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Language attitudes and bilingualism in Turkish-German popular film

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Abstract
Language Attitudes and Bilingualism in Turkish-German popular film
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The purpose of this dissertation is to examine attitudes towards Turkish-German language mixing. Lambert (1967), Lippi-Green (1997) and Preston (2010) have shown that stereotypes about groups of people can be expressed through attitudes about speakers' use of language. This study investigates attitudes regarding the use of Turkish-German code-mixing through a survey including clips from two popular films by the director Fatih Akin. The dissertation presents the results of two studies conducted on the responses to an online survey. The survey was given to native German-, Turkish-, and/or English-speakers. The survey was made up of two parts: 1) demographic and language background questions, and 2) a series of short video clips followed by Likert-scale questions about the characters and open-ended questions about the clips.

The first study involved a qualitative analysis of responses to the survey. This consisted of a content analysis of the answers to open-ended questions in the survey, divided according to respondent group, with a concentration on evaluative comments regarding language use. The purpose of the analysis was to determine which types of evaluative comments are made about Turkish-German mixing and how the types of comments differ between groups of participants. Results indicate that, while monolingual Germans and Turks did submit negative evaluations of mixing, the overwhelming majority of negative comments about Turkish-German mixing came from native bilinguals.

The second study consisted of a quantitative analysis of Likert-style questions about the film characters on a range of attributes. The results show that German-speakers, Turkish-speakers, and Turkish-German bilinguals all display a negative correlation between their perceptions of a character's "Turkishness" and perceived level of education, which is not evident in the responses of participants who are unfamiliar with German and Turkish. These results are explored in relationship to the language background as well as the age group of the participants.

In addition, two smaller studies were conducted on the dialogue in the film clips that serve as stimuli for the survey. First, a linguistic analysis was conducted on the speech of Turkish-Germans in the clips that were presented as stimuli in the online survey. The analysis compared their speech to the descriptions of Turkish-German speech in previous literature. Second, a conversation-analytic discourse analysis was performed on the dialogue of the film clips used in the survey. The purpose of both of these studies was to better understand what it is that respondents to the survey might react to in forming opinions of the characters.

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Conventions

This dissertation makes use of abbreviations for the subject pools of participants in the study and for the titles of the films used as stimuli. The abbreviations are given here for reference.

Film	Abbreviation
<i>The Edge of Heaven</i>	EH
<i>Head-On</i>	HO

Participant group	Abbreviation
German	G
Turkish	T
Turkish-German	TG
American (monolingual)	a
American (with knowledge of Turkish and/or German)	a2

Within tables, the term “code-mixing” is abbreviated to “CM”.

Dialogue from the film, data from literature, and comments from participants will contain German and Turkish material. In these instances, the use of *italics* indicates that the material was in *German* and underlining means that it was in Turkish.

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my husband, Ernan Jacinto Ruiz, and my daughter, Lesley Christine Jacinto Kempzell.

1 Introduction

1.1 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine attitudes towards Turkish-German language mixing using clips from popular media as stimuli. As such, it adds to existing research in the sociolinguistic fields of bilingualism and language attitudes. The history of the Turkish community in Germany goes back to the 1960s, and there are now more than 2 million Turkish citizens residing in Germany (Göktürk, et al. 2007). The first immigrants spoke a learner variety, called *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* (see Hinnenkamp, 1982):

“The linguistic features of this variety were caused by insufficient knowledge of the German language and by interferences from the native tongue.” (Depperman, 2007).

Turkish-Germans in Germany today use Turkish-German code-mixing and a new German ethnolect, referred to here simply as *Turkish-German*. In contrast to *Gastarbeiterdeutsch*, this is not a learner variety of German but rather a new speech variety (Kern, 2015). Relations between Turkish-Germans and non-Turkish Germans can be tense, and attitudes about the immigrant community are often expressed through attitudes towards their language. This community provides a rich environment for a study on language attitudes regarding linguistic diversity.

