages as well as an acceptance of aspects of German culture led individuals of this generation to begin to struggle against “pure”

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5 This generation of Turks did provide the inspiration for the “Klammer- und Klage-” (*Klammer* from *klammern* [to cling to] *Klage* [complaint]) phase of literature as defined by Barbara Fennell. However, it is important to note that the *Gastarbeiter* themselves were not engaging in literary discourse. Instead, educated Turks living in Germany represented the plight of *Gastarbeiter* in standard German in an attempt to inspire political change in mainstream society.

6 Although there have been reforms to Germany’s naturalization and citizenship policies, dual citizenship is still only permitted in very few cases. Turkish-Germans who choose German citizenship lose various rights in Turkey, such as the right to inherit property. Therefore, the naturalization and citizenship policy is still in many ways strict and repressive.
cultural identifications in order to move beyond the Turkish / German dichotomy. However, authors in this era often lamented their state, expressing feelings of being split by their hyphenated identities.

Following the creation of a new form of language, known as Stylized Turkish German, or Kanak Sprak, true acceptance of hybrid identifications began to emerge. Stylized Turkish German carries both negative and positive connotations. Kanak Sprak is derived from the previously derogatory term “Kanake,” but has been redefined as a positive identifying name, similar to the adoption of the word niggah as a positive identification form in hip-hop and rap.

Stylized Turkish German “stands independently from the parents’ immigrant language; it is therefore not a creole that developed from the parents’ speech.” The function of the language is no longer an “inter-language” as Gastarbeiterdeutsch was, but instead, “an identity marker via the emergence of a situational ‘xenolect’” (Eskner, “Ghetto Ideologies,” 99). The use of a hybrid language as an “identity marker” signifies the will to be identified as a hybrid individual, no longer trapped within a dichotomy of identity, but free to create a pluralistic identity. For the remainder of my study, when not specifically called Stylized Turkish German (STG) within a secondary source, I will refer to the hybrid language using its more prevalent name, Kanak Sprak.

The dissociation of Kanak Sprak from Gastarbeiterdeutsch is important, because it identifies Kanak Sprak not as a partial language or learner language, but as a linguistic register in

7 This xenolect, or multiethnolect, as it is also called moves beyond Carol Myers-Scotton’s definition of code-switching. Myers-Scotton defines code-switching as “the selection of bi- or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation” (4). Kanak Sprak moves beyond the concept of code-switching in that there is no clear distinction between the matrix or embedded language within one conversation. In fact, the embedded and matrix language can often change over the course of a single conversation or utterance. The linguistic fluidity expressed in Kanak Sprak reflects the fluidity of the identity that will be discussed in detail later.
its own right, since it represents the process of “self-creation and artistic creation” minority speakers choose to undergo to create a new language (Rorty, “Rationality,” 200). Speakers of Kanak Sprak are not forced out of linguistic necessity to communicate through Kanak Sprak. According to Heike Weise in “Grammatical Innovation in a Multiethnic Europe,” “the use of a multiethnolect reflects a strategic choice, rather than a lack of competence in the standard variety, on the level as the grammatical system, the morpho-syntactic features that characterise it, indicate a reduction” (790).

There are multiple theories that identify possible rationales for choosing to communicate in Kanak Sprak, including that young Turkish Germans use Kanak Sprak to “indexically link their language to their social position and the way that they perceive themselves to be socially situated in German society” (Eskner, “Ghetto Ideologies,” 108), expressing transnational identification and double cultural agency (Mannitz, “Coming of Age,” 25), and “reclaiming the initially pejorative xenophobe term ‘Kanake’ within political movements” (Wiese, “Grammatical,” 783).

Although different scholars have expressed various reasons for the use of Kanak Sprak, all theories point towards the formation of new identities outside of the Turkish / German dichotomy and the aspect of choice. This aspect of choice is identified as performativity. Performativity indicates metalinguistic awareness of the speaker as well as a conscious decision to use linguistic expression in order to create a specific linguistic identity that reflects an aspect of the speaker that he or she wishes to highlight. Performativity is not only influenced by a

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8 Werner Kallmeyer and Inkem Keim also express this view, stating that linguistic choice is an element with “socio-symbolic functions, that is, where the code used represents societal properties of the speaker or other” (37). The marking function of Kanak Sprak is important, because it shows that speakers of Kanak Sprak identify themselves as “other,” outside of mainstream and minority cultures. They both perceive themselves to be considered “outside” society by others as well as reinforce this “othering” via their personal linguistic choices.
speaker’s goal within a specific linguistic situation, but also by processes of socialization. Bilingual individuals learn which linguistic registers are considered appropriate in various locations as well as with different individuals. However, they may choose to conform to these social norms or use a different linguistic register in order to assert a particular aspect of their identity. Through these choices, individuals are able to manipulate language. They can simultaneously identify with a linguistic register as well as maintain a set distance between themselves and the chosen register by representing language not as a natural identification point, but as a commodity that can be chosen for specific circumstances and then left behind in order to establish a different identification point.

Kanak Sprak is primarily a youth language, spoken not only by Turkish youth, but other immigrant youth and German youth as well. The use of Kanak Sprak in verbal and written discourse separates its speakers both from traditional Turkish society as well as mainstream German society. However, by including lexical items from both standard varieties, Kanak Sprak simultaneously displays aspects of “othering” in addition to identification with both cultures. By using Kanak-Sprak in literature, authors work to linguistically create a new “socio-cultural identity,” that of the German-Turk (Keim, “Socio-cultural identity,” 163).

From Spanish to Spanglish: Hispanic (Im)migration and Language Development in the United States

“There is no better metaphor for what a mixed-race culture means than a hybrid language, an informal code ... a social construction with different rules.”
(Morales, Living, 3)

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9 In his article “Jugendsprachen: Speech Styles of Youth Subcultures,” Peter Schlobinski comments on the phenomenon of youth languages, stating that youth use Jugendsprache as an alternative to the negative image that they have of adult language (333). The identification of Kanak Sprak as a Jugendsprache is of importance to my study, because Spanglish is not identified as a youth language but as an ethnolect spoken by young and old alike. I argue that this distinction results from the aggressive language patterns of Kanak Sprak not present in Spanglish.
The history of the development of Spanglish is in some ways more complex than the
development of Kanak Sprak. Whereas the development of Kanak Sprak focuses on the
linguistic history and innovations of the Turkish population in Germany, the development of
Spanglish encompasses the linguistic history and innovation of Hispanic-Americans, including
(im)migrants from across Latin America: Chicano/as, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans, among others.
Therefore, although Kanak Sprak may vary linguistically among cities or neighborhoods, there is
a greater degree of linguistic diversity in Spanglish. There is not only one Spanglish, but many
varieties, including Nuyorican Spanglish, the Chicano/a Spanglish of the Southwest, the Cuban
Spanglish of Miami, as well as countless varieties spoken in large metropolitan areas such as
Chicago and Minneapolis.

For the purposes of this paper, I will be focusing on the (im)migration history and
development of Spanglish in regards to two main ethnic groups. I will concentrate primarily on
the development of Spanglish, both linguistically and culturally, in Puerto-Rican and Chinano/a
communities.10 Despite the increased complexity of the development of Spanglish, the
movement towards a new understanding of identity in literature follows a similar pattern as that
present in the texts of Turkish-German authors, as authors progress from writing immigrant texts
to native texts.

The long history of cultural contact between American and Hispanic populations differs
from the arrival of Gastarbeiter from Turkey in Germany after World War II. However, despite

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10 Although I have decided to focus on two groups of Hispanic-Americans, many Hispanic-Americans emphasize
the unity among groups despite their varying historical, linguistic, and social developments. In his influential book
Living in Spanglish, Ilan Stavans comments on the contrasting conceptualizations of European race and raza. He
writes, “The cosmic race is the end of race, because race becomes a multiple factor, not a defining factor ... raza is a
powerful call to unity, an abstract nationhood divorced from European nationalism” (14-15). Stavans emphasizes
the unifying purpose of Spanglish despite its many varieties. For this reason, I have chosen to integrate Chicano/a
texts and Puerto Rican texts during my analysis.
this prolonged cultural contact, first generation Hispanics in the United States faced socioeconomic, political, and linguistic barriers similar to those faced by first generation Turks in Germany. The struggle to overcome these barriers is evident throughout the progression of literature created by Hispanics in the United States. An understanding of the major events in Latina/o history in the United States helps explain the changes in the linguistic patterns and identity constructions within this population.

In 2009 there were an estimated 48.4 million Hispanics living in the United States, which accounts for approximately 16% of the overall population. English and Spanish have a long history of linguistic and cultural contact. This contact began with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican War in 1848. As a stipulation of this treaty the United States acquired the territories of Texas, California, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico. After the enactment of this treaty Spanish speakers from these regions became a minority in the greater territory of the United States.

The largest wave of Puerto Rican re-location to the United States mainland took place about twenty years after the Depression of the 1930s in Puerto Rico. During the “Great Migration” of the 1950s, tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans migrated to New York in search of better economic conditions. Before and during the 1950s, Puerto Ricans created small communities, called barrios, in New York. The creation of these barrios, as well as the constant influx of new migrants, facilitated the maintenance of Spanish. However, the maintenance of

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11 The history of Puerto Rican migration to the United States is a special case, because Puerto Ricans are American citizens and have long engaged in circular migration. The Great Depression of the 1930s was a result of Operation Bootstrap, an American economic policy that rapidly industrialized Puerto Rico through the introduction of large-scale agriculture. The displacement of many Puerto Ricans in Operation Bootstrap caused rapid migration to the mainland. The American political cause of many Puerto Rican migration experiences is an issue brought up in a great deal of early Puerto Rican “immigrant” literature.
Spanish did not halt the influence of English on Spanish speakers, as Puerto Ricans began to develop hyphenated identities that took into account their American citizenship.

*Living in Spanglish* by Ed Morales and “Indicators of bilingualism and identity” by Maragarita Higalgo point to three main developments in the 1960s that led to an increase in the linguistic development of Spanglish: the Chicano Awareness movement of 1965, the US-bilateral agreement, which led to an increase in the migration of Spanish-speaking populations, and the politicization of New York Hispanic street gangs, including the New York Young Lords party, which gave the Hispanic population of New York an identification point (Higalgo, “Indicators,” 351) (Morales, *Living*, 85). According to Morales, the New York Young Lords functioned as a “Spanglish hybridizing phenomenon” (85) in that they incorporated American street-sense into their Puerto Rican identities, creating new cultural spaces for hyphenated, hybrid identities.

Another historical development that greatly affected the history of Spanish-speaking populations in the United States was the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. Although this act was meant to secure US borders from illegal migration, it allowed temporal undocumented male migrants to legally remain in the United States. This act ultimately led to an increase in permanent familial migration of Hispanics to the American Southwest (Rothman, “A linguistic analysis,” 518).12

As Hispanic-Americans had children who attended American schools and learned English, the linguistic practices of these communities changed, a phenomenon that mirrors the linguistic development that occurred within Turkish-German communities. In the private domain, children and grandchildren of (im)migrants did not choose to speak pure Spanish or

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12 The transition from temporal workers to families who settled permanently in the American Southwest parallels the transition from primarily male *Gastarbeiter* populations to the establishment of Turkish communities in Germany after World War II.
English, but Spanglish: a combination of their two additional linguistic registers. This choice often mirrored the “classic” Spanglish syndrome of being “too foreign for America, too American for the folks at home” (Morales, Living, 41).13

Speakers of Spanglish incorporated changes in the lexicon, semantics, and syntax of Spanish and English in order to create a hybrid language. This hybrid language then facilitated the creation of a third cultural space that existed outside of either mainstream American or Hispanic culture. Jason Rothman and Amy Beth Rell comment on this choice, stating, “This ‘selection’ of dual-language use accompanied by lexical adaptations serves as the creation of not only an individual identity but also a community identity. It is just this dual identity that the term ‘Spanglish’ itself encompasses” (“A linguistic analysis,” 525). By creating a community of hybrid language speakers, Spanglish-speaking individuals were able to develop an identifying marker outside of either mainstream American or Hispanic culture. This new community exists in a third cultural space, because it is only accessible to individuals who choose to create identities outside of either mainstream ethnic group.

Although many scholars describe Spanglish as encompassing the dual identity of Hispanic-Americans, using Richard Rorty’s explanation of culture and postmodern identity theory, I would argue that the verbal and written discourse of Spanglish demonstrates an identity concept beyond duality. Instead the created identity concept is fluid and performative, moving beyond national boundaries and expectations. Hispanic-Americans do not define themselves as either Hispanic or American depending on situational context, but instead identify with multiple

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13 In this quotation, Morales identifies Spanglish as being a result of being labeled as “other.” I would argue that the use of Spanglish does not result purely from an inability to be “American” or “Hispanic” enough, but as a conscious choice to move beyond the dichotomy of foreign or American to celebrate pluralistic elements of identity.
aspects of both cultures at any given moment. This phenomenon would include acts as simple as attending Hispanic pride night at a baseball game, which would indicate identification as a Hispanic while attending a game of America’s favorite pastime. Identity is not fixed in time, but is fluid, continually expanding to incorporate new elements that defy an either-or conceptualization of identity.

Outline of Thesis

The theme of accepting living “in-between” two or more cultures and the creation of a third cultural space is common to contemporary literary representations of both Turkish-German and Hispanic-American authors. Minority authors demonstrate a common progression from a purist notion of identity towards the gradual acceptance and celebration of hybrid identities that include elements of more than one culture.

The acceptance of a fluid identity construct creates a situation in which individuals are able to display varying aspects of their identities depending on individual preferences as well as social constraints. Minority authors consciously use linguistic techniques, such as the use of hybrid languages, to express the fluidity of identity. The literary discourse they create moves between linguistic registers smoothly, with no set transitions or breaking points. Similar to their identities, they have created languages that have moved beyond the dichotomy of the hyphen towards the celebration of the perpetual flow between languages, and therefore cultures.

The adoption of an identity construct that moves beyond national boundaries and the “stubborn chunks” into which individuals are often categorized towards a third cultural space

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14 Although many Latino/as identify with a specific cultural group (e.g. Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban) as well as American, some also identify with many more cultures including Indian cultures. For these individuals “both” cultures is not an encompassing term, instead the term pluralistic identification is more appropriate.
allows minority writers to display new conceptualizations of the term identity, creating a new realm for literary and cultural analysis, as well as new means for minority populations to understand and create themselves individually and find a cultural place in modern society.
Aysel Özakin is a Turkish author who left Turkey three months after the 1980 Turkish coup d’eat for Germany at the invitation of the Berlin literary colloquium in West Germany. In her poem “Culture” from the collection of poems You are welcome released in 1985, Özakin struggles with some of the main forces driving authors with Turkish backgrounds to publish work in their “foreign homeland” (Seyhan, “Lost,” 420). In grappling with the definition of culture, Özakin identifies culture as a possible dichotomizing force, acting as a vehicle for both pleasure and power relations, an explanation for questions of race and war, as well as identity and belonging.

If we use the guidelines provided by Richard Rorty in “Rationality and Cultural Difference,” Özakin explores two possible definitions of the word culture in “Culture”: culture₁, a “set of shared habits of actions ... that enable members of a single human community to get along with one another” (188) – in this case Dönerkebab; and culture₂, sometimes referred to as

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15 The idea of a “foreign homeland” is one that is raised consistently in descriptions of foreign literature. Although “foreign homeland” is a paradoxical statement, it is an appropriate term to describe the struggle with which individuals of a minority population, especially those in a new country, are faced. Although they are identified by mainstream society as “other,” they also cannot identify with a country in which they have never lived. For those individuals, feelings of otherness and belonging cross to create the concept of the “foreign homeland.”
high culture or Culture, in this case Bach. By referencing both culture_1 and culture_2, Özakin questions whether the two types of culture can be mediated to create a cohesive definition of culture. It is interesting that Özakin references culture_1 or Turkish society and culture_2 of German society. In this way, she questions whether German and Turkish cultures can be unified into a hybrid cultural conceptualization and also explores the relationship between culture_1 and culture_2. By exploring the interaction of both culture_1 and culture_2 as well as German and Turkish culture, Özakin identifies differences in cultural affiliation as well socioeconomic status or the attainment of culture_2. She references the use of culture to define personal identity and belonging within society (Identität and Zugehörigkeit), another struggle faced by authors and other individuals with a Turkish background in Germany.