Lambert (1967), Lippi-Green (1997) and Preston (2010) have shown that stereotypes about groups of people can be expressed through attitudes about speakers’ use of language. This study investigates attitudes regarding the use of Turkish-German code-mixing through an online survey including clips from two popular films by the director Fatih Akin. Two studies were conducted on responses to the survey. The survey was given to native German-, Turkish-, and/or English-speakers. The survey was made up of two parts: 1) demographic and language background questions, and 2) a series of short video clips followed by Likert-scale questions about the characters and open-ended questions about the clips. The studies address the following research questions:

RQ 1) How does the language a *character* speaks affect the perception of the character?

H1) German-speaking characters will be rated more “German”, Turkish-speaking characters will be rated more “Turkish”, and code-mixing characters will be rated more “Turkish-German.”

H2) Characters who combine languages will be evaluated negatively.

RQ 2) How does the native language of a *viewer* affect their perception of the characters?

H1) Turkish and German speakers will evaluate switchers negatively.

H2) Bilingual Turkish-German speakers will:

A. evaluate switchers negatively in terms of status.

B. evaluate switchers positively in terms of solidarity.

H3) American English speakers will be unaffected by a character’s language choice.

In order to address these research questions, first a qualitative analysis was conducted on responses to the survey. This consisted of a content analysis of the answers to open-ended questions in the survey, divided according to respondent group, with a concentration on evaluative comments regarding language use. The purpose of the analysis was to determine which types of evaluative comments are made about Turkish-German mixing and how the types of comments differ between groups of participants. Results indicate that, while monolingual Germans and Turks did submit negative evaluations of mixing, the overwhelming majority of negative comments about Turkish-German mixing came from native bilinguals.

Second, a quantitative analysis was conducted on the Likert-style questions about the film characters on a range of attributes. The results show that German-speakers, Turkish-speakers, and Turkish-German bilinguals all display a negative correlation between their perceptions of a character's "Turkishness" and perceived level of education, which is not evident in the responses of participants who are unfamiliar with German and Turkish.

In addition, two smaller studies were conducted on the dialogue in the film clips that serve as stimuli for the survey. First, a linguistic analysis was conducted on the speech of Turkish-Germans in the clips that were presented as stimuli in the online survey. The analysis compared their speech to the descriptions of Turkish-German speech in previous literature. Second, a conversation-analytic discourse analysis was performed on the dialogue of the film clips used in the survey. The purpose of both of these smaller studies was to better understand what it is that respondents to the survey might react to in forming opinions of the characters.

One of the primary contributions of this dissertation is to the understanding of language attitudes within the Turkish-German community in Germany and attitudes towards that community from monolingual Germans in Germany and monolingual Turkish-speakers in Turkey. The results of this study give evidence that bilinguals evaluate languages and language-mixing differently than monolinguals. They also suggest that, for both Germans and Turks, the Turkish-German characters in Fatih Akin's films are evaluated as "Turks" rather than "Germans" by survey participants.

In addition to the contributions towards understanding the Turkish-German immigrant community, this dissertation contributes to the field of Sociolinguistics and language attitudes studies. The study adds to the so far small number of Sociolinguistic studies done using popular media (Androtsopoulos, 2001; Auer, 2003; Lippi-Green, 2007; Bilaniuk, 2010; Sifianou & Bayraktaroglu, 2012). It can be used as argument in favor of using clips from popular media as stimuli for research on language attitudes.

Several aspects of the methodology described in this dissertation will be useful for future Sociolinguistic research on language attitudes. The design of the survey that was distributed and collected completely online had several benefits. One was in the ability to reach respondent pools from various locations in multiple countries without necessitating expensive and time-consuming field work. Another advantage to basing the survey online was the ability to embed online media in order to expose participants to film clips immediately before answering questions about the characters within the clips. The methodology of presenting survey participants with film clips in controlled orderings helped in attempting to pull apart reactions to language and to other parts of the story. Because of the different content of clips featuring the same character, it was possible to see which character attributes the different groups of participants were responding to.

Finally, the results of this dissertation highlight the importance of contextualizing the community of interest in an analysis of language attitudes, specifically in a bilingual setting. It

might be expected that bilingual speakers would hold the same attitudes expressed by each group of monolingual speakers of the speech communities they are surrounded by. However, as seen in the results discussed in chapters 7 and 8, bilingual views are not “the sum of the parts” of monolingual views towards language. Specifically, monolinguals of both German- and Turkish-speaking communities evaluated German more highly than Turkish, while bilinguals did not display a preference towards one language or another. On the other hand, monolinguals did not express many negative evaluations of language-mixing, while bilinguals did.

1.2 Structure of this dissertation

Chapter 2 presents a brief history of the community of Turkish immigrants to Germany and their descendants. Chapter 3 presents an overview of the relevant linguistic literature, including sociolinguistic research on language attitudes, theories of code-mixing, documented descriptions of Turkish-German code-mixing and Turkish-German ethnolects, and discourse analytic literature on naturally-occurring Turkish-German speech. Chapter 4 describes the methodology of the study, including the over-arching research questions, the demographic make-up of the subject pool, and the construction of the online survey. Finally, a broad summary of the data to be analyzed is given.

Chapter 5 contains a linguistic analysis of code-mixing in the clips. The linguistic analysis consists of a comparison to real-world Turkish-German speech at all levels of the grammar. This study will compare the structure of the dialogue in *Head-On* and *The Edge of Heaven* with the descriptions of language used in the Turkish-German community and imitations thereof, as described in previous literature.

Chapter 6 presents the qualitative aspects of the study. Section 2 contains a discourse analysis of the dialogue in the clips, with select comments from participants displayed to support the analysis. The discourse analysis of the language in the clips looks at the characters’ identity construction through the use of code-mixing and other discursive strategies in the movies *Head-On* and *The Edge of Heaven* using a conversation-analytic approach (Pomerantz & Fehr 2011). Section 3 presents the qualitative analysis of the survey data, which consisted of a content analysis of the responses that were received to open-ended questions on the survey.

Chapter 7 presents the quantitative analysis of the survey results. This involved conducting descriptive statistical analyses on the numerical data resulting from the Likert-scale questions about film clips and characters. The results of the quantitative analysis of the Likert-scale questions show that German-speakers, Turkish-speakers and German-Turkish bilinguals all display a negative correlation between their perceptions of a character’s “Turkishness” and perceived level of education, which is not evident in the responses of participants who are unfamiliar with German and Turkish. These results are explored in relationship to the language background as well as the age group of the participants.

In the discussion, the survey results are discussed in light of the results of the discourse analysis and linguistic analysis of the film dialogue. Connections are drawn between the analysis of the language choices of characters in the clips and the ways that survey participants respond to the characters. The discussion will relate participant responses and the analysis of the film dialogue to literature regarding Akin’s films, their use of language, and their reception by the public.

2 The Turkish community in Germany

The history of the Turkish community in Germany begins on October 30, 1962 when Germany signed a labor agreement with Turkey. This agreement, referred to as the guest worker program, encouraged Turks to work in Germany temporarily. By the end of the year, 7,000 Turks had moved to Germany (Göktürk, et al. 2007, p.497). Visas were first granted for only 2 years at a time, but in 1965 the Foreigner Act was passed, which allowed guest workers who had been employed in the country for 5 years to automatically renew their work permit (p.498). The first generation of workers were mostly men and were mostly employed in the service and labor industries. By November 23, 1973, when Germany stopped recruiting guest workers, most of the immigration was for the sake of reuniting families (Diraor, 2009, p.3). Despite the number of immigrants in the country, Germany continued to deny being a country of immigration. In 1981, immigration of spouses and dependents was severely restricted, and in 1983 unemployed guest workers were offered 10,500 Marks to return to their country of origin (Göktürk, et al., p.502). These attempts to stem the flow of migration and return immigrants to their home country were largely unsuccessful.

It wasn't until the 1980s that any integration policy was considered a necessity, as up until then migrants were still seen as 'guests' by the governments of both Germany and Turkey. By 2000, Germany had 2 million legal residents who were Turkish citizens, and a new law gave children born in Germany automatic German citizenship. Although still under-educated, the second and third generations were employed in a greater variety of sectors and a middle class emerged (Diraor, p.3). By 2009, the population of Turks in Germany was 2.3 million, although only a small percentage of these have adopted German citizenship (p.4). By 2010, more Turks were leaving Germany than entering. This can be attributed to the increasing stability of Turkey and the continuing difficulty of successful integration into German society (Findlay, 2010). Many returnees were born in Germany and have difficulty integrating into Turkish society, leaving them with a feeling of belonging neither here nor there.