Özakin’s use of “Eh Leute!” signifies her impatience with dominant society’s unwillingness and inability to validate both forms of culture. Dominant society’s preference for culture_2, high culture that can be gained by education and is more easily acquired by members of the majority culture, contributes to the negative self-image created by first generation Turkish-Germans who were unable to achieve a high level of this cultural capital.16 This frustration with mainstream society is often evident in the literature produced by first-generation Turks in Germany.

The line “Was bin ich? Bach oder Dönerkebab?” exhibits a feature common to much of the literature of foreign authors: a feeling that an effective melding of their minority culture_1 and

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16 This negative self-image is explored in a wide range of Betroffenheitsliteratur by authors both of Turkish background and other minority cultures. For example, Sadi Üçüncü’s poem that begins with the words “Ich bin der Ausländer/ der letzte Dreck/ auf der Erde/ schäme mich” (Fennell, Language, Literature, 126) clearly shows a Turkish population who has created a negative self-image.
the culture$_2$ of the dominant society is seemingly unattainable, a realization that can work both as a force of frustration and political mobilization.

The literature of Turkish-German authors often displays elements of both frustration and political activism prompted by the clash of a culture$_1$ and culture$_2$ whose peaceful cohabitation seems unlikely. The changes in socioeconomic and political status within the dominant culture are often reflected by the development of new conceptualizations of identity in literature. In turn, authors often also use literary discourse as a stage to express frustration and spur political mobilization and change, thus causing further changes in the state of living for members of minority society.

Barbara A. Fennell, a senior lecturer at the University of Aberdeen and researcher in the fields of sociolinguistics and the relationship between identity and language, provides an outline for the move from frustration to mobilization in the literary works of foreign-born authors and authors with a foreign background in *Language, Literature, and the Negotiation of Identity: Foreign Worker German in the Federal Republic of Germany* published in 1967.

The first phase Fennell identifies is the “Klammer- und Klage-” phase. According to Fennell, authors’ works in this stage revolve around existential issues such as the loss of home, family, and security (125). In this phase, authors do not identify with mainstream German society, but focus on the stability and culture they feel has been lost in the move to Germany. The lack of political rights and acceptance from mainstream society led to a feeling of isolation within Germany.\footnote{Inken Keim also asserts the relationship between the outside factors that influence individuals and the way they represent themselves culturally. Keim states, “cultural style is the product of adjustment of human communities to their ecological, social, and economic condition” (160). In the case of first generation Turks in Germany, the lack of favorable social, political, and economic conditions led to a distancing (or lack of acceptance or appropriation) of German cultural elements.} This isolation represented in the “Klammer- und Klage-” phase, by literary
works from authors such as Sadi Ücüncü and Zafer Şenocak, among others, creates a sense of group catharsis, in which authors write both to expose their poor living conditions to the German public, as well as to express the deep loss of home, security, and identity they feel existing outside of German society on German soil. Authors in this stage hold onto their identity as Turks only, demonstrating a purist notion of identity that leaves little or no space for the integration of elements of German culture or culture within their identity formations.

As Turks in Germany began to bring their families to Germany from Turkey and children were born to these immigrants, the second stage of literature began to emerge. Children born to Turks in Germany attended German schools, learned the German language, and thereby became active participants in both Turkish communities as well as mainstream German society. This caused the literary discourse in this stage to move from catharsis and a sense of loss to the construction of a new identity that combined both cultures (Fennell, Language, Literature, 127). In this phase, authors began to define themselves outside of a system of cultural dichotomy. In an attempt to create an identity that evolved beyond the either/or mentality in both Turkish and German societies, these authors created a dialogue that forced the dominant society to observe the minority population outside a logic of either “assimilation or ghettoization” (Şenocak, Atlas, 27). By representing their identities as neither fully German nor fully Turkish, these authors moved beyond catharsis to create identities that incorporated elements of both their host and mother cultures. The question “Bach oder Dönerkebab” was transformed into varied attempts to

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18 Because these individuals did not feel complete at home either in mainstream German society or the minority Turkish society that they viewed as “frozen in a state of timeless traditionalism, not allowing for any dynamic change” (Mannitz,"Coming of Age," 38), they began an attempt to create “dynamic change” and looked for ways to incorporate elements of both societies into their personal identity formations.
incorporate elements of both German and Turkish cultures\textsubscript{1} and cultures\textsubscript{2} into a newly defined culture or identity concept.

The final phase of foreign literature is marked by a consolidation of this newly developed identity (Fennell, \textit{Language, Literature}, 128). In this phase, writers are determined to work not on the fringes of German society, but within the dominant structures of German society and culture. These writers fight to be seen not as representatives of a minority culture, but as authors in their own right. This final development can often be observed in second and third generation German writers of Turkish descent. Many do not command the Turkish language, which according to Yüksel Pazarkaya, a Turkish-German author and translator who wrote many works focusing on the discrimination faced by \textit{Gastarbeiter}, causes an identity formation that functions within its own dichotomy. Pazarkaya states, “die Identität bleibt gespalten ... Aus der Spaltung aber kann eine doppelte Identität entstehen. Sie lebt von der Spannung” (“Literatur ist,” 69). I would argue that the third phase moves beyond a “double identity” towards a fluid, hybrid identity in which authors and individuals move beyond creating both a Turkish and a German identity to creating and accepting identity constellations that continually change and represent multiple aspects of both mainstream and minority cultures within each identity they create and perform.\textsuperscript{19}

The focus of this chapter is the changing representations of identity in the works of Turkish-German authors from the “Klammer- und Klage-” phase through contemporary literature. The benefits of accepting a contemporary view of identity will be shown through

\textsuperscript{19} During the third phase of literature, authors have accepted the belief that identity “is not to be regarded as an ‘essential’ phenomenon representing a predictive of explanatory variable to human behavior” (Keim, “Socio-cultural identity,” 155) but instead acknowledge identity as a constructed concept that is determined by individual actions and constantly affected by societal influences.
analysis of the literary works of Feridun Zaimoglu, a contemporary Turkish-German author and journalist who moved from Turkey to Germany with his parents as an infant. The literary works of Zafer Şenocak and Aysel Özakin, among others, will be analyzed to demonstrate the limitations of prior identity constructs which trapped authors in unforgiving purist schemas and dichotomies. The historical developments that led to these changes will also be analyzed.

**Von der Spaltung Leben: Liberation by Personalizing Speech (Contemporary Representations)**

“Man sagt dem bastard, er fühle sich unwohl, weil zwei seelen bzw. kulturen in ihn wohnen. Das ist eine lüge” (Zaimoglu, *Kanak*, 110)

The image of two souls residing within one soul is not specific to individuals of a minority population. It is also not specific to contemporary literature. In fact, the above-referenced quote from Zaimoglu references Goethe’s well-known quotation from *Faust*, which was first published in 1808. Faust proclaims, “Zwei Seelen wohnen, ach in meiner Brust, die eine will sich von der anderen trennen; Die eine hält, in derber Liebeslust, sich an die Welt ... Die andere hebt gewaltsam vom Dust zu den Gefilden hoher Ahnen” (Goethe, *Faust*, 33). Faust is torn between the physical world and its pleasures on one hand, and spiritual aspirations on the other and is plagued by a divergence between the pleasures of culture₁ and the intellectual drive for higher levels of culture₂. The desire of the piece of soul that clings to worldly pleasures to separate from the soul that longs for culture₂ demonstrates Faust’s belief that these two longings are incompatible, leading him to feel torn. Zaimoglu however contradicts this belief stating that the discord felt by Faust is “eine lüge,” because multiple souls can exist as one through the creation and acceptance of a hybrid identity.
Feridun Zaimoglu propagates an anti-assimilationist stance towards Turkish culture in Germany. The above quote from one of his most famous works *Kanak Sprak: 24 Misstöne vom Rande der Gesellschaft* published in 1995 almost 200 years after Goethe’s *Faust*, also references the phenomenon of two identities and cultures. The speaker’s reference to arguably the most quintessential quote from *Faust* invokes both culture₁ and culture₂ as defined by Richard Rorty. The speaker expresses his thoughts in the language of his culture₁, Kanak Sprak, and cites a major literary work of the majority’s high culture or culture₂, displaying a will and freedom to combine elements of both cultures, resulting not in a feeling of “unwohl,” but liberation through contemporary speech.²⁰ By referencing *Faust* in Kanak Sprak, the speaker demonstrates the movement beyond a pure or even hyphenated identity, because both cultures are represented within one statement. The speaker references both identifications at one time, showing that both cultures can be simultaneously present at one moment. Although the two souls referenced in *Faust* differ from the two souls or cultures represented by Turkish-Germans, the theme of being torn in more than one direction by different souls or aspects of identity is common to German literature written by both mainstream and minority authors.²¹

According to Barbara Fennell’s theory on immigrant literature, it is in the third stage of literature that authors begin to assert their literary influence not as “immigrant” authors, but as authors within the mainstream community. They work to define identities that thrive from hybridity, without feelings of “unwohl.” Instead they express identities enriched through the

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²⁰ The speaker also indicates his or her ownership of German culture₂ through the use of the phrase “er fühle sich unwohl,” an example of the grammatical construction used when reporting indirect speech acts, a structure not produced by individuals with less than a superior linguistic grasp of German.

²¹ Although there are parallels between the quotation from *Faust* and the speech sample from Kanak Sprak, one important difference is that Faust references being torn between this world and a spiritual world whereas the Kanak Sprak speaker references two cultures of this world, being torn in different horizontal directions.
linguistic and cultural assets provided by both German and Turkish language and culture, and are therefore able to enrich German literature as well as the German language. The literary stylings of Feridun Zaimoglu confirm Fennell’s findings, in that he presents figures who incorporate aspects of both Turkish and German culture into hybrid identities. However, although Zaimoglu has asserted his influence on mainstream German society, the figures he paraphrases/represents in his literature are not accepted by mainstream society.

The third stage of Turkish-German immigrant literature has been dominated by Feridun Zaimoglu’s representations of Turkish immigrants, their children, and grandchildren. Although Zaimoglu has published in a variety of genres, this analysis will focus on two of his titles: Kanak Sprak: 24 Misstöne vom Rande der Gesellschaft and Kopf und Kragen: Kanak - Kultur - Kompendium which both explicitly deal with the position of Turks in Germany. In these two works Zaimoglu openly criticizes traditional immigrant literature stating that it is “verfaßt in einer Müllkutscher-Prosa, die den Kanaken auf die Opferrollen festlegt .... Die Deutschen sind ‘betroffen’, weil sie vor falscher Authentizität triefen” (Kanak Sprak, 12).

Zaimoglu accuses authors in the first two movements of immigrant literature of imprisoning “Kanaken” in the role of the victim.

According to Zaimoglu, the “Klammer- und Klage-” phase of immigrant literature in which immigrants are prescribed attributes of “passivity and powerlessness” (Şenocak, Atlas, 26) fits under the categorization of “falsche Authentizität.” However, Zaimoglu’s critique of the first two phases of immigrant literature does not take into account the socioeconomic and political

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22 “composed of garbage-collector literature that forces the Kanake into the role of the victim .... Germans are ‘betroffen’ (moved) because they are confronted with false authenticity.” (my translation)

23 By referring to “Müllkutscher-Prosa,” Zaimoglu references an occupation that could have been filled by members of the first generation of Turks in Germany, an unskilled profession, garbage collector. This reference immediately distances Zaimoglu, a successful author, from early Turks, both intellectually and socioeconomically.
situation faced by early immigrants to Germany. Zaimoglu’s German education and higher socioeconomic status have allowed him to move past “passivity and powerlessness,” because he is able to communicate with members of mainstream society and did not struggle against the same prejudices early Gastarbeiter faced in Germany. His critique loses force when sociocultural and political situations are taken into account.

Zaimoglu describes the purpose of his literature as follows: “Bei dieser ‘Nachdichtung’ war es mir darum zu tun, ein in geschlossenes, sichtbares, mithin ‘authentisches’ Sprachbild zu schaffen. In Gegensatz zu der ‘Immigrationsliteratur’ kommen hier Kanaken in ihrer eigenen Zunge zu Wort” (Kanak Sprak, 18). Zaimoglu contrasts his literature to that of traditional “immigrant literature.” He believes that he has created an authentic “Sprachbild” in which the “Kanaken” speak for themselves. Many modern theories on identity and language have stipulated that language can however exist as a marketable commodity distinct from identity (Heller, “Globalization,” 474).

Monica Heller, a professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto and researcher in the fields of bilingualism and the role of language in the construction of social difference, problematizes the term authenticity in her 2003 article “Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of social difference.” Heller writes that authenticity has become a problematic term, surrounded by “a struggle over who gets to define what counts as a legitimate identity, or what counts as an excellent product” (475). Heller claims that language can exist separately from an identifying characteristic (i.e. an individual who learns a second language purely to be more successful or appealing in the job market).24

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24 Heller goes on to note that the majority culture is the culture that determines which languages exist as positive commodities. For example, Turkish speakers in Germany, although bilingual, do not claim the same social capital as bilingual speakers of German and English or French.
Language choice and an individual’s self-concept or identity creation can exist exclusively from each other. The possibility of an increasing distance between language choice and identity creates a situation in which language can be purposefully manipulated to achieve a specific purpose. In this case, identity is not emergent within discourse, but exists separated from discourse as a marketed product which can be represented in both literary and verbal forms, negating the significance of authenticity in speech acts. However, although Heller problematizes authenticity in terms of bilingual speakers who learn a second language for personal or professional gain, I argue that in the case of speakers of ethnolects and hybrid languages, language choice is an essential component of identity formation, because these individuals choose linguistic registers that are tied to cultural groups and do not lead to economic gains.

By classifying himself as a “detective” (Zaimoglu, Kanak Sprak, 15) and claiming that in his books “Kanaken in ihrer eigenen Zunge zu Wort kommen” (18), Zaimoglu strives to create a sense of history within his texts and to persuade his audience that they are receiving authentic language. He attempts to distance the reader from the notion of reading words of an author. Zaimoglu instead separates himself from his texts, claiming the authenticity of the speech of the minority population. Because he distances himself as an individual from Kanak Sprak, Zaimoglu uses language as an “excellent product,” and not a marker of “legitimate identity” (Heller, “Globalization,” 475). However, Zaimoglu is an exception to the use of Kanak Sprak as a linguistic register separated from identity. The majority of speakers of Kanak Sprak are discriminated against for the use of Kanak Sprak and do not use it as a product. Although Zaimoglu’s claim of authenticity is flawed, his attempt and ability to distance himself from the
language of his written discourse, Kanak Sprak, inherently reinforces the performative nature of Kanak Sprak.

Performativity is demonstrated as Zaimoglu manipulates language, making the language of the speakers represented in his texts perform a task and represent Turkish-Germans in a specific manner. Namely, Zaimoglu represents the aggressive performative identities of the individuals in his novels. However, Zaimoglu does not acknowledge the speech patterns he records as performed or recognize that the speakers are capable of using other linguistic registers. By not identifying these factors, Zaimoglu neglects to identify the performative linguistic choices made by speakers of Kanak Sprak.

Although Zaimoglu neglects to identify the speech of Kanake as performative, he still establishes the idea of performative identity by presenting written discourse in Kanak Sprak despite his status as a speaker of standard German. By writing in a linguistic register other than the language he identifies as his “natural” linguistic register (the register he uses when prefacing his books, giving interviews), Zaimoglu demonstrates the ability to use language to perform a specific social task as well as the ability to parody other linguistic forms.

Zaimoglu does, however, demonstrate the concept of an emergent identity “constituted through social action and especially through language” (Bucholtz, “Identity and interaction,” 588). Mary Bucholtz, a professor of linguistics at the University of California Santa Barbara writes in her article “Identity and interaction: a sociocultural approach” that an emergent identity is most easily recognizable when the language used by speakers does not conform to expected or assigned social categories (588). Zaimoglu as a Turk in Germany does not fit into the role expected of him by mainstream German society. He uses sophisticated German as he prefaces
his literary works but uses stylized Turkish German within his works in order to demonstrate his ability to use language as performative, a creation of identity through speech acts. The figures in his novels assert their identities as members of a stigmatized minority group through their use of language, and Zaimoglu represents the capability of using language to assert multiple identity formations.