The Turkish-German community has long struggled for acceptance in Germany, and there is still tension between Turkish-Germans and non-Turkish Germans in Germany today. As found in other immigrant communities, criticism of the community is often couched in terms of criticism of their language: either their perceived failure to learn German, or the use of Turkish-German code-mixing.

An illustration of the stigmatization of the speech of Turkish-Germans is found in the creation of "multicultural" radio stations in Berlin. Berlin, Germany has enough native Turkish-speaking residents to warrant the existence of several Turkish-language radio and television stations. The earlier immigrants from Turkey to Germany from all over Turkey were primarily uneducated. Second generation immigrants growing up in Germany were often illiterate in Turkish (even excluding Kurds who are often included with Turks in German statistics). The founders of the first Turkish-language station in Berlin therefore imported Turks from Istanbul or hired Turkish-Germans who had gone to college in Istanbul as reporters (Göktürk et al, 2007). During the 1990's, these radio and television stations that undertook the responsibility of giving the Turkish-German community a voice strove to eliminate German influences from the speech of the community members that they interviewed and chose reporters from outside the community. Not only did they avoid using the mixed language that prevails in the speech community, but they chose to represent the Turkish language with speakers of a dialect that was not that of the local Turkish speakers. This is unfortunately counterproductive as the stated purpose of creating the stations was to create both a feeling of belonging within the community

as well as a connection to the Turkish homeland. This community is fertile ground for a study on language attitudes.

3 Literature review

3.1 Code-mixing Literature

This dissertation is situated within the sociolinguistic research on language attitudes, especially towards code mixing. The study explores the beliefs that speakers in and around the Turkish-German community in Germany have about the use of Turkish-German code-mixing. First, this section presents a discussion of code-mixing literature to provide the framework on which the analysis of code-mixing in this dissertation will be based. Next, the following section discusses the literature on language attitudes to provide the theory behind language ideology on which the research questions and hypotheses were based. Section 3.3 presents a summary of literature documenting the structure of Turkish-German speech. Finally, section 3.4 presents a summary of literature analyzing identity construction within the Turkish-German community through discourse analysis.

There is a lack of consensus about the use of the terms “code-switching” and “code-mixing.” This dissertation will use the term “code-mixing” to discuss the general phenomenon of language mixing, as proposed by Muysken (2000). Thus, “code-mixing” encompasses everything from the insertion of a lone lexical item from one language into another to morphosyntactic integration of material from two languages (as in the examples from Kallmeyer & Keim, 2002 in the following section). The term “code-switching” will be reserved for cases in which the material inserted from one language into another includes several words and a constituent boundary.

The use of code-mixing in migrant populations has been documented in many contexts, and there is a range of different types of code-mixing studies. This section will review the theoretical background behind the current study of language mixing. There are two main types of code-mixing research. One investigates syntactic constraints on language alternation and the other examines contextual or functional constraints. While syntactic research on code-mixing made important contributions to the understanding of the competencies of bi- and multi-lingual speakers, functional accounts of mixing such as those proposed by Zentella (1981) and Auer (1999) provide a better framework for answering questions about language attitudes. The analysis of switches in the conversation analysis of film dialogue (section 6.2) is grounded in the functional theories of code-mixing as well as in theories of conversation analysis. In addition, functional analyses contribute to our understanding of the social meaning that language switching indexes for bilingual speakers which will be important in the analysis of metalinguistic comments about code-mixing given by survey participants (section 6.3). For these reasons, the review here includes a short description of the syntactic literature and the functional accounts of code-mixing are given more attention.

Syntactic theories on language mixing strive to explain patterns of bilingual speech through grammatical constraints. These theories address questions of which types of language switches are grammatical and which types of switches are not predicted based on the grammars of the languages involved. Shana Poplack (1980) proposed two syntactic constraints on code mixing that account for the structural locations where language switches are likely to occur. The *equivalence constraint* on code-mixing explains the observation that switches in language usually happen at a point where the word order in both languages is equivalent. The *free morpheme constraint* states that a switch cannot happen directly following a bound morpheme.

Myers-Scotton (1993) introduces the Matrix Language Framework (MLF) in her research on code-mixing. The MLF helps to analyze intra-sentential code-mixing, or language alternation within a sentence. Myers-Scotton asserts that, even when languages are mixed at this level, they

are always asymmetrical. The dominant language, or the language that is used more, is called the *matrix language*. The other language, which can be said to be inserted into the framework of the matrix language, is called the *embedded language*.

Functional work on language alternation is less concerned about syntactic rules governing how and where a switch can occur than it is with the pragmatic and social reasons for a switch. A functional model of code-mixing seeks to explain language alternations by virtue of the *function* that an alternation is performing, or the social or pragmatic reason *why* a switch was made at a certain point. The functions of language alternation may be the same as those that would lead to a change in speech style for a monolingual speaker. Table 3.1 below illustrates the various functions that a switch in language may represent. This table is taken from Auer (1995), which follows Zentella (1981).

Table 3.1 Functions of code-mixing (adapted from Auer 1995: 120)

i)	Reported speech
ii)	Change of participant constellation
iii)	Parentheses or side-comments
iv)	Reiterations
v)	Change of activity type
vi)	Topic shift
vii)	Puns, language play, shift of 'key'
viii)	Topicalisation

This list illustrates events (or locations) in a conversation where a switch from one language to another is commonly found. A compilation of code-mixing functions such as this one can also serve as a theoretical model for code-switching (such as in Zentella, 1981). Each category represents a different reason a speaker may have for switching languages or inserting material from a second language. The categories are defined here:

i) *Reported speech* or quotations: this category applies to occasions in which a speaker is repeating an utterance from another person, usually in a narration.

ii) *Change of participant constellation* applies when a new speaker enters the conversation, or someone enters the room. If a monolingual speaker enters the room, the participants may switch to the language of the bystander out of politeness or a desire to include the new person. On the other hand, speakers may switch to a language that bystanders do not understand in order to exclude them.

iii) *Parentheses or side comments*: a common reason for switching languages is for a comment that is unrelated to the present conversation. The comment may be inserted into a conversation in another language.

iv) *Reiterations* or repetitions: these can take the form of quasi-translations into the other language, for the purpose of putting emphasis on demands or requests, or for attracting attention. A repetition may serve the purpose of clarifying an utterance. A speaker may choose to repeat a word or phrase in a second language as a sort of 'repair' strategy, if he or she feels the second language is better suited to the context.

v) *Change of activity type*: speakers may associate certain activities around the home or at work with one language or the other. A change in activity may prompt a change in language.

vi) *Topic shift*: the beginning of a new topic may be introduced in a second language, signaling a topic shift.

vii) *Puns, language play, shift of 'key'*: false cognates may be used if they are phonetically easier (i.e., show greater ease of articulatory effort), or new words may be created by assimilating a foreign word into native morphology as a sort of 'game'.

vii) *Topicalisation* serves to bring attention to a word or phrase by switching language and, often, pronouncing the word with emphasis.

The term *borrowing* in this study refers to the use of a word in the context of another language. In the context of Turkish-German speakers in Germany this will generally refer to the use of a Turkish word in a German sentence. There are a variety of reasons for why a certain word might be borrowed. For example, German might not contain an equivalent word, the Turkish word might be semantically more specific or phonologically simpler, or the Turkish word may be very high frequency (e.g. Ardila 2005: 68-69).

Peter Auer (1999) proposes a descriptive continuum of language alternation phenomena which spans between *code-switching* and *language mixing*, and between *language mixing* and *fused lects*. The continuum is reproduced below, in Table 3.2. Code-switching (CS), on the left-hand side, refers to cases in which the switches in language are locally meaningful for the speakers. In order to be locally meaningful a switch must serve a specific pragmatic purpose, such as indexing a change in topic or in participant constellation.