As he portrays the “Kanake” in their own words, Zaimoglu experiments with German language, writing in stylized Turkish German or Kanak Sprak, defined by Zaimoglu as a “Bilderflut, sie bringt Fitness in die Modalitäten” (Kopf, 15). Zaimoglu’s description of Kanak Sprak as a flood of pictures that refreshes modality, creating new forms of linguistic expression for how the world could, should, and must be, emphasizes the new linguistic resources provided by Kanak Sprak. In addition to creating new forms of expression, Zaimoglu’s use of Kanak Sprak also corresponds to Elizabeth’s Loentz’s definition of Kanak Sprak as a medial dialect, a provocative, stylized self-representation language style (“Yiddish,” 39). “Kanake” take an anti-assimilatory, aggressive attitude toward language and the majority culture, indicated by aggressive and crude word choices, as well as vivid, violent imagery and topics: a “hip anti- or post-political-correctness” (Loentz, “Yiddish,” 22).25

In contrast to Zaimoglu’s definition of Kanak Sprak as a flood of pictures, refreshing German linguistics, others have claimed that Zaimoglu’s representations of Kanake reinforce negative stereotypes of immigrants in Germany, especially Turks, as a violent, uneducated

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25 This linguistic aggressiveness is explained by Julia H. Eskner in “Ghetto Ideologies, Youth Identities and Stylized Turkish German.” Eskner writes that for Turkish youth, in particular males, “speaking standard or ‘good’ German” is equated with “softness and femininity” (57). The traditional gender roles of Turkish society, in which males are expected to be dominant have transferred over to their hybrid language as well.
criminal element “am Rande der Gesellschaft.”

Many question whether his representation frees the “Kanake” by allowing him to speak and be heard in the mainstream or reinforces stereotypes creating more animosity and therefore restricting the upward mobility of the Turkish population in Germany.

The term “Kanake” itself represents an important movement in the identity formation of Turkish-Germans in that the second and third generations have claimed this former ethnic slur as a positive name for themselves, a phenomenon comparable to the use of the word “niggah” in hip-hop (Zaimoglu, _Kanak_, 9). Zaimoglu claims that Turkish-Germans are only able to speak a flawed Turkish and that “das ‘Alemannisch’ ist ihm nur bedingt” (_Kanak_, 13). By using the word “Alemannisch” instead of “Deutsch” and stating that the German language is presupposed onto Kanake, Zaimoglu represents the disassociation Turkish-Germans feel with German as a language and thereby German culture, creating the necessity for a language of communication and identification for members of the minority population.

By choosing to use Kanak Sprak, Turks use language “die Sprache im verstörten Fleisch, in ramponierten Körpern ein zeitweiliges Domizil findet, dass das gesprochene wie das geschriebene Wort Heiligtümer aus Geschichten und Schicksalen bauen” (_Kopf_, 21). The juxtaposition between the language in battered bodies and the sanctuary provided by Kanak Sprak calls attention to the way Turks, a minority group unified under the belief, “in der Rolle der verdrumnten zu spielen” (Zaimoglu, _Kanak_, 17), choose to adopt an “impure” identity (Herzog, “Hybrids,” 2) and represent themselves as visibly and linguistically other. This maintenance of distance distance defends against a prescribed assimilation into mainstream

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26 In “Talking ‘Kanak’: Zaimoglu contra Leitkultur,” Tom Cheesman states that Zaimoglu’s work “risks affirming stereotyped images (by generation and lifestyle) within a minority” (83).
German society. By using representations of Kanak Sprak in literature, Zaimoglu creates an opportunity for both Turks and Germans to reflect on Kanak Sprak and allow it to become a medium to create a cohesive group identity for Turks, a literature through which they can define themselves.

Zaimoglu, like authors before him, expresses the “lost” feeling experienced by individuals who are unable (because of societal or linguistic constraints) to express themselves in their first language, a theme present in the “Klammer- und Klage-” phase of immigrant literature. However, he claims that Kanak Sprak functions as the “linguistic manifestation of our mobilization” (Kopf, 15). Some critics argue that his “authentic” representations hinder instead of facilitate the social mobilization of Turkish-Germans. Tom Cheesman defines Kanak Sprak as an “invention of a pseudo-ethnicity” that “disrupts the state sanctioned dialogue between ‘Germans’ and ‘Turks’” (83). Liesbeth Minnard concurs, stating that Zaimoglu strives to “stage himself as an intermediary between the dominant German society and a mostly irreproachable German-Turkish underworld” (3) in order to “open up a subordinate, hardly accessible world” (2). However, by focusing exclusively on “underworld” members of the Turkish-German minority, Zaimoglu “self-colonizes” the group he attempts to free (6).28

The title of Zaimoglu’s book Kanak Sprak: 24 Misstöne vom Rande der Gesellschaft immediately creates an image of individuals who create dissonance within society. Turkish-Germans are described as individuals clashing with society, unable to find a connection with the

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27 In “Hybrids and Mischlinge: Translating Anglo-American Cultural Theory into German,” Todd Herzog historicizes various theories of hybridism, arguing that minority populations are cast into the role of the outsider and thereby accept finding a home outside of the majority or minority cultures by remaining visibly and culturally other, as the body has remained “a marker of identity” that cannot be overcome (15).

28 Both Cheesman and Minnard focus on the false authenticity they see in Zaimoglu’s representations, ignoring the aspect of performativity that Zaimoglu has created, although not identified, in his writing.
majority society. In Zaimoglu’s linguistic reconstruction of Akay, a 29 year old at the flea market, Akay states, “wir sind hier allgesamt nigger, wir haben unser ghetto ... unser leben ist nigger” (Kanak, 25). Akay compares the plight of Turks in German to the plight of African Americans in the United States. He feels slighted by society and unable to transition into the mainstream. By describing the entire life as “ghetto,” Akay voices a generalization that all aspects of his life are ghetto, indicating a hopelessness of his situation.

Many “Misstöne” described in Kanak Sprak explore whether or not a pluralization of identity is in fact possible (Skiba, “Ethnolekte,” 185). In the re-transcribed words of Büjück Ibo, eighteen years old: “Erste sorge, identität, ne person zu sein ... Scheiß drauf! Erste sorge: wo bin ich und wie bring ich meine haut in’n sichren hafen” (Zaimoglu, Kanak, 44-5). Büjück questions the validity of being able to create an identity when an individual is concerned with simply surviving. Another young man, Hasan, a thirteen-year-old student and self-professed stray, more explicitly deals with the idea of a hybrid identity: “Diese scheiße mit den zwei kulturen steht mir bis hier, was soll das, was bringt mir’n kluger schnack mit zwei fellen, auf denen mein arsch kein platz hat, ‘n fell streck ich mir über’n leib, damit mir nicht bange wird ... Die wollen wir weismachen” (Zaimoglu, Kanak, 96). Hasan’s description of the idea of a dual identity as “scheiße” and criticizes the concept of an identity as worthless, a concept created by the majority culture simply to force his assimilation or “weismachen.” Although at first glance the statements made by Ibo and Hasan seem aggressive, the cognitive awareness and analysis of identity creation and socialization demonstrate higher-level intellectual thinking that is juxtaposed with the raw, violent nature of the language in which they speak. The raw, aggressive attributes of
Kanak Sprak sadly stand in the way of dialogue between “Kanaken” and members of mainstream German society.

As one reads the “authentically” created literary expressions of the homeless, transsexual, prostitutes, garbage workers, flea market merchants and so on in Kanak Sprak, the authenticity of the identity statements must be questioned in terms of the accuracy of the representation of true Turkish-Germans. Although Zaimoglu states that he gives “Kanake” the word in his texts, he also admits that he, of course, writes to reach a public “Wieso schreibe ich Bücher? Ich will natürlich Publikum” (Literature, 220). Zaimoglu’s intended public is not the Turkish population, but the German majority. In the words of Dirk Skiba in order to appeal to a German-speaking audience and be understood “Gespräche mußten allein deshalb bearbeitet werden” (195). Minnard agrees with Skiba, stating that Zaimoglu’s definition as a participant observer of the “verdammt Welt” “ridicules the methodological claims of objectivity and neutrality” (“Playing,” 3). Zaimoglu is just as guilty as other intellectuals, authors of immigrant literature of presenting a false sense of authenticity and Turkish identity to the German public. Instead, he creates a staged authenticity, a performative but de facto integration of Turks into mainstream Germany (Cheesman, “Talking ‘Kanak’,” 84).

Although Zaimoglu’s works have faced criticism, his choice to write in Kanak Sprak is an important step in the development of immigrant literature. By writing in a stylized version of the ethnolect spoken by some Turks in Germany, Zaimoglu celebrates the markedness of the Turkish population in Germany. Zaimoglu demonstrates the paradox of cultural hybridity, finding a home in homelessness (Herzog, “Hybrids,” 5). Zaimoglu creates a space in which Turkish-Germans can identify not only with mainstream German or Turkish society, but in a new space, a
third culture expressed through Kanak Sprak, a home without physical dimensions. The concept of a third cultural space as home is important as it signifies a comfort in existing outside of traditional societal and cultural structures. Individuals who choose to identify with a third space negate the value of having a primary or “pure” cultural identity; instead they find a home in a new conceptualization that leaves room for the plurality of their identities.

Resistance to the language of mainstream society, in this case German, is often considered a challenge to both the culture₁ and culture₂ of members of the dominant society, who may, according to Kofsaftis, consider the alteration of language as a threat or challenge (“Fighting,” 69). Zaimoglu’s use of stylized Turkish German (Kanak Sprak) indicates his willingness to stand up to mainstream society, create a home without physical dimensions, thereby defining himself outside of German or Turkish society as a hybrid individual, “an icon of political resistance to colonial power” (Herzog, “Hybrids,” 1).

The command of a second language gives authors the ability to achieve a German that is “durch die Erstsprache gefärbt, geformt und verfremdet” (Amodeo, Literatur, 153). The fact that commanding a second language provides a stage for the development of a new identity directly disputes Heller’s claim that language can exist completely separately from identity. The candid alienation of the German language represents the will of the minority author and minority population respectively not to be identified within the structure of the Weder-Noch. The “spielerische Verfremdung der deutschen Sprache” (Skiba, “Ethnolekte,” 202) differs enough to create a certain level of distance for the German reader, but does not go so far as to become incommunicable.²⁹ A command of German was not a skill most Gastarbeiter had. Therefore,

²⁹ This attempt to create distance between the reader and text can be seen as a modification of Verfremdungseffekte presented in the works of Bertolt Brecht.
earlier generations of Turkish-Germans were not able to create a hybrid language and identity, but were forced as a result of linguistic incommunicability to identify with one language and culture: Turkish.

Some argue that Zaimoglu’s *Verfremdung* may turn the achieved ‘hybrid’ identity into “a new categorising regime that leaves no space for diversity” (Minnard, “Playing,” 6), as members of the Turkish-German population who have successfully created a hybrid identity, not as Kanake, but as modern Turkish-Germans remain unrepresented. Aylin Selcuk, a member of the Turkish German group *Die Deukische Generation* describes the goal of the organization as “Vorteile abzubauen, die Integration sowie Chancengleichheit zu verbessern und als Sprachrohr für Politik und Medien zu wirken” (Selcuk, “Ein Kommentar,”). Selcuk argues against many representations of Turks present in the media, stating, “Das Bild, welches so minutiös DER Türken, DER Muslime in den Medien abgebildet wird hat nur ein Ziel: Klischees bedienen” (Selcuk, “Ein Kommentar”). Selcuk argues that Zaimoglu, described as the “Malcolm X der Türken” (Skiba, “Ethnolekte,” 197), also perpetuates in his literary works the stereotypes of Turks as petty criminals, poor, uneducated, and violent already present in mainstream German society.

The notion of Kanak Sprak as “a language which is rank, explosive, which is laid on [Kanasta’s] tongue and their skin by German conditions” (Cheesman, “Talking ‘Kanak’,” 94), describes a society in which integration is not taking place. The explosive language is forced on the Turkish population by German society. Despite the developments within the field of Turkish-German literature, the typical Turk in Germany has not created a bourgeois identity acceptable

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30 In this statement, Selcuk expresses the necessity of distinction between group and individual identities, a concept often lost in generalizations made in the media.
within German society. He continues to live “am Rande der Gesellschaft.” A Turk is at home in Germany, but Germany remains the “foreign homeland” even for third generation Turkish-Germans. Their chosen “hybridity breaks down as the disjunctive power of the hyphen, which separates even as it connects, comes to dominate perceptions” (Herzog, “Hybrids,” 15). The individual Turkish-German does not feel torn apart by the two souls, two languages, and two cultures living within himself or herself, but creates a new cultural space in which both Bach and Dönerkebab, Kanak Sprak and Faust, can coexist within one individual: the creator and possessor of a hybrid identity.

Beyond Entweder-Oder

Die Soziologen sagen
Daß wir zerrissen sind zwischen zwei Welten ...  
Wir tragen die Zerrissenheit dieser Welt in uns
Wir tragen in uns die Ungleichheit ...
Unsere Augen könnten zugleich genießen
Die Olivenbäume und die großgewachsenen Eichen.
(Özakin, Du bist, 26-7)

This excerpt from Özakin’s poem “Second Generation” demonstrates the efforts of children of the Gastarbeiter to move beyond the us/them or entweder/oder dichotomy of German-Turkish relations. Özakin comments that despite sociological reports that the second generation of Turkish immigrants are “torn between two worlds” with disunity and inner conflict carried in their souls, the second generation does not live in a state of constant inner turmoil. Instead they have chosen to adopt an “impure” identity (Herzog, “Hybrids,” 2). Second generation individuals went to German schools, learned German as a native language, and therefore had higher levels of interaction with members of mainstream German society. The interaction with both cultures created an opportunity for individuals to incorporate elements of
both cultures into their identities as well as a struggle to find a place in society as they faced pressures from both Turkish and German societies to create a “pure” identity and associate with one cultural group.

However, despite these pressures, authors in the second generation fought against the majority culture’s expectation to integrate “and by that they mean nothing other than complete assimilation, the disappearance of Anatolian faces behind German masks” (Şenocak, Germany, 257). Instead they attempted to allow both cultures existential room in their identities, allowing them to simultaneously take pleasure in “the olive trees and the tall oaks.”

Özakin goes further to tear down the, from her perspective, societal-created, unnecessary borders between Germans and Turks in her poem “Kulturunterschied” (“Cultural Difference”) when she states that there should be no cultural difference, arguing that:

\[
\text{es keinen Kulturunterschied} \\
\text{Zwischen unserem Lachen gibt} \\
\text{Daß wir die gleiche Sprache haben} \\
\text{Die Sprache der Sehnsucht} \\
\text{Nach einer heiteren Erde.} \\
\text{(34 - 35)}
\]

By noting the universality of laughter and stating the “we” have the same language: a longing for a brighter world, Özakin’s use of imagery that is tied to language and spoken voice opposes the idea that a common traditional language is necessary for communication and interaction. Özakin makes an appeal for a universal language that would overcome any linguistic differences and create a culture of belonging. For Özakin and other writers within this genre, a universal longing for a brighter world is enough to overcome any perceived cultural differences. It is interesting that Özakin uses German to express her longing for a culture that would accept hybridity as a valid construction of identity. Her use of German shows that her intended audience is a German
audience. She directs the poem at a German-speaking audience to encourage cross-cultural communication. By using standard German to communicate with a German audience, Özakin shows that she has not yet developed a hybrid linguistic register. She communicates in a standard linguistic register, indicating a separation between Turkish and German that has not yet been bridged linguistically. Although Özakin has taken a step towards accepting elements of both German and Turkish culture in identity construction, she has not yet reflected on or identified the performative element of identity that is freeing for authors in the third and fourth generations.

In her collection of narratives titled *Die Deutschprüfung (The German Test)*, Alev Tekinay, a Turkish-German linguist and faculty member in the departments of DaF (German as a Foreign Language) and Turkish at the University of Augsburg, focuses on the potential for individuals to exist as hybrids simultaneously inside of and apart from two or more separate societies. Tekinay, who left Istanbul to move to Germany at the age of twenty, expresses the struggle to find a Zuhause, a fusion of cultures in which differences become the grounding of a complex identity. However, unlike contemporary authors, Tekinay does not represent identity as inherently performative, but as something that exists naturally.

Tekinay explicitly communicates the longing for cultural hybridity in the first work she presents in *Die Deutschprüfung*, a poem titled “Dazwischen” (“Between”). The narrator of the poem struggles to find his or her own world or identity:

Jeden Tag ist das Heimweh
unwiderstehlicher,
aber die neue Heimat hält mich fest.

(Tekinay, 7)
In this excerpt, the narrator expresses a homesickness that becomes more absorbing each day coupled with a “new home” that holds him or her more tightly each day. The narrator goes on to say that he or she travels two-thousand kilometers each day, unable to decide between the wardrobe and the suitcase, staying and leaving, “und dazwischen ist meine Welt” (7). The narrator’s world exists in the in-between, in an attempt to create a hybrid identity that allows both Heimats to coexist. However, in the narrator’s attempt to create a hybrid identity, he or she does not yet accept the performative nature of identity as natural as represented by Zaimoglu, but still attempts to create a singular identity, leaving the narrator torn between two cultures and geographic locations, unable to feel at home in the “dazwischen” geographical location that has become home.

The concept of travel as a means to merge two separate homes is also expressed in “Der fliegende Zug” (“The flying train”). In this essay, a young boy named Stefan visits his aunt and uncle in a village in which Turkish immigration and integration have been fairly successful. During this visit he learns to break free from the majority culture of his hometown, in which distancing oneself from foreigners is seen as an “unwritten rule” (Tekinay, *Die Deutschprüfung*, 89), when he becomes friends with a young Turkish girl, Fidan, who takes him on a journey to visit her home in a flying train. When he asks her if she is ever homesick, she explains, “Ja und nein ... Deine Heimat ist wie meine Heimat. Ich lebe hier und spreche deine Sprache. Oft fühle ich mich hier wie zuhause ...” (91). Fidan eloquently explains that Stefan’s home is like her home. She lives in Germany, speaks German, and often feels as though she is home in Germany. However, Fidan does not say your home is my home. The use of the word “wie” indicates an
element of incompleteness or holding back. Germany is almost home for Fidan, but not quite. Something is still missing: a true home.31

The narrative ends with Stefan’s vow to create his own flying train at home, one where all students “nicht nur Jürgen, Sabine, Renate, und Klaus, sondern auch Ahmet, Ali, Dilek, Jannis, Giovanni, Dragen, Murat” would be welcome, because “der fliegende Zug kennt keine Grenzen” (Tekinay, *Die Deutschprüfung*, 94). In many cases, names carry great meaning in Turkish-German literature. Names are a vital component of identity; and, in the case of Germans and Turks, names lend themselves easily to cultural categorizations. By naming both typical German and foreign names, Stefan recognizes and overcomes this cultural categorization. The flying train, as well as he himself, knows no borders, either physical or those built up in the minds of individuals.

One of Tekinay’s characters who appears to integrate in the majority’s culture perspective, that is to completely assimilate “the disappearance of (his) Anatolian face behind (a) German mask” (Şenocak, *Germany*, 257) is Herr Denker in the work “Das Fernrohr.” Because of his German-like name, Herr Denker “war völlig in die deutsche Gesellschaft integriert, er war die Integration in Person” (Tekinay, *Die Deutschprüfung*, 78). However, he is unable to survive in Germany, a country he describes as “ohne herzliche Wärme” (79) without a magical telescope that allows him to see his old Heimat and his family. Herr Denker, the personification of “successful” integration remains internally unassimilated. He is unable to embrace his in-betweenness as later characters do, but chooses to live his life invisible, in disguise.

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31 Another element of the passage that speaks towards a missing element in Fidan’s words is “deine Sprache.” Although Fidan has linguistic competence in German, she identifies German as not belonging to her, but Stefan. It is his language because of social stipulations, not language skills.
Although he can not embrace living in a third cultural space, because Herr Denker still searches for a way to unify his two cultures and find a third cultural space where he could live, not as a “ein prächtiger deutscher Kerl ... ein Roboter mit chronischen Kopfschmerzen” (Tekinay, *Die Deutschprüfung*, 80), he is representative of the second stage of immigrant literature. Although he does not achieve his goal, he searches for a way to be allowed by society to appreciate the order and familiarity of Germany as well as the spices and warmth of his Turkish home. By expressing elements of both German and Turkish culture, Tekinay demonstrates the positives associated with both cultures. However, her character Herr Denker is still trapped within the hyphen of his identity and cannot form a hybrid identity. He is too worried about fitting into German society to be able to express pride in the Turkish aspects of his identity and create a truly pluralistic identity.

Tekinay and Özakin, as well as other authors during this period of literature, in which the focus remained on the reconstruction of an identity incorporating elements of both German and Turkish culture, made great progress in moving beyond the entweder/oder dichotomy promoted by German society. By refusing to “hide Anatolian faces behind German masks” (Şenocak, *Germany*, 257), they made possible a new movement in German-Turkish literature: the consolidation of the new identity construct and its representation within German society. The conflict between German and Turkish cultures, modernity and tradition, as expressed in the second phase of immigrant literature, would “make it possible for the Turks of Germany to summon up their creativity that will give birth to a specific culture” (*Germany*, 260). The third culture space that was constructed by authors in the third phase would have been impossible without the attempt to move beyond the us/them dichotomy propagated by German mainstream
and Turkish minority cultures represented by the purist identity constructions in the first phase of German-Turkish literature.

“Klammer- und Klage-” Phase (The Beginnings of Turkish-German literature)

Ich bin Ausländer
der letzte Dreck
auf der Erde
schäme mich ...
Ich Ausländer,
nichts verstehen, nichts sprechen

(Ücüncü, “Ich bin,” as cited in Fennell, Language, Literature, 143)

This poem by Sadi Ücüncü, a Turkish-German author whose work focused on both xenophobia as well as the role of women in Turkish society, from 1984 is representative of the “Klammer- und Klage-” phase of foreign literature. The Gastarbeiter that came to Germany for work were unable to express themselves in German in order to become active participants in German society. The “passivity and powerlessness ... fundamental conditions of their existence” (Şenocak, Atlas, 26) were expressed by authors of this era, who chose to write in German. This literary decision demonstrated the authors’ urge to move beyond a Turkish audience and represent their culture in the mainstream, an attempt to achieve an “Ausbruch aus der Isolation” (Pazarkaya, “Literatur ist,” 67). However, although authors during this time period were able to write in German, the population in whose interest they wrote remained isolated linguistically and socially from German society.  

32 The linguistic differential between author and represented group exists in the first and third phases of Turkish-German literature. In the “Klammer- und Klage-” phase, authors used standard German to represent the interests and plights of Turkish speakers. However, in the final stage, Zaimoglu uses Kanak Sprak, a language outside of his chosen register to represent minority speakers. This progression shows an increasing acceptance of hybridity of language in mainstream society, as both sets of texts are aimed at a German mainstream audience.
Despite the attempts of authors to represent the *Gastarbeiter* in German fiction and encourage cultural and political change, their efforts were impeded by the reluctance of Germans to see beyond the cultural differences and overcome the “buffer zone” of non-understanding in their minds (Şenocak, *Atlas*, 33). In his collection of essays *Atlas of a Tropical Germany*, Zafer Şenocak, a Turkish-German author who studied politics, philosophy and German, questions the ability of individuals to overcome cultural boundaries and engage in true dialogue. Şenocak claims that the majority and minority cultures define themselves in terms of cultural differences, which impedes their efforts to communicate, since individuals within each culture learn to speak not “with one another but only about one another” (*Atlas*, 27). This claim is important for first generation literature, as the majority of *Gastarbeiter* never acquired the linguistic skills needed to be able to communicate with Germans in mainstream society and move beyond the walls of their culturally Turkish enclaves in Germany.

Beyond the issue of language differences, authors were also unable to bridge the gap between cultures, because their use of the German language was “a defensive means of constructing an identity for use by an ethnic intellligentsia in confrontation with a dominating society” (Fennell, *Language, Literature*, 134). The “ethnic intellligentsia” was unable to reach the majority of either culture. Şenocak spoke to the simultaneous isolation achieved as the Germans forced the Turkish population to the edges of society, supported as “We (the Turkish population) are in the process of building islands for ourselves in Germany ... (perpetuating) the mentality of the buffer zone” (*Atlas*, 34). In this passage, Şenocak identifies the bilateral processes of exclusion enacted by Turkish and German societies, which allowed no room for
hyphenated or hybrid identities. Both cultural groups wished to remain “pure” and separate from
the other.

Emine S. Özdamar, a Turkish-German actress, director, and author who draws her
inspiration from the works of Heinrich Heine and Bertolt Brecht, reinforces the “buffer zone”
mentality as she questions the attitude of Germans towards the Turkish population in her play
Karagöz in Alamania/Blackeye in Germany. “Do we have to admit that we understand
immediately what we perceive through our eyes and ears? Even foreigners whose language we
have not yet learned? ... should we maintain that we don’t see them or that we don’t understand
them when we nevertheless see them?” (230).

The title of her play, Karagöz in Alamania demonstrates a distancing from the German
culture, in that although she chose to publish her work in German, Özdamar’s title does not call
Germany Deutschland but “Alamania,” emphasizing the foreignness she sees in her new country.
Although she lives there, she does not name or perceive Germany als Deutsche, but from a
distance, a foreigner in “Alamania.” Özdamar also questions the belief that a common language
is a necessity for basic social interactions when she states, “should we maintain that we don’t
understand them ... when we nevertheless see them?” By claiming that a common language is
not a prerequisite for cultural understanding, Özdamar challenges Zafer Şenocak’s assertion that
there exists a need to create a third language “a bastard language that transforms
misunderstandings into comedy and fear into understanding” (Atlas, 35). The equation of a
common language with cultural understanding continues to remain a question in German-Turkish
literature, as authors including Özdamar, Ayse, and Şenocak, wrote in German and mourned the
loss of their “mother tongue” (Özdamar, “Mother Tongue,” 253). However, despite the
development of Kanak Sprak which could be considered the “bastard tongue” to which Şenocak refers, communication between Turks and Germans often remains hindered by the cultural borders that exist in the minds of individuals in both mainstream and minority society.  

Authors in the first phase of Turkish-German literature represent the tensions between “hybrid bilingualism” and “the bounded monolingual type performances they are usually asked to perform” (Heller, “Globalization,” 490). By mourning the loss of their mother tongue, these authors state their belief that they are unable to create a Turkish identity in the German language. The monolingual performances created by first phase authors stand in direct opposition to literary discourse of the third phase that is written in Kanak Sprak, a hybrid language. This hybrid language allows room for pluralistic, performative identities not accepted or explored by first phase authors as a result of the socioeconomic and political situation in which they lived.

In “My Two Faces,” Ayse clearly states the necessity to live a double existence in order to be accepted in both Turkish and German society: “In the morning I got up a Turk ... At school I was a German ... As soon as I was home I had to put my Turkish face on again, or else I didn’t get along with people” (238). In this short excerpt, Ayse represents living as both a “natural” state of being: “I got up a Turk” and “I was a German” and a performance: “I had to put my Turkish face on again.” By portraying her Turkish self as both a natural state of being and a necessary performance, Ayse develops a modern perspective that identity is inherently performance. However, her feelings of having a fractured identity in order to “get along with people” signify that she does not consider performance as natural or healthy, but as a practice that impedes her sense of self.

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33 This lack of communication is indicated by the ever-present failure of “successful” integration of the Turkish population in Germany, as shown by failure in the education, isolated communities, and the lack of existence of a large Turkish-German middle class.
The necessity of performing multiple identities in order to successfully integrate into multiple societies proved unmanageable for some Turkish immigrants and their children. In her short fictional narrative “Freuden der Jugend,” Özdamar records in autobiographical style the fate of one young man unable to maintain his split identity.

Özdamar’s character is a seventeen year-old male. He is never named in the narrative, although the German youth who he interacts with, even briefly, are all named. This lack of naming could be either an attempt to create a character that is not individualized but a representative of an age and culture demographic or an effort to embody his lack of a true identity, as he is unable to name himself and project himself as an individual to the outside world.

The figure feels excluded from two societies, not fitting into German society at school or developing a close relationship with Turkish culture. In fact, the only Turks we are introduced to are his parents. He laments his own existence: “Tot geboren, ich bin tot geboren” (Özdamar, “Freuden,” 78) and comments on his perpetual feeling of “otherness,” “aufs Klo mußte jeder allein, da fiel es nicht weiter auf, daß ich ein Fremdkörper war” (69). By referencing using the bathroom as one of the only times he fits into society by adhering to a cultural norm, the narrator states that he only identifies with the most base human attributes. Outside of this primal need, he is separate from society, unable to fit into any culture: German, Turkish, or that of a third cultural space. In the end, he is unable to withstand the pressures of failing to live a double identity and commits suicide, “Nun stand ich hier und blutete. Nein. Der Spiegel zeigte ein seltsames Gesicht, müde, traurig, verschmiert. Das war nicht ich. Das war das Leben.” (89). Even as he is
watching himself die, he is unable to recognize himself as a person. The unfamiliar, tired, sad, blurry face he sees in the mirror does not depict himself. It reflects life.

Zafer Şenocak also uses violent imagery to portray the fractured nature of the Turkish-German individual in his poem “Selling the Still of Morning at the Market:”

I carry around two worlds inside
neither is complete
they keep bleeding

the border goes
through the middle of my tongue

I rattle it like a prisoner
the action on a wound
(Door, 145-7).

Although the narrator recognizes the two worlds in which he or she lives and that live inside of him- or herself, he or she does not accept the combination of these two worlds as natural or healthy. Both are incomplete and bleeding, symbolizing the pain of living in a split identity. The imagery of a border through “the middle of [his or her] tongue” signifies the detriment of living between two languages. A bleeding, split tongue is unable to communicate with either culture. It is a constant wound, unable to heal as the narrator continues to attempt to interact with two cultures, his or her tongue “rattling,” creating a deeper “wound.”

Hasan Özdemir, a poet who writes and published his poems in both Turkish and German, explores the feeling of pain in his poem “schmerz der gedanken/ oder made in germany.” The title itself expresses sadness in his mind that is “made in germany.” Özdemir goes on to write,
In “schmerz der gedanken,” Özdemir uses imagery of the golden dawning of each day, the sanguine of the season, and the pitch black faces of racists to create a juxtaposition of the natural beauty of nature and the darkness of society. The three colors come together schwarz/rot/gold: the colors of the German flag to create pain. The gelbgold of the dawn is overshadowed by the pitch black of racism. Melancholy and pain are thereby “made in germany.”

The painful imagery of the inability to exist between two worlds in the “Klammer- and Klage-” phase of Turkish-German literature reveals the collective pain felt by the Turkish-German population as they struggled to live within a hostile majority society and deal with the loss of home, family, and identity as well as the inability of Turkish-German authors to accept performance as inherent to identity and language as a performative act. Only in the second and third stages of Turkish-German literature did authors attempt to unify the “two worlds inside” and accept the creation of a hybrid, performed identity.

Conclusion

“Das Wort macht die Welt weiter als die Stube, in der man sitzt und schreibt, sitzt und schreibt.”
(Zaimoglu, Literature, 9)
Throughout the transformation from the “Klammer- und Klage-” phase of German immigrant literature to the expression of Turkish-Germans through the literary stylings of Feridun Zaimoglu, one element has remained the same. Following the ideas of Richard Rorty, individuals who exist outside of mainstream society create personal identities. As they develop a new language, they compel mainstream society to recognize and accept the existence of hybrid identities. Turkish-German authors have explored the use of literature “als ein Medium, das aktiv an der (gesellschaftlichen) Konstruktion von Subjektivität und individueller Identität beteiligt ist” (Landgraf, “Die Realität,” 4). By using literature to create a means for reflection on identity and identity construction, Turkish-German authors have been able to invent themselves through literature “inventing new moral identities for themselves by getting semantic authority over themselves” (Richard Rorty, “Feminism and Pragmatism,” 3). However, only as authors began to accept identity as inherently performative and chose to represent Turks who had chosen to live as visibly other, finding a home in homelessness (Herzog, “Hybrids,” 15) did these authors create a space for increased politicalization and visibility of the Turkish minority in Germany.