Table 3.2 Continuum of Language Alternation (Reproduced from Auer 1999: 328)

<u>Code-switching (CS)</u>	<u>Language Mixing (LM)</u>	<u>Fused Lects (FL)</u>
<u>Alternational code-switching</u> -preference for one language at a time -functional qua alternation -involves renegotiation of language of interaction -rhetorical/stylistic device (contextualization cue) -usually at clause boundary	<u>Alternational mixing</u> -group style -not functional qua alternation -grammatical constraints -partly within clause but: -not restricted to word level -mixing is language of interaction -no preference for one language at a time	<u>Fused lects</u> -as in mixing but: -additionally positive grammatical constraints -obligatory 'alternation' -adaptive changes towards new overall system
<u>Insertional code-switching</u> -as above but: -on single (usually small) constituents -does not threaten language of interaction	<u>Insertional mixing</u> -as above but: -implies matrix language when clause-internal	

Language mixing (LM) refers to cases in which the use of two languages is meaningful in a 'global sense' when looked at as a pattern. This type of mixing benefits from a sequential analysis, where it is not the individual switch that indexes a certain function but rather the total sequence of switches that can illustrate the negotiation from one language to another. In cases of LM, it is extremely difficult to identify the matrix language. Each alternation between languages does not appear to be fulfilling a local function. The use of this type of language alternation is closely related to the identity of the speakers, and there is often a folk name for the mode of speech (e.g. Italian-German speech is referred to as *Italoschwyz*, Spanish-English speech is called *Spanglish*).

Both CS and LM are divided into alternational and insertional types. Alternational CS is “one in which a return after the switch into the previous language is not predictable” (Auer: 1999, 313), and insertional CS is switching in which “a content word (noun, verb, rarely adjective or adverb) is inserted into a surrounding passage in the other language” (p. 314). In LM, it is more difficult to distinguish between alternational and insertional types. In insertional LM it is less difficult to identify a matrix language into which content from another language is inserted. Insertional LM involves larger or smaller units than in insertional CS, such as a noun phrase or just a stem.

The term fused lects (FL), on the right-hand side of Table 2, refers to stabilized mixed language varieties in which the alternation between languages has become Grammaticalized and is not meaningful to the speakers. The type of flexibility and variation found in CS and LM is not found in FL.

In his 1999 article, Auer is interested in the transitions between the types of language alternation. He claims that there is a tendency in a bilingual community to move towards the right side of the graph, from CS to LM to FL, and that movement in the opposite direction is not predicted (p. 319). Although he points out that this is not the only way to arrive at LM or FL, this kind of development is a possibility. Thus, there are phases in which a pattern in-between CS and LM or between LM and FL exists.

Peter Muysken (2000) also describes a 3-way split in types of language alternation, but with slightly different definitions. He defines them as three different processes (Muysken 2000: 3):

- **insertion** of material (lexical items or entire constituents) from one language into a structure from the other language.
- **alternation** between structures from languages.
- **congruent lexicalization** of material from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure

Muysken asserts that the differences between these processes are not only structural but are also different sociolinguistic strategies (p. 8). Insertion is common in migrant communities, where speakers are more proficient in one language than the other. Alternation is most commonly found in stable bilingual communities, and congruent lexicalization is associated with second generation migrant groups or a post-creole continuum.

3.2 Language attitudes

Research has shown that connections are made in the minds of hearers between linguistic features and social groups as well as between social groups and social characteristics. This then leads to connections being formed between specific linguistic features and those characteristics. Attitudes have been central to the field of social psychology since Allport (1935) (as cited in Garrett, 2010). While the concept of *attitude* is difficult to define and has been defined differently by various scholars, the definition followed in this dissertation is that described as a ‘core’ definition in Garrett’s (2010) *Attitudes to Language*: “A disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects” (Sarnoff, 1970: 279). Within sociolinguistic research on attitudes, the object to which individuals react is language, more specifically language variation.

Preston (2010) uses the term *language regard* to refer to beliefs that non-linguists have about language variation. He uses the term *regard* rather than *attitude* in order to include beliefs

about language that may not contain any positive or negative evaluation. This section of the literature review will discuss relevant research on folk beliefs about language, and the term used in this paper will be language *attitudes*. This is not to assign the term any positive or negative evaluation, but for the sake of convention.