Despite the development of Turkish-German literature, Turks in Germany continue to battle a predominantly hostile majority culture. The theme of loss and hopelessness is as evident in modern Turkish literature as in literature from the first generation: “sie haben das Spiel verloren, weil die karten gezinkt sind, die man ihnen in die hand drückt. Deshalb sind sie kanaken ... wir sind bastard freund” (Zaimoglu, Kanak, 110).34 The inability of immigrants in Germany to move beyond the edges of society and find a place and identification point within

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34 In this passage, Zaimoglu represents the attitude that Turks in Germany feel predestined for an unsuccessful existence as a result of the label of other or “bastard” placed on them by German society. This attitude is in some ways reinforced by mainstream culture and a government who claims that multiculturalism in Germany has failed.
mainstream German society begs the question whether a language which is created for an “us” ever be able to describe “others” in society (Şenocak, Atlas, 46), after all, “we do not speak to the Other with our words. We do not speak with him, because we do not know his words” (Şenocak, Atlas, 44). Self-creation and acceptance of a hybrid identity is not enough to achieve progress in the relationship between majority and minority cultures if the majority culture is unwilling to create a space for open dialogue and acceptance of linguistic and cultural diversity. This lack of communication is a struggle that Turkish-Germans even in the third and fourth generations continue to face as they struggle to move beyond the “disjunctive power of the hyphen” (Herzog, “Hybrids,” 15).35

35 Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson take a more aggressive stance towards the lack of successful integration of Turks in Germany in their article “Minority Workers or Minority Human Beings? A European Dilemma.” In this article, they state, “the position for immigrant workers is that they are still largely seen as workers rather than human beings with equal rights” and that educational practice “falls within a UN definition of linguistic genocide” (291). This linguistic genocide that affected the first generation of workers continues to affect later generations of Turkish-Germans who struggle to come to terms with the loss of their “mother tongue.” These accusations that target political policies could also be applied to the overwhelming lack of support for bilingual education in both Germany and the United States.
II. SPANGLISH: INCREASING ACCEPTANCE OF THE “BORDERLANDS” IN HISPANIC-AMERICAN LITERATURE

To live in the Borderlands means you
are neither hispana india negra española
ni gabacha, eres mestiza, mulata, half-breed
caught in the crossfire between two camps
while carrying all five races on your back
In the Borderlands
you are a battleground
you are at home, a stranger ...
To survive in the Borderlands
you must live sin fronteras
be a crossroads

(Anzaldúa, Borderlands, 195)

The development from understanding identity as a “natural” or pure element to the
understanding of identity as a hybrid, fluid development and creation of self is integral as
Hispanic-American authors move from writing immigrant texts to native texts. Hispanic-
American texts follow a similar progression through phases such as those for Turkish-German
literature as defined by Barbara Fennell’s three stages of immigrant literature. In order to
analyze the similarities and differences in the development of a working identity concept in
literature, a close analysis of Hispanic-American literature is necessary.

Just as Turkish-German authors struggled to create personal and group identities through
creative expression in literature, Hispanic-American authors, from immigrants to further
generations created literature in which the concept of identity was explored and therefore
evolved. Gloria Anzaldúa, a feminist Chicana author, creates literature that in many ways is
representative of the modern concept of identity that contemporary authors have explored and
defined.
In her book *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* published in 1987, Gloria Anzaldúa struggles to define her identity as well as the meaning of identity for individuals who live outside of the traditional black/white dichotomy of United States’ race relations in “the borderlands.” The integration of aspects of self-search, political resistance, and protest in the texts of Anzaldúa and other Chicano/a authors indicates the difficulties many minority authors have defining themselves within both mainstream society and their minority group. These difficulties are reflected in the high frequency that the elements of self-search and identity development present in Turkish-German literature are also essential in the analysis of Hispanic-American literature.

One important difference between Turkish-German and Hispanic-American literature is the variance among the Hispanic-American population. The Latina/o label placed on authors is a homogenizing label; for although some individuals identify primarily as Latina/o or Hispanic, most also identify with a national identity, e.g. Puerto Rican, Mexican, Cuban, and many others. This causes Chicano society to exist merely as an ‘imagined community’ in which the “national latino identity is inevitably subordinated to a dominant one” (Aparicio, “Cultural Twins,” 630). According to Benedict Anderson all communities are imagined, because communities are not based on personal interaction between members. Aparicio uses the term “imagined community” to describe the Latino/a community, because beyond members of the community not interacting with one another, Aparicio believes the broad Latino/a label to be far less influential than identification with a specific national culture. The influences from a national Latino identity,

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36 The “borderlands” that Anzaldúa depicts are both a physical and psychological location. The “borderlands” exist geographically on the border between the United States and Mexico. However, the “borderlands” are just as present in the minds of individuals who attempt to create a hybrid identity incorporating elements of Latin American and US American culture.
specific Central and South American national identities, and an American identity pull authors in multiple directions as they struggle to define themselves both within mainstream and minority cultures.

The American Southwest, in particular California, Arizona, and Texas, as well as major cities such as New York, Chicago, and Miami have become major centers of minority communities and authors. These communities began as populations (im)migrated to the United States and settled. Literature in these communities developed to perform various functions as new generations were born on American soil, and the goals and focus of authors and literature changed. The first form of literature that appeared for most groups of Hispanic immigrants was journalistic writing, such as newspapers, followed by literature, “as a demands for social justice” (Rivero, “Hispanic Literature,” 173).

Nicolás Kanellos is the Brown Foundation Professor of Hispanic Studies at the University of Houston as well as the director of the nation’s oldest and largest non-profit publisher of Hispanic literature in the United States, Arte Público Press. Following the breakdown of transnational texts he outlines in the article “A Schematic Approach to Understanding Transnational Literary Texts,” literature as a demands for social justice would best be represented by the category of immigrant texts. These texts exist as a bridge between the author’s home country and the United States, often representing a “binary contrast of land, language, and cultures,” as well as the rejection of assimilation or the idea of assimilation into American society, and a focus on labor and human rights themes (34). In terms of identity, writers of immigrant texts identify almost exclusively with one culture: that of their home
Prominent authors of Latino immigrant texts include Pedro Pietri, a Puerto-Rican-American author who criticizes the American dream in his book *Puerto Rican Obituary*, and Rudolfo Gonzales, a Mexican-American author best known for his bilingual work *I Am Joaquín Yo Soy Joaquin*.

Following the constant flux of (im)migrants to the United States, other Latino/as also arrived, born on United States’ soil, as American citizens. These individuals often grew up with a sense of a dual, split, hyphenated identity. Not fully Mexican/Puerto Rican/Cuban nor fully American, they expressed the feeling of being split, physically marked, and discriminated against by both minority and mainstream cultures.

These feelings of having a hyphenated identity evolved over time into a gradual acceptance of the hybrid identity as a positive identifying attribute: something to be treasured and nurtured, not hidden or ashamed of. This development mirrors the development of Turkish-German literature from the “Klammer- und Klage-” phase to the celebration of hybrid, performed identities as represented in the literature of Feridun Zaimoglu. Similar to Zaimoglu, many modern Hispanic-American authors lived in, wrote about, and celebrated living in “the borderlands.” This evolution from immigrant literature to the literature of an ethnic minority “entails the development of a sense of ‘belonging’ in a society other than the native, a degree of functionality in the system, a sense of being a cultural hybrid” (Rivero, “Hispanic Literature,” 175).

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37 Another classification of text in which authors identify primarily with the culture of their home country is the classification of exile texts. However, exile texts perform a very different function, as exile texts are directed not at the country of (im)migration, but the country they have left. The conditions in the new country are by and large ignored in order to entirely focus on the land they were forced to leave. Most Cuban-American literature falls under the categorization of exile literature.
Authors of (under Kanellos’ classification system) “native texts” displayed an identification with the geographical United States as their homeland, directed their texts at a primarily American audience, and included themes such as the struggle for human and civil rights as well as personal and group journeys towards cultural synthesis and the hybridization of new identities (Kannellos, “A Schematic,” 34). This ideal of cultural synthesis is best described by Anzaldúa’s text from Borderlands, the passage with which I chose to begin this chapter.

Borderlands is a work that clearly represents the function of literature that exists within a “‘border state of mind’, a space of intercultural synthesis ... Therefore [it] proposes an alternative, an ‘interior homeland,’ or a space for a new identity to exist” (Rivero, “Hispanic Literature,” 189). Anzaldúa recognizes the difficulties associated with living in an in-between space, being rejected by both mainstream and Hispanic society “caught in the crossfire” (Borderlands, 195). However, she rejects creating a dichotomous identity, claiming that in order to exist in the borderlands, one must, “live sin fronteras/ be a crossroads” (Anzaldúa, Borderlands, 195). Anzaldúa uses two distinct terms, one in Spanish “sin fronteras” (without borders) and one in English, “a crossroads.” By identifying two prerequisites for surviving the borderlands, Anzaldúa forces the reader to understand both Spanish and English. She also states that individuals in the borderland must create border-less identities, directly criticizing the concept of a dichotomous or split identity. Anzaldúa also references the two definitions of the word “crossroads.” An individual must be a crossroads in the sense that his or her existence must be a place where two or more roads, in this case cultures, intersect. However, she also references the definition of a crossroads as a crucial point at which
a decision must be made. In order to survive, individuals must choose to embrace a hybrid identity \textit{sin fronteras}.

This passage is representative of Anzaldúa’s literary decision to use both English and Spanish throughout her writing. By doing so, Anzaldúa privileges an intermingling of Spanish and English linguistically, and therefore representatively also culturally and socially. According to Marta Sánchez, bilingualism in Latino/a literature validates both languages and “alerts us to the fact that cultural contact does not flow only one way, through a single medium” but bilaterally (56).\footnote{Anzaldúa comments on her function as an author, stating that in literature “I am playing with my Self, I am playing with the world’s soul, I am the dialogue between myself and el espíritu del mundo. I change myself, I change the world” \cite{Anzaldua1997}. Just as Zaimoglu stated that the act of writing expands the world beyond oneself, Anzaldúa is aware of the influence her literature has to change both her self-creation as an individual (which she recognizes as changing) as well as the views of the outside world.} In order to exist as an individual and survive the “crossfire between two camps,” one must exist as a hybrid individual, a “crossroads” \cite{Anzaldua1997, Borderlands, 195}. By existing as a crossroads, individuals are able to transform the “crossfire” into a stage for self-creation and expression. The line “you are at home, a stranger” shows that hybrid individuals are faced with conflicting views of the concept of home. Anzaldúa rejects the notion of a geographical home in which hybrid individuals feel like insiders, thereby representing the necessity to create a third cultural space outside of geographic borders in which to have a home.

This chapter focuses on developments within Latino/a literature from immigrant texts, which primarily addressed the dichotomy between the old and new country, in which authors identified primarily with one culture to native texts, in which authors struggle to represent and create hybrid, hyphenated identities in their texts, creating a third cultural space outside of mainstream or minority society.
There exists a great breadth of literature by Latino/a authors. During my research, I identified three main groups of interest: Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Chicano/as. I have chosen to focus on Puerto Rican and Chicano/a literature. I will analyze the indirect route from identification with one culture to the beginnings of hyphenated identities, on to the development of a contemporary sense of identity, which includes elements of fluidity, hybridization, and performance. I will follow the same progression as in Kanak Sprak, analyzing literature in reverse chronological order in an attempt to demonstrate the benefits of understanding identity as a fluid, hybrid, performative concept and the limitations of prior understandings of the term identity, which caused those who did not identify with mainstream society to feel inhibited by their identification with multiple cultures.39

Contemporary Representations of Latino/a Literature

“So Not to Be Mottled”

You insult me
When you say I’m
Schizophrenic.
My divisions are
Infinite.

(Zamora, “So Not,” 78)

The title of Bernice Zamora’s poem “So Not to Be Mottled” immediately draws attention to the struggle many Hispanic-American authors face while trying to exist in society, a struggle to exist without being mottled: a state of being marked with spots or smears, physically different

39 My decision not to analyze Cuban texts results from the fact that the majority of Cuban authors living in the United States live as political exiles. They have formed Cuban cultural enclaves within the U.S. and mainly write texts that would be classified in Kannellos’ system as “exile texts,” because they are directed towards Cuba, view their homeland as a “paradise lost,” and do not attempt to communicate with individuals in mainstream U.S. culture, besides other Cubans (34).
from mainstream society. In order to exist in a state of un-markedness, Zamora argues with a world that sees her multiple identities as a disease, schizophrenia; instead she celebrates her infinite divisions. By celebrating her infinite divisions, Zamora represents identity as a shifting, fluid element. Zamora’s metaphor of infinite divisions also implies that as an individual, she accepts and celebrates her infinite qualities. She moves beyond the question of race, which in her case would include one division (the division between Mexican and American) to propagate a vision of identity that includes other, infinite aspects of self. Zamora uses the first person narrative form for her poem, directing her words at “you,” anyone who “insults” her by calling her “schizophrenic.” The positive statement of identity expressed by Zamora demonstrates the contemporary viewpoint of many hybrid individuals that infinite divisions must not function as a barricade, but instead carve out a space for self-creation.

In this way, Zamora reinforces the critique of Tey Diana Rebolledo who, in her analysis of Chicano/a criticism states, “our complexities are infinite: that we have grown up and survived along the edges, along the borders of so many languages, worlds, cultures ... that we constantly fix and focus on the space between” (*Infinite*, 210). The concept of living in an in-between space, an unidentifiable geographic entity, the borderlands, is common to Latino/a literature, as authors struggle to create a common cultural space or homeland through literature.

We can draw on Richard Rorty’s essay “Rationality and Cultural Difference” to better understand the dynamics of creating identity by blending multiple cultures. Rorty states that activities of culture₂ or “high culture” are greatest in individuals who “have had to find, in the course of self-creation and artistic creation, concrete, non-theoretical ways of blending the modern West with one or another non-Western culture” (200). This in turn leads to higher levels
of rationality, “the ability to not respond non aggressively towards individuals different from oneself” (Rorty, “Rationality,” 186): tolerance.40

Gloria Anzaldúa, a native of the Mexican/Texas border who introduced the term mestizaje (the movement beyond dichotomy of identity to the acceptance of hybridity) is representative of the elements artistic self-creation and acceptance of the borderlands asserted by Rorty. By referring to “self-creation and artistic creation,” Rorty emphasizes the view that individuals do not find themselves, but create themselves, often through artistic expression. Latino/a writers have existed in the spaces between multiple cultures, creating a third cultural space by “blending” American and minority cultures. Blending of cultures signifies that an individual is not split, hyphenated between two or more cultures or identities, but fluid, even with infinite divisions.

The claim that the origination of cultural hybridity leads to higher levels of tolerance by members of the minority cultural group is evident in the shift from purist notions present in immigrant texts where neighborhoods such as Little Mexico or Little Puerto Rico were preferred over interaction with mainstream society. In contemporary Spanglish texts, authors often stress interaction with both minority and mainstream communities.

Anzaldúa demonstrates Rorty’s ideals of self-creation, cultural hybridity, and tolerance in her book, Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza. Anzaldúa writes, “living on borders and in margins, keeping intact one’s shifting and multiple identity and integrity, is like trying to swim in a new element, an ‘alien’ element. There is an exhilaration in being a participant in the further evolution of humankind, in being ‘worked’ on” (Preface). Anzaldúa recognizes identity as a

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40 The idea of tolerance as exhibited by authors of native texts will be especially significant in regards to the Nuyorican Poets Cafe and the conceptualization of a fifth race in Latina/o culture.
fluid element, “shifting and multiple.” The explanation of identity as shifting communicates the idea that identity is not constant. Instead, like the waves of “new element[s]” through which she tries to swim, her identity shifts and changes: it is fluid. Fluidity also implies that identity does not change once and then remain static, instead it is constantly in a state of change. Elements of identity may rise to the surface multiple times depending on shifting social or personal currents. The “shifting and multiple” selves that Anzaldúa acknowledges will not remain static over time, but will continue to dissolve new elements to incorporate into a continually new identity construct. Anzaldúa’s expresses exhilaration in being able to help further evolve mankind, showing her pride in creating a hybrid identity, which not only perpetually shifts, but is unfailingly “multiple,” containing blended elements of multiple cultures and societal influences.

Anzaldúa’s artistic creation of a fluid identity correlates with postmodern views on identity as explained in Postmodern Vernaculars by Elisabeth Mermann-Jozwiak. Elisabeth Mermann-Jozwiak is an Associate Professor of English at Texas A&M University whose research focuses on feminist and postmodern theories. Mermann-Jozwiak focuses on Anzaldúa’s texts as she explores the alignment between Latino/a literature and postmodernism, stating that the “parody, code-switching, and generic hybridity” in Latino/a literature “resulted in highly innovative texts to the extent that the postmodern rhetoric of the dissolution of boundaries, fluidity of identity ... clearly seems to apply to many works” (4). As demonstrated in the previous paragraph, Anzaldúa explicitly comments on the dissolution of boundaries to create a fluid, changing identity. The hybridity in Latino/a literature, represented both in the thematic development and celebration of hybrid identities as well as through linguistic hybridity (the inclusion of Spanish, English, and Spanglish in texts), and the dissolution of borders
accompanied by the call to live “sin fronteras/ be a crossroads” (Anzaldúa, Borderlands, 195) exemplify many elements of a postmodern understanding of identity.

Mermann-Jozwiak goes one step further and states that Latino/a literature, in particular the literary stylings of Gloria Anzaldúa and Pat Mora, develops a unique vernacular of postmodernism in that it helps “historicize” postmodern theories by “showing identity in a much more complex relation to specific and socially constructed geographic sites” (Postmodern Vernaculars, 42). In contrast to postmodern theories that “celebrate fluidity and impermanence” (42) of identity and location, Anzaldúa’s creation of identity is not without grounding, instead it is intrinsically tied to her relationship with her geographic home, the “borderlands.” In this way, Anzaldúa distances her work from certain postmodern theories, accepting fluidity and hybridity of identity, but tying this fluidity to a specified geographic site.41

As Anzaldúa creates a fluid identity, the title of her text Borderlands/La Frontera demonstrates the importance of a specific geographic location to her identity concept. Although many Latino/a authors create a third cultural space outside of any geographical region or borders within which to feel at home, their development as individuals is often directly impacted by their relationship with “the border,” a physical, geographical location. The border is both a stage for separation and unity, because although the physical border divides the United States and Mexico, it is in this state of living “between” or “within” both sides of the border that many Latino/a

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41 Mermann-Jozwiak provides further commentary on this phenomenon stating that Anzaldúa places conflict at a physical location and thereby “clearly contradict(s) abstractions that are inherent in postmodern discourses” (36). In this statement, Mermann-Jozwiak expresses the clear break from postmodern tradition inherent in the historicization and geographical elements included in Chicana texts, specifically Anzaldúa’s.
authors are able to create a sense of identity. The border may geographically separate, but it also creates a psychological space for unification or hybridization.\textsuperscript{42}

Anzaldúa discusses her relationship with the border as follows:

\[\begin{align*}
1,950 \text{ mile-long open wound} \\
\text{dividing a pueblo, a culture,} \\
\text{running down the length of my body,} \\
\text{staking fence rods in my flesh,} \\
splits me \quad \text{splits me} \\
me raja \quad me raja \\
\text{This is my home} \\
\text{this thin edge of} \\
\text{barbwire.} \\
\text{(Borderlands, 2-3)}
\end{align*}\]

In this passage, Anzaldúa ties her sense of self, her home to both a specific location as well as an area with no geographical location. The 1,950 mile border between Mexico and the U.S. is the specific geographic location she identifies at the beginning of the passage. However, she does not go on to identify a specific border city or physical location as her home, instead, she identifies her home as “this thin edge of barbwire.” In this way, Anzaldúa applies postmodern theory to her concrete personal history as well as that of the American Southwest. By tying her identity to the history of the American Southwest by pointing out the “fence rods” “staking in [her] flesh,” a historical reference to the creation of a physical border and fence between the United States and Mexico. She claims that this “1,950 mile-long open wound” divides “a pueblo, a culture.” The fence divides a “pueblo,” or people, as well as a culture. However it is on “this thin edge of barbwire” that Anzaldúa chooses to create a third cultural space which she

\textsuperscript{42} Mermann-Jozwiak poses another definition for the “borderlands” that “serves as important correctives to a postmodern rhetoric that celebrates borders as rather permeable and fluid phenomena as well as to the nationalist sentiments that suggest barring access” (20). In this passage, Mermann-Jozwiak establishes a definition of borderlands that does not entirely fit nationalist or postmodernist discourse. Instead the borderlands are a hybrid of both conceptualizations, both unifying as well as separating individuals.
and others can identify as home. Anzaldúa does not choose to identify primarily on either side of the border, but instead chooses to create her home on a “thin edge of barbwire.” Her home is not a comfortable location, but a space of constant suffering and pain. Anzaldúa chooses to live in the discomfort of the barbwire in order to create a space for the new mestizaje consciousness that allows a movement beyond the border, even if that causes pain in self-creation and expression. Her borderlands are “both literal geographic sites and also metaphoric conditions that bespeak Chicana identity” (Mermann-Jozwiak, Postmodern Vernaculars, 48).

Anzaldúa specifically addresses the creation of a third cultural space later in Borderlands, when she states, “what I want is an accounting with all three cultures- white, Mexican, Indian. I want the freedom to carve and chisel my own face ... And if going home is denied me then I will have to stand and claim my space ... making a new culture” (22). The “freedom to carve and chisel [her] own face” invokes the modern notion of the creation of identity. Anzaldúa does not strive to discover her identity, but instead wants the freedom to create her own identity, an identity that incorporates elements of white, Mexican, and Indian cultures. She creates a pluralistic notion of self and identity that she determines individually.

The Development of Spanglish

In addition to clear references to the creation of self and identity, many Latino/a authors like Anzaldúa also represent their pluralistic, shifting identities through linguistic choices, namely the use of both Spanish and English within individual texts. Language choice is a key element of artistic creation. In the words of Anzaldúa: “ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity - I am my language” (Borderlands, 59). Anzaldúa chooses to write her texts not in
English or Spanish, but in a combination of the two: Spanglish. By using both languages, Anzaldúa can achieve multiple goals. She can draw on imagery from both languages and also mirror the struggle to live between two or more cultures, as reading her bilingual texts is difficult for readers not fluent in both languages. For example, her call to “live _sin fronteras/_ be a crossroads” gains importance by juxtaposing the two pieces of advice Anzaldúa gives: she does not provide the same phrase in both English and Spanish, but expresses different ideas in her different linguistic registers. Because of the strong ties between identity and language, many other modern authors have chosen to move beyond choosing between the dichotomy of English or Spanish, but instead express their hybrid identities through use of a hybrid language, Spanglish. The movement beyond a pure language in favor of a hybrid language is evident in other minority cultures, as shown by the development of Kanak Sprak in the Turkish minority in Germany.

The term Spanglish shares similarities with the term Latino/a; for although Spanglish is used as a universal term for an ethnolect with elements of both Spanish and English, many varieties of Spanglish exist: Nuyorican (the Puerto Rican variety of Spanglish spoken in New York) and Chicano/a Spanglish, among others. For the purpose of this analysis, no distinction will be made between the varieties of Spanglish in writing. Instead, the use of Spanglish, an ethnolect with influences, word order, grammatical structures, and lexical items from both English and varieties of Spanish, will be analyzed in terms of its functionality within identity formation and self-representation.

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43 Ed Morales explains the use of Spanglish and the creation of a hybrid language in more specific terms, stating that speaking Spanglish was an effort to “import the tongue of the adopted country while maintaining the mindset of the old one” (97). This explanation of Spanglish contrasts the idea of creating a hybrid language to incorporate two or more cultures, as Morales attempts to maintain a purist cultural mindset while allowing for linguistic hybridity.
In the article “Identity and Interaction: A Sociocultural Linguistic Approach,” Bucholtz and Hall write that identity is most easily recognized as emergent: “constituted through social action, and especially through language” in cases when a speaker’s language does not conform to an expected or assigned social category (588). Another key concept with which they work is the idea that “identity is emergent in discourse and does not precede it” (Bucholtz, “Identity and interaction,” 607). Both of these concepts are important in the analysis of Spanglish in literature.

The emergence principle of identity is significant to the study of Spanglish, as it identifies the role of artistic, in this case written discourse, in the formation of identity. The social norm of speakers in the U.S. is monolingualism or situational bilingualism, in which speakers choose a language dependent on a specified social situation. Therefore, Spanglish as an interlingual system in which both languages are used in single situations, conversations, and even sentences is de facto an act of disconformity to assigned social expectations. Spanglish, an alternative to linguistic assimilation, is an act of linguistic and metaphorical border crossing that “problematizes ... dominant myths related to the phenomenon of immigration to the United States ... : one, the myth of reinvention, which involves a reworking of identity through a process of erasing the past and ... assimilating into an American identity” (Muthyala, Reworlding, 115). By refusing to assimilate into an American identity which would be shown by the use of pure English, authors who write in Spanglish do so to mark themselves as other, outside of United States mainstream or Latino/a society. This act of defiance indicates an awareness that language can be utilized to demonstrate difference and create an identity outside of societal expectations. The use of Spanglish in literature as a social act is comparable to Zaimoglu’s use of Kanak Sprak
in writing to defy social norms and create a platform for the hybrid language to exist in mainstream society.

In addition to identifying Spanglish as an attempt to create an identity, some authors credit Spanglish with the ability not only to create a sense of self, but also to connect to other speakers and/or a communal identity. “For a people who can not entirely identify with either standard ... Spanish nor standard English, what recourse is left to them but to create their own language? A language which they can connect their identity to, one capable of communicating the realities and values true to themselves” (Anzaldúa, *Borderlands*, 55). The creation of an ethnolect therefore signifies the will to be considered outside of the Hispanic/American dichotomy both linguistically and socially. This movement beyond the Hispanic/American dichotomy linguistically is an indicator of a movement beyond previously held notions of the ideal of a “pure” identity. The new hybrid language and identity construct leaves space for authors to allow multiple aspects of themselves to be created and expressed through literature.

Ilan Stavans, a prominent proponent of Spanglish commented on his identity as a multilingual individual as follows: “almost at every minute of the day I find myself cruising from one linguistic realm to another, becoming a mode of life, an I.D. card: in German a *weltanschauung*” (Sokol, *Ilan Stavans*, 93). Stavans indicates that his continual changing among linguistic registers, affects his “mode of life.” Stavans does not exist in one state, but possesses a *weltanschauung* that considers fluidity and constant change the norm and not the exception. As Stavans comments on the necessity and ability to “cruise from one linguistic realm to another,” he confirms an aspect of identity as understood in contemporary discourse: the fact that an
individual can exist in multiple linguistic realms, thereby affecting his or her perspective on the world.

Stavans also stated that “a bilingual has only one mind, which manifests itself through different shades” (18). I would argue that Stavans claim that “a bilingual has only one mind” does not account for the multiplicity of mind. Instead I would argue that instead of referring to a singular mind or identity, Stavan’s argument would express a contemporary concept of identity if he referred not to the mind but to a consciousness. Bilingual individuals, as a result of having two linguistic registers, display a linguistic awareness which indicates that they have the ability to control and manipulate language. This consciousness exists regardless of what linguistic register the individual chooses to employ. However, this linguistic awareness directly contradicts Stavans’ claim of having “one mind,” in that by demonstrating awareness of linguistic registers, bilingual individuals demonstrate a multiplicity of mind, accepting “brokenness” as inherent in identity as they “cruise from one linguistic realm to another.”

An avenue for many Latino/a authors and others to create and express their individual and communal identity conceptualizations has been the Nuyorican Poets Cafe on the Lower East Side of New York City. The Nuyorican Poets Cafe accepted not only poets of Puerto Rican descent but also African Americans and other artists who felt moved to express themselves in a multilingual, creative environment. The adaptation of Nuyorican Spanglish by individuals not of Puerto Rican descent signifies a separation between identity and linguistic choice in that one must not be born within a certain ethnic group in order to identify with that group linguistically and thereby culturally, reinforcing the idea of an identity that emerges through acts of discourse.
Once identity is viewed as emergent through discourse, identity must also be chosen by an individual, which indicates a level of consciousness in linguistic decisions. This conscious choosing of language and identity is only available to individuals who possess more than one linguistic register and cultural affiliation. The linguistic awareness these individuals demonstrate stands in direct opposition to the idea that identity is a natural attribute that is expressed through language. Instead individuals consciously use language to affirm a chosen sense of self as well as a connection with others: a communal identity, which displays a level of performativity in language and identity. Performativity is the concept that an individual manipulates his or her language in order to achieve a specific purpose, in this case identification with a certain ethnic group or cultural space.

The mission of the Nuyorican Poets Cafe also expresses a movement beyond traditional borders by stating that the aim of new poetry is to “dissolve the social, cultural, and political boundaries that generalize the human experience and make it meaningless ... dialogue is multi-ethnic” (Algarín, *Aloud*, 9). By moving beyond the dichotomous divisions prevalent in society, this mission statement shows that individuals who exist in the borderlands and struggle to blend two or more cultures have higher levels of rationality, making them more tolerant towards individuals who do not share similar racial, ethnic, or linguistic backgrounds, following Rorty’s argumentation. Individuals who are cognizant of hybridization and self-creation of identity are likely to positively evaluate other individuals engaging in the creation of identity, thereby demonstrating a higher level of tolerance.

Many poets choose to use the linguistic register of Spanglish to identify with a Spanglish population and also comment on the creation of their personal identities. They also express the
will to have a new world order in which race and language choice are not categories on which individuals are judged. In his poem “Rebirth of a New Rican,” Ed Morales declares,

No matter what language or banner we choose
Freeing us from being aquí o allá, here, there, everywhere
Mixed race is the place
It feels good to be neither
It’s a relief to deny racial purity. (98-99)\textsuperscript{44}

Morales establishes identity as an element intrinsically related to language that can be chosen. For Morales, that choice is freeing; he is no longer forced to be aquí o allá, but expresses the opportunity to create a pluralistic identity, creating a sense of self that can exist outside of physical and social boundaries. By doing so, he defies the understanding of the border as a place of separation as well as the construction of a split identity, progressing towards the idea of a hybrid identity construction.

Angela de Hoyos conveys a similar sentiment in her poem “La Gran Ciudad:”

Ain’t you Meskin?
How come you speak
such good English?
Y yo le contesto:
Because I’m Spanglo, that’s why. (184)

De Hoyos communicates her position as an individual whose language, as Heller states, does not conform to an expected or assigned social category (588). However, she asserts her identity not as a hyphenated Mexican-American, but as an individual who has learned to blend both cultures, linguistically, as well as for naming purposes: a “Spanglo:” Anglo and Spanish. The term “Spanglo” is similar to Spanglish, in that the term itself is hybrid, representing hybrid

\textsuperscript{44} The defiance of ideals of racial purity and the inclusion of tolerance is an aspect of contemporary discourse in Latino/a but not Turkish-German society. However, Kanak Sprak is often referred to as a multi-ethnolect, because it incorporates words not only from Turkish and German but also other minority languages such as Arabic. I believe that the lack of tolerance in Kanak Sprak is related to Kanak Sprak’s function as a Jugendsprache and its more aggressive form.
individuality. By creating a hybrid label for herself, de Hoyos breaks down the destructive power of choosing a hyphenated identity, but instead finds space for both elements of self as a “Spanglo” at ease with multiple identities.

Other modern Latino/a authors have also moved beyond the limiting force of having a hyphenated, split identity. “The metaphor of the hyphen came about at the height of the so-called ‘culture wars.’ It was used to stress the dual - e.g., ambivalent - identity of ethnic Americans, whose self was split apart ... the hyphen doesn’t stress the conflict but the point of encounter: the bridge” (Sokol, Ilan Stavans, 99). By stressing the bridge between two cultures, the borderland, authors attempt to enact their pluralistic selves through linguistic acts. Authors who focus on physical geographical borders as well as metaphorical borders between cultures “envision new forms of oppositional nationalism that take on pan-ethnic and transnational shapes that are independent of the nation state” (Sadowski-Smith, Border Fictions, 7). By creating identities outside of the traditional nation state schema, these writers assert identities that do not fit into prescribed molds. Instead, they emphasize the point of contact as a third cultural space that defies either mainstream or majority culture. They thrive on the thin barbed wire of the borderlands.

In Postmodern Vernaculars, Elisabeth Mermann-Jozwiak writes, “the person in the middle, who simultaneously suffers from and is empowered by cultural schizophrenia, inhabits nepantla” (51). The state of nepantla, a post-modern paradigm of consciousness that exists as an oscillation between two or more states of being, an acceptance and celebration of existing in the middle, is the main characteristic of modern Latino/a authors. By moving beyond the either/

45 The “oppositional nationalism” reflected in the works of these individuals relates to the ideal of Jose Vascocelos who imagined the utopia of a cosmic, fifth race that would create equality among all peoples. This ideal is reflected by Anzaldúa who states, “I am in all cultures at the same time” (Borderlands, 77).
or dichotomy of traditional identities, expressing themselves linguistically in a hybrid language, Spanglish, and representing identity as a fluid element that can thrive in the borderlands, these authors represent the creation and expression of modern identities through their linguistic expressions. This was, in a similar fashion, expressed by modern Turkish-German authors who proudly display their “otherness” through the use of their hybrid language, Kanak Sprak, in literature and develop an awareness of the performativity and fluidity of creating a hybrid identity.

**Living within the Hyphen**

Before Latino/a authors fully embraced living on the borderlands and the creation of a fluid, performative, hybrid identity, many authors began to explore the difficulties they felt trying to live in two separate societies. The inability of these authors to embrace a fluid, performative concept of identity led to a feeling of being split between two cultures, unable to thrive on Anzaldúa’s metaphorical “thin edge of/ barbwire” (*Borderlands*, 3).

“Here”

I am two parts/a person
boricua/spic ...
given a cultural beauty
...and robbed of a cultural identity

I speak the alien tongue
in sweet boriqueño thoughts
(Esteves, *Yerba*)

Sandra Maria Esteves, a self-described “Puerto Rican- Dominican- Boriqueño - Quisqueyan-Taino-African-American,” is a poet and visual artist from the Bronx. Her strong ties to both the beginnings of the Nuyorican Poets Cafe as well as feminism are demonstrated in
her literary struggle to explore her identity as a member of a minority population as well as a woman.

In her poem “Here,” Sandra Maria Esteves explores the perils of living a hyphenated, split identity in America. She identifies herself as having “two parts,” but unlike the later authors who blended their multiple identities into a fluid, cohesive identity, Esteves feels separated into two incompatible parts that tear her apart, robbing her of a cultural identity. Although she is one person, she has to respond to two separate labels placed upon her by different groups. She is labeled “boricua” [Sp.: Puerto Rican], likely by other Puerto Ricans, but is also often labeled by the ethnic slur “spic.” Esteves’ “two parts” are conflicting. Boricua positive identification with Puerto Ricans, whereas “spic” refers not to her Puerto Rican heritage, but is a negative term for any individual of Hispanic descent and a label that comes from outside of Puerto Rican culture. The mutually exclusive names express a mutual exclusivity of her individual “parts” and an inability to create a singular sense of self. Esteves mourns this split, lamenting the cultural identity of which she has been “robbed.”

Esteves also expresses the distress of language loss on her identity formation. She “speak[s] the alien tongue/ in sweet boriqueño thoughts.” Many second and third generation Puerto Rican-Americans and Chicano/as did not become fluent in Spanish. That aspect of their identity was lost as a result of pressures to assimilate to American language and culture. For that reason, Esteves mourns the loss of her mother tongue and refers to English as “the alien tongue.” The equation of English with an “alien tongue” signifies that she does not feel that English is compatible with her “sweet boriqueño thoughts.” It may be read as a linguistic reversal of traditional labeling, as illegal immigrants from Latin American countries are referred to in
mainstream discourse as aliens. However for Esteves, American English, not Puerto Rico is unfamiliar, alien. By labeling English as “the alien tongue,” Esteves is distancing herself from an identification with English even as she creates literary discourse in English. The schism between her language use and linguistic identification indicates a split linguistic identity, representative of split self-identification.

“Here” exhibits many themes common to the literature created by authors who felt trapped by their hyphenated identities. The feeling of duality equating to a split or separation of the individual, discrimination, and markedness are all themes present in this stage of literature, in which authors struggle to come to terms with the plurality of identity they recognize. However, these authors are not yet able to accept a fluid, modern vision of identity in which seemingly incompatible elements of identity can coexist to create an inclusive sense of self. A main reason for this difficulty is the inability of authors in this time period to view identity as something that is performed and can be manipulated. Instead they express the feeling of being trapped between two cultures, as they do not exemplify a “pure” identity with either group and cannot find a way to be accepted within the majority culture.

Alicia Gaspar de Alba, a native of the El Paso/ Juárez border who is currently a professor of Chicana/o Studies, English, and Women’s Studies at the University of California Los Angeles explains the struggle of maintaining a dual, hyphenated identity as cultural schizophrenia in her poem “Literary Wetback:” “cultural schizophrenia set in early. At home I was pure Mejicana. At school I was an American citizen. Neither place validated the Mexican-American ... cultural schizophrenia is a new legacy for those who still have to squeeze into legitimacy as human beings and American citizens” (289-91).
In this passage, de Alba expresses a theme that directly contrasts Zamora’s poem “So Not to Be Mottled,” in which she claims, “You insult me/ When you say I’m Schizophrenic” (78). De Alba does not accept her identity as multiple and fluid, instead she lives in a state of perpetual sickness: cultural schizophrenia. Schizophrenia as a psychological disease causes a disruption of the balance between emotions and thinking, a constant state of unrest, as well as difficulty expressing oneself. The cultural schizophrenia that de Alba expresses mirrors the pathology of schizophrenia in that it is a chronic condition that did not allow her to express the complexity of her multi-faceted identity. She was in a constant state of unrest, attempting to “squeeze into legitimacy” as a human being, much like individuals with psychological disorders. De Alba does not fit into society, but attempts to find a place, squeezing into an identity that splits her in two pieces.

Other authors also comment on the phenomenon of cultural schizophrenia, describing their search for identity and state of being as a sickness, a problem unable to be solved within society. Pat Mora, a poet influenced by growing up in El Paso on the US/Mexican border, expresses these sentiments in her poem “Legal Alien:”

Bi-lingual, Bi-cultural\(^{46}\),
... American but hyphenated,
... a handy token
sliding back and forth
between the fringes of two worlds
by smiling
by masking the discomfort
of being pre-judged
Bi-laterally (95)

\(^{46}\) Mora chooses to hyphenate “bi-lingual and bi-cultural” in her poem, although neither word requires a hyphenation. This decision may supports her belief that the effects of being bilingual or bicultural represent an inherent hyphenation or split in identity construction for Mora.
Mora and de Alba both express the feeling of not fitting into either cultural mold. Mora depreciates the American part of her identity with the line, “American but hyphenated,” indicating that her American identity is not complete, because she is not a “pure” American, but a hyphenated American. She also conveys her discomfort in being judged by both mainstream and minority society. Existing on “the fringes of two worlds,” she identifies the borderlands as her place in society as modern authors such as Anzaldúa also expressed; however, she does not embrace the borderlands as a home, but as a location where she is forced to survive on the edges without fitting in.

Many authors within this period not only expressed a sense of feeling split by hyphenated identities, but also identified the issue of physical markedness as a determining factor for their difficulties with the creation of a self-concept and feeling a sense of belonging. Utilizing their physical markedness and feeling of otherness as a metaphor for the feeling of not belonging in society, they struggle to find their place in mainstream society despite the color of their skin. Lorna Dee Cervantes, a Chicana-Native American poet, and Adaljiza Sosa-Riddell, a lecturer on Chicano/a studies at the University of California Davis, both comment on the limitations they experience inherent as a result of their physical markedness in their poetry. Cervantes expresses the intrinsic difficulties she associates with being physically other in her “Poem for the Young White Man Who Asked Me How I, An Intelligent, Well-Read Person Could Believe in the War Between the Races.” She states:

I am marked by the color of my skin.
The bullets are designed to kill slowly.
Let me show you my wounds: my stumbling mind, my
‘excuse me’ tongue, and this
nagging preoccupation
with the feeling of not being good enough. (286–87)
The bullets that are “designed to kill slowly” are a reference to the constant attacks by majority society that leave her with a “nagging preoccupation” and the “feeling of not being good enough.” The reference to a slow death comments on the slow emotional destruction caused by the judgments of individuals in mainstream society. She is not physically destroyed but emotionally damaged.

Cervantes is unable to accept her physical otherness or take pride in existing outside of mainstream cultural space. Unlike later authors, she has not found home in a third cultural space but instead is imprisoned by her feelings of inadequacy, unable to express herself with her “stumbling mind” and “excuse me’ tongue.” By referring to both her mind and her tongue, Cervantes expresses feeling inhibited both by language as well as her “preoccupation/ with the feeling of not being good enough” (287). Cervantes is trapped by her physical appearance, language, and psyche, unable to form an identity in which she feels good enough. She also addresses her poem to a specific “young white man,” making the physical dichotomy of white v. non-white evident from the very beginning of her poem.

Even authors who feel white enough to be able to assimilate physically into mainstream society are unable to create a holistic sense of identity. In “Como Duele,” Sosa-Riddell writes,

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{I was white enough} \\
& \text{to stay forever,} \\
& \text{... what keeps me from shattering} \\
& \text{into a million fragments? (215)}
\end{align*}
\]

Although Sosa-Riddell was physically unmarked enough to integrate into mainstream society, she is left with deeper psychological wounds from feeling outside of society along with fears that she will “shatter/ into a million fragments.” Sosa-Riddell has not accepted identity as a fluid,
differentiated, pluralistic entity, but instead feels separated into a million tiny pieces without a unified sense of self to return to. The feeling of being able to externally integrate but feel torn within, prone to “shattering/into a million fragments” mirrors the external integration of Herr Denker in Tekinay’s “Das Fernrohr.” Like Herr Denker, Sosa-Riddell cannot, despite physical unmarkedness, feel internally at ease, because the literary expressions of this time did not yet accept an identity formation at ease with fragmentation or fluidity. Many of the authors in this time period were first-generation English speakers, trapped between the traditional cultural and linguistic values of their families and the expectations of mainstream society. They had begun to acknowledge but not yet accept the inherently pluralistic features of identity.

In addition to physical markedness, some authors felt trapped by a sense of linguistic homelessness. Without the development of a hybrid language, and with the loss of their mother tongue, they were forced to express themselves in English, which for some led to the development of the “‘excuse me’ tongue” (“Poem,” 287). Only after the development of a unique hybrid tongue, Spanglish, were many authors able to identify with a linguistic register that was adequate to express their hybrid identities.

In Infinite Divisions: An Anthology of Chicana Literature, Tey Diana Rebolledo explains the phenomenon of the loss of Spanish: “deprived of meaning in a society that does not want to understand their mother tongue, Mexican immigrants are forced to learn those ‘thick words’ if they want to help their children ... Spanish is seen as a language of family culture, but it is, unfortunately lost to the children” (275). Cervantes explores the theme of language loss in her poem “Refugee Ship,”

Mama raised me without language.
I’m orphaned from my Spanish name.
... I feel I am a captive/ aboard the refugee ship.
The ship that will never dock. (293)

Cervantes feels lost without the language of a family. Using the metaphor of being a refugee, she expresses a feeling of homelessness and hopelessness. She is orphaned from her name, unable to unify her Spanish name with the language in which she expresses herself, English. She does not identify with the English language, but instead states that she was raised, “without language.” Bucholtz and Hall’s argument that identity is emergent in discourse is problematic for individuals who do not identify with their language of expression. If an individual does not identify with their expressive language, the argument follows that they would be unable to create an inclusive sense of self or identity, leading to an identity not fluid, but split by the hyphen.

Another author who explores the idea of a clearly split identity is Ernesto Quiñonez, a novelist having truly lived on both sides of the hyphen: born in Ecuador and raised in New York. In Quiñonez’ novel *Bodega Dreams* there is a figure named Veronica/Vera. Her language and name choice give her the ability to become separate individuals. “Veronica Linda Saldivia didn’t want to be considered Puerto Rican. Hence the name Vera ... Vera was no longer a Saldivia but a Vidal, and with that misleading last name she could fool anyone into thinking she was some middle-aged Anglo woman” (119). Not only her choice of name but also her linguistic choices are viewed as performative self-creation mechanisms: “‘They call you Chino? Que bonita y pronto van a tener un chinito.’ ... It was the first time I heard her speak Spanish. It sounded as natural as her English. Like she was two people” (125).

Although Vera recognizes identity as performative, meaning that she does not have one “true” or “natural” identity but instead uses certain strategies such as changing her name from...

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47 This importance of names in cultural identification mirrors Tekinay’s “The flying train” in which cultural identifications are a valid means of establishing cultural belonging, and in many cases discrimination.
Veronica to Vera and using English instead of Spanish to portray an “Anglo” identity, she still does not create for herself an identity that allows her to adjust to a (post)modern society in which simple identity concepts no longer adequately describe an individual. She is unable to allow both aspects of her identity: the Puerto Rican and American to cohabitate and create a cohesive identity. Instead she splits herself into two completely isolated halves, “like she was two people” (Quiñonez, *Bodega*, 125). By separating herself on either side of the hyphen, Veronica/Vera does not accept the concept of a fluid, pluralistic identity but pigeonholes herself into two separated identities that do not interact with one another as a unified self.

At the end of *Bodega Dreams*, Quiñonez foreshadows the development of Spanglish and a new sense of identity:

> It’s a beautiful new language ... A new language means a new race. Spanglish is the future. It’s a new language being born out of the ashes of two cultures clashing with each other. You will use a new language. Words they may not teach you in college. Words that aren’t English or Spanish but at the same time both. Now that’s where it’s at. Our people are evolving into something completely new (212).

In this passage, Quiñonez identifies the changing linguistic and cultural identification developing for the Latino/a population. He foreshadows a move beyond the Spanish or English dichotomy to a language and identity that can be neither purely Spanish nor English, but both at the same time. This development in linguistics and identity formation allows later Latino/a individuals and authors to develop a pluralistic, fluid sense of identity that leaves room for multiple languages, cultures, and concepts in one individual: the (post)modern concept of identity represented in the first section of this chapter.
Struggling to Maintain Cultural Purity

Before the development of hybrid performative identities or the struggle to come to terms with a hyphenated identity, Latino/a authors struggled to maintain “pure” identities outside of American society. The immigrant texts that follow closely mirror the “Klammer- und Klage-” texts of Turkish-German authors, as they resist any form of acceptance of their new geographical home’s culture, but remain in their minds connected to one homeland, that which they have left.

“The Most Beautiful Word in the American Language”

When the noise is quieter than the silence
when all you hear is yourself telling yourself to be quiet ...
when you hate you ...
The most beautiful word in the English language is

“Resist”
(Tyler, “The Most,” 164- 8)

This poem by Mike Tyler, a controversial poet of the Nuyorican movement, expresses the main theme of Latino/a immigrant texts: resistance. Although not all texts that are classified as immigrant texts under Kanellos’ classification were written by immigrants, they are classified as such because these texts often create a binary contrast between the land, language, and culture of their homeland and the United States. This binary contrast rejects a sense of hybridization or synthesis of cultures, as assimilation is rejected as immigrants attempt to maintain a sense of cultural purity in small, isolated communities such as Little Mexico (Kanellos, “A Schematic Approach,” 34). Struggling to maintain the ideal of cultural purity, authors are unwilling to accept any part of American culture into their sense of self. Instead they endeavor to retain a monocultural identity within a multicultural, multi-linguistic society, trapping themselves in a frozen state of self-development.
“Resist” is, according to Mike Tyler, the most beautiful word in the American language. When Tyler distinguishes between English and American English, he makes it clear that he is advocating resistance towards American culture and its influence. Tyler also claims that resistance is the most beautiful word, “when you hate you.” Self-hatred is a theme common to immigrant literature, partially because the authors in this literary period were unable to accept “foreign” elements into their identities, creating a sense of separation and incompatibility with mainstream culture.

The theme of resistance is central in the monumental literary work I am Joaquín Yo Soy Joaquín by Rudolfo Gonzales. Gonzales, a Mexican-American poet, boxer, and political activist wrote the epic poem in 1967, two years before convening the first ever Chicano youth conference in 1969. I am Joaquín Yo Soy Joaquín is written in the same literary style as its title. One page is written in English with the corresponding Spanish text on the opposite page. This setup demonstrates two important aspects of the piece. The first being that the expected audience for the work includes both monolingual English speakers and monolingual Spanish speakers. Many works in this period focused on labor and human rights issues. They are a vehicle for political change, therefore resistance works were written in the language of the “oppressor:” English. The style also demonstrates a firm separation of English and Spanish language, and thereby culture. The emphasis on keeping English and Spanish mutually exclusive contrasts the idea of fluidity of language and thereby identity. Linguistic and ethnic purists leave no room for hybridization of syncretization of multiple cultures or identities. The socio-historical situation in which new immigrants often lived threatened the existence of minority culture with cultural, political, and economic pressures to assimilate into mainstream society. In
order to preserve a sense of culture and self, many minority authors moved towards a cultural
purist model of maintaining identity as not to not loose the identification they held with their
homeland.

Gonzales begins his text with the words:

I am Joaquín
lost in a world of confusion
caught up in the whirl of a
gringo society
... I must choose
between
the paradox of victory of the spirit
despite physical hunger,
or
to exist in the grasp
of American social neurosis,
sterilization of the soul
and a full stomach. (6-9)

In this passage, Gonzales does not identify the concept of an in-between, comprehensive
existence. Joaquín must choose to either continue to possess his spirit and identity or give into
the “sterilization of the soul” by the “American social neurosis” in order to physically survive.
The dichotomy of survival of the spirit and cultural identity versus physical survival leaves no
space for the creation of a third cultural space, a new identity as referenced by later authors, in
which the fluidity of identity allows for the survival of the spirit and physical body concurrently.

In the last lines of the work Joaquín, a representative of minority culture, reiterates his
refusal to assimilate in any way into American society:

I am the masses of my people and
I refuse to be absorbed-
I am Joaquín.
The odds are great
but my spirit is strong,
my faith is unbreakable,
By ending his text with the lines, “I SHALL ENDURE! / I WILL ENDURE!” Gonzales expresses a lack of vision for the future integration of elements of American culture into his identity. To the speaker, any form of consolidation of American and Chicano/a culture elements would represent a cultural loss, an “absorption” into mainstream society and a loss of a pure identity. There is no outlet for a combination of cultures if his blood should remain “pure,” unspoiled. The idea of “pure” blood goes back to the equation of blood with cultural identification in many cultures, including the use of citizenship by “blood” in Germany, which was the primary rule of citizenship until the 21st century.

Gonzales’ *I am Joaquín Yo Soy Joaquín*, published in 1967, shares many similarities with Pedro Pietri’s *Puerto Rican Obituary*, published six years later in 1973. Pietri, a co-founder of the Nuyorican Poets Cafe, was born in Puerto Rico but moved with his family to New York at the age of three. His family’s struggle to achieve the American dream influenced his pivotal work *Puerto Rican Obituary*. Pietri’s *Puerto Rican Obituary* criticizes the consumerism, false hope and lack of freedom in America, which he names “one nation/ under discrimination” (14). In his politically charged series of poems, Pietri advocates for monolingualism in order to protect cultural purity. After naming a variety of Puerto Rican names, he states,

they are dead
and will not return from the dead
until they stop neglecting

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48 In this passage, Gonzales refers to both individual identity as well as communal identity with the words “I am the masses of my people.” By equating personal and communal endurance or survival, Gonzales establishes the importance of communal support against the pressures of assimilation, reflected in the purist cultural neighborhoods set up by (im)migrant groups upon arriving in the United States.
the art of their dialogue
for broken english lessons.” (8)

To Pietri, there is no value in “broken english lessons.” In fact, these attempts at bilingualism stifle Puerto Rican dialogue and cultural identity. The endeavor for bilingualism stifles culture and leads to cultural death, neglecting “the art of dialogue.”

Later in the collection of poems, he describes an individual named Tata as follows:

She is eighty-five years old
and does not speak
a word of english

That is intelligence” (Pietri, Puerto, 105)

By equating a lack of English with intelligence, Pietri is advocating for a complete separation of Puerto Rican and American culture, creating a vacuum in which no hybridity or synthesis can occur.

Pietri criticizes the American dream in his poem titled “The Broken English Dream:”

To the United States we came
To learn how to misspell our name
To lose the definition of pride. (13)

The title of the poem “The Broken English Dream” mocks the idea of the American dream, an idea that caused the migration of many Puerto Ricans to the land of plenty after making a living on the island became too difficult. However, the Puerto Ricans who migrated to the United States found themselves in similar socioeconomic situations, without the ability to move up on the social ladder and create a better existence. They gained nothing, and Pietri feared that they would lose pride, which exists along with language, as another form of cultural identity. Pietri mourns the loss of cultural identification and pride for Puerto Ricans in the United States. He sees the American dream as a fairy tale that will not come true, but instead rob Puerto Ricans of a
Puerto Rican identity. The lack of respect for Puerto Rican culture in mainstream society causes a constant comparison and degradation of Puerto Rican culture, making it difficult for Puerto Ricans to retain a connection and sense of pride with Puerto Rican culture. This causes the split that many (im)migrants feel.

The works of Gonzales and Pietri demonstrate the ardent opposition of immigrant writers to the creation of a hybrid identity, demonstrated through their strong resistance towards bilingualism, assimilation, and adoption of American culture. The socioeconomic pressures under which they were forced to live caused them to hold onto the positive cultural identities that they still held with their homelands. Their inability to be open towards a hybrid identity caused them to resist any form of American culture or language and remain completely separated from American society. Only when their children were born as U.S. citizens and began to learn English and struggle to live within the hyphen did the creation of hybrid identities begin to exist in Latino/a communities.

Conclusion

“I remain who I am, multiple and one.” (Anzaldúa, Borderlands, 173)

The transformation of Latino/a literature from a literature of immigration and seclusion to the creation of hybrid, pluralistic, fluid identities expressed in a hybrid language is not a process that was linear or is complete. However the general trend from identity being valued insofar as it maintained cultural purity to the hybridization of identities that encompassed both mainstream and minority cultural features effectively exists in both Chicano/a and Puerto Rican cultural groups. This broad progression results from the changing socioeconomic and political status of.
minority groups. The early linguistic and cultural isolation were overcome as members of both
groups were born as US citizens and became active in public mainstream society. Despite these
broad similarities, the variety of Latino/a groups in the United States as well as the diversity of
their experiences have caused different groups to develop varying senses of identity, both
personal and communal within American society.

Both Puerto-Ricans and Chicano/as have by and large developed a new form of dialogue
and self-creation that take into account the multiplicity of the cultural influences they experience.
Nation is becoming less of a defining term in regards to linguistic and cultural affiliation. The
development of a third cultural space on the borderlands of multiple ethnic groups (both
geographically and culturally) has allowed Latino/a writers to move towards a postmodern
understanding of the term identity: to remain true to oneself, both “multiple and one.” This
development will continue to be represented through the creative expressions of minority groups,
both in the United States and across the ever-more globalized and open world.
III. CONCLUSION

“Language grants us the power to transform how we see ourselves.”
(Mantero, *Identity and Second*, 4)

In *Identity and Second Language Learning*, Miguel Mantero examines a principle of ecological linguistics: that language has the ability to create or transform an individual’s self-image, or identity. Mantero asserts that language is “the most sensitive indicator of the relationship between an individual and a given social group” (*Identity and Second*, 26). In this passage, Mantero references the social function that language performs, namely self-identification with varying communities or social groups. Mantero does not however address the pragmatic element of language or its cognitive function. In order to fully analyze immigrant literature, these three aspects of language, as well as their relationship with one another need to be carefully analyzed.

The social function of language is evident as bilingual individuals use specific linguistic registers in various situations. By switching linguistic registers depending on social norms and personal preferences and purposes, individuals showcase their ability to use language to either distance themselves from or identify with specific social groups. The choice of bilinguals to communicate in hybrid languages in order to express identification with hybrid identity constellations is an example of the social function of language.

The pragmatic function of language allows individuals to interpret language based not only on specific linguistic choices, but also based on social contexts and outside factors. The ability of a linguistic variety to exist as the norm in one context but function as a device for “othering” in another context demonstrates the importance of pragmatics in literary analysis. The final aspect of language, its cognitive function, allows individuals to recognize and form
various identities. Only as individuals create an understanding of terms such as hybridity and performativity are they able to become aware of how to create hybrid identities and manipulate language to perform specific functions. Without this cognition, linguistic awareness is lacking, reducing the effectiveness of artistic and linguistic expression.

Literature allows individuals to reflect upon current political and social conditions in order to spur social change. The function of literature goes beyond a basic form of dissemination of information by allowing individuals to reflect upon and create identities as individuals, as well as reflect upon one’s place in society. The ability of literature to present and analyze complex identity formations without relying on stereotypes or simplistic paradigms meant to represent the intricacy of perception and creation of identity necessitates the analysis of immigrant literature to identify common patterns in identity formation among various immigrant groups.

Authors from minority populations, including both (im)migrants as well as second-, third-, and further generations utilize literature to establish individual and group identities that are in many ways affected by the social circumstances under which they live. The similar conditions, or disadvantages, under which Turkish immigrants in Germany and Latinos (im)migrants in the United States lived (including a lack of proficiency in the majority language, isolated communities, poor socioeconomic status, and a lack of educational opportunities) led to similarities in both the literary representations of and identity concepts among these two (im)migrant populations. Both the “Klammer- und Klage-” phase and immigrant literature phase featured elements such as mourning the loss of “home,” feelings of lost identity or the lack of a “natural” self, and anger at the poor socioeconomic and political situations in which they found themselves.
The theme of incompleteness and loss of identity in the “Klammer- und Klage-” phase and immigrant literature phase of Turkish-German and Latino/a literature respectively result both from the socioeconomic and political situations in which Turkish and Latino/a (im)migrants found themselves; namely a lack of linguistic proficiency, stereotypes, isolation in communities, and poor socioeconomic statuses. The lack of foreseeable improvements in these areas as well as the lack of support from mainstream society led to literature that mourned the loss a familiar identity and culture.

Since authors (and other individuals) understood identity as a “natural” element, many strived to achieve or maintain a level of cultural purity. However, despite their efforts to isolate themselves from mainstream society by creating (or being forced to live in) cultural enclaves such as Berlin-Kreuzberg or “Little Mexico,” individuals were unable to completely separate themselves from mainstream society. By living in a new country, they were forced to interact with members of the mainstream society through face-to-face contact, the media, and other interactions. The inability of (im)migrants to remain culturally “pure” led to both an awareness of the existence of two internal worlds as well as the intolerance towards those two worlds. Since authors and individuals were unable to accept identity as anything but a homogeneous representation of one culture, they created literature that expressed themes such as hopelessness, pain, and suffering. Only as authors began to accept heterogeneous identity concepts did literary themes begin to express a willingness to identify with more than one culture simultaneously.

Language is also a “loudspeaker through which emergent political consciousness will be broadcast: advertisement of acquaintances, trajectories, national backgrounds, social class” (Mendoza-Denton, *Homegirls*, 105). Many writers of “Klammer- und Klage-” and
immigrant literature used their literature to express frustration with their political and socioeconomic situations. They utilized literature as a platform for political protest and resistance. However, as literature developed, the “loudspeaker” for “emergent political consciousness” functioned not only as a platform for expressing political injustice but as a stage for the development of a new sense of group identity and political activism. Especially second-generation (im)migrants did not live on either side of the dichotomy that their parents struggled with but began to embrace living within the hyphen.

The new generation of authors who struggled to create room for the duality of cultures existing in themselves had overcome the bounds of cultural purity. They recognized the effects that two or more societies had on their creation of and representation of self but still felt impeded by the duality they felt imposed upon by. They questioned, in the words of Feridun Zaimoglu, “Kann man vor solch immensen Zeitzäusuren und biographischen Brücken noch von einer einzigen Identität sprechen? ... Irreguläre Lebensläufe aus Zusammenbruchsszenen sind die wahre Geschichte der Einwanderung” (Kopf, 10).

The irregular paths of life made up of multiple seemingly incompatible “Zusammenbruchsszenen” (separated scenes) as described by Zaimoglu create situations in which individuals are unable to create a singular identity. The periods of cultural upheaval and the oftentimes strong resistance of the mainstream culture to accept the minority culture led to the creation of multiple, exclusive selves and the rejection of a hybrid identity. A dichotomous form of identity often was created and represented in literature.

Although authors in these literary periods did recognize that they could not create a singular identity with ties to only one culture, they demonstrated feeling trapped by the
dichotomy of their multiple cultural affiliations. Recognizing their identities as pluralistic but not yet hybrid, they moved towards a modern understanding of identity without assuming the hybrid, performative aspects of identity represented in literature by modern authors. Authors in these periods utilized literature as a means to explore the disadvantages they often saw as a result of being unable to claim a singular identity. By exploring these disadvantages, they helped move forward to an understanding of identity as multiple. However, their frustrations resulted from their continued understanding of identity as “natural,” while unable to create an identity formation that fit inside either minority or majority’s conceptualization of a “natural” or “pure” identity.

The inability of authors during these literary movements to view identity as a possible hybrid construction, in which the two or more cultures with which they identify need not be seen as mutually exclusive, but as complementary co-existing elements, led authors to communicate a split, hyphenated identity. Although demonstrating progress towards a more contemporary understanding of identity since individuals recognized identity as consisting of multiple parts, since authors did not identify or accept the performative nature of identity, they often expressed feeling trapped on one or both sides of their hyphenated identities, unable to create a sense of cohesion among the multiple elements.

An important component of the creation and acceptance of a modern concept of identity has been the creation of hybrid languages. Language is a key component of identity and the language use of individuals is a public expression of identification with a specific (or multiple) cultural or linguistic groups. As Eliana S. Rivero states in her article “Hispanic Literature in the United States: Self-Image and Conflict,” “language is culture, language is politics” and the
tongue is the “principle instrument and symbol of culture” (177). Rivero does not merely suggest that language is connected to culture and politics, but instead states that language is culture and politics. Rivero equivocates language, in this case discourse, with culture and politics. Culture and politics do not exist separate from language but are instead emergent in discourse. Written discourse expresses not only cultural, but also political affiliations, relating to Mendoza-Denton’s claim that language functions as a “loudspeaker though which emergent political consciousness will be broadcast” (105). Mendoza-Denton identifies the potential of language to act as a creative emergent force through which individuals can explore and create individual, political, and social affiliations. The communicative “broadcast[ing]” function is also important, as it is only through communication, in the case of this study written discourse, that a platform for experimentation and social change emerges.

The strong tie between language and political consciousness is evident throughout the entire spectrum of Turkish-German and Latino/a literature. In the beginning stages, authors often wrote in German or English, the language of mainstream culture, not for the purpose of identifying with these cultures but in order to use literature as a means to raise awareness of their socioeconomic and political situations in mainstream culture. As literature progressed, many authors began to combine elements of two or more languages, creating unique ethnolects, Kanak Sprak and Spanglish.

Kanak Sprak and Spanglish function both as “loudspeakers” to broadcast political issues as well means to identify with specific cultural groups. The hybridity of both Kanak Sprak and Spanglish, demonstrated by the mixing of lexical, semantic, and syntactical linguistic elements in single expressions of verbal and written discourse, signify a distancing from both “pure” cultures
and an identification with a hybrid language and identity. The two cultures are no longer separated from one another in a dichotomy, but are blended linguistically and culturally. Individuals who choose to use the discourse of a hybrid language publicly express that they are hybrid individuals who identify with more than one culture at once, or perhaps identify with a third culture that is a hybrid of mainstream and minority cultures, a cultural space created for hybrid individuals.

The use of hybrid language in literary discourse corresponds to the recognition of identity as a hybrid and performative act. Individuals who choose to speak in hybrid languages are capable of speaking multiple languages fluently. These individuals are not limited to one linguistic register but choose different linguistic registers depending on the situation. Gloria Anzaldúa’s description of the “borderlands” and Feridun Zaimoglu’s performative use of Kanak Sprak in literature demonstrate the necessity minority populations feel to accept their pluralistic, fluid, shifting identities. By creating written discourse in hybrid languages, authors establish these languages as formal linguistic registers. Languages, both hybrid and national registers, continually change based on their use among the general population. The establishment of a body of literature in a language is a key element to the preservation of the linguistic register as a meaningful form of communication. The use of Kanak Sprak and Spanglish in written discourse establish both as languages in their own right, using literature as a means to further substantiate the hybrid cultures represented by their speakers.

The acceptance of hybrid, performative identities by minority authors and individuals corresponds to a breaking of the power of the hyphen. “The person in the middle, who simultaneously suffers from and is empowered by cultural schizophrenia, inhabits
nepantla” (Mermann-Jozwiak, *Postmodern Vernaculars*, 51). Nepantla, the acceptance of existing in constant oscillation between two or more states of being, is indicative of a celebration of living in the middle, in a third cultural space. The acceptance of this third cultural space allows authors and individuals to create a sense of identity uninhabited by the boundaries of living on either side of the hyphen.

The freedom minority authors achieved to express themselves in hybrid languages represents a commitment to embracing multiple aspects of their identity at once and allows authors to move beyond being trapped by multiple cultures to accepting those multiple cultures as aspects of their identities that can be beneficial to themselves and to society at large.

However, despite the many similarities within the expression of identity conceptualizations among Turkish-German and Hispanic-American authors, Turks in Germany remain by and large stigmatized, whereas, although many Hispanic-Americans remain socially and politically stigmatized, a considerable Hispanic-American middle- and upper- class has emerged. The accusation that multiculturalism has failed in Germany caused Skutnabb-Kangas to question, “Are multiple identities allowed in the beautiful multicultural Europe, celebrating diversity - or is the ‘European diversity’ just nation state monolingualism and monoculturalism multiplied?” (“Minority Workers,” 294).

The socioeconomic, political and cultural barriers these minority groups have yet to cross will continue to be explored through literature. Individuals continue to question the “stubborn chunks” that have so long formed the basis of self-concept and identity and move towards new understandings of identity that allow pluralistic, fluid, hybrid identities to emerge, not just for minority individuals but for individuals struggling to create themselves in the contemporary,
transnational world in the mainstream as well. As Regie Cabico proclaimed, “There’s no ‘one kind’ to fill for anyone” (“Check,” 48).
Works Cited


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