The relationships between attitudes on the one hand and concepts and beliefs about a speaker on the other hand are a matter of cognition. Preston (2010) describes how connections between linguistic features (i.e. /ai/-monophthongization) and social groups (i.e. Southerners) are made as well as connections between social groups and characteristics (i.e. uneducated). In order to help us better understand these relationships, Preston developed a model of the cognitive processes that link linguistic facts to social and geographic ones. He calls this model the *attitudinal cognitiorium*. This model reminds us that linguistic objects are not directly connected to an evaluative response: the relationship between the two is much more complicated and involves intermediate steps in which the linguistic object is first noticed and beliefs about a group of people are created before connecting the linguistic generalization and the cultural one. For example, the evaluation of a speaker with /ai/-monophthongization as uneducated derives from the association of /ai/-monophthongization with Southerners and the association of Southerners with the characteristic “uneducated.”

The association of cultural stereotypes with language use has also been demonstrated through *matched guise* studies, in which participants respond to speech from more than one language or dialect from the same speaker. A foundational study in this field is Lambert et al.’s (1960) matched guise experiment on bilingual French-English Canadians. Lambert constructed a series of experiments in which French-Canadians (FCs), English-Canadians (ECs), and bilinguals were presented a series of taped voices speaking in English or French and were asked to rate the speakers on a series of 18 personality traits. The listeners were not aware that the recordings were actually the same speakers speaking alternately in Canadian French and Canadian English. He found that all subjects; English-speaking, French-speaking, and bilingual, consistently rated the EC guises more favorably than the FC guises on traits such as intelligence, dependability, and even height and attractiveness (p. 94). In his words, “We consider this pattern of results as a reflection of a community-wide stereotype of FCs as being relatively second-rate people, a view apparently fully shared by certain subgroups of FCs (p. 95).”

In contrast to the low ratings that FCs were given for characteristics such as intelligence, Lambert found that, for a set of attributes, FCs were consistently rated higher than ECs. Specifically, FCs rated the FC guise higher for religiousness and kindness, and ECs rated the FC guise higher for sense of humor. In follow-up studies, Lambert (i.e. 1966, 1967, 1975) grouped the personality traits into three categories: 1) “competence”, which includes intelligence, ambition, self-confidence, leadership and courage; 2) “personal integrity”, which includes dependability, sincerity, character, conscientiousness and kindness, and 3) “social attractiveness” which included sociability.

An interesting result of Lambert (1967), which included a European French guise in addition to the FC and EC ones, demonstrated that speakers of a stigmatized language variety might evaluate their own language even more harshly than people from outside of the community. Specifically, he found that FC participants generally rated European French and Canadian English higher than Canadian French at a higher rate than did EC participants. He interpreted this as evidence that the FC participants “view their own linguistic cultural group as inferior to both the English Canadian and the European French groups (p. 8).” These subjects

are evidencing *linguistic insecurity* (Labov, 1972), a term used to describe negative evaluations that speakers can have about their own language variety.

Zahn and Hopper (1985) conducted a meta-study of methods of measuring language attitudes. They presented participants with a list of 56 attributes on which to rate speakers (p. 116). They conclude that speech evaluation is based on three factors: 1) “superiority”, which includes attributes such as educated, intelligent, upper-class, and fluent; 2) “attractiveness”, which includes attributes like likeability, good looks, and good character; and 3) “dynamism” which includes items related to confidence and activity (p. 119). They argue that the 30 attributes which factored into the three categories can be used in diverse communities to reliably test the types of language attitudes that exist.

The studies described above have been integral to sociolinguistic research on language attitudes. These studies demonstrated that it is possible to isolate language variation as the object of an attitude. They also demonstrate that the evaluations of a speaker also depend on characteristics (e.g. nationality and language background) of the judge.

The study presented in this dissertation gathered responses to characters in films on a variety of attitudinal scales. The results allow an examination of the types of connections between the use of Turkish-German mixing and social characteristics that exist in the minds of the participants. The conclusions from studies such as Lambert, et al (1960) were invaluable in constructing this study. The Turkish-German community is very different from the French-Canadian one. While both struggle with acceptance by the surrounding community, in the case of Turkish-Germans the group recently immigrated to the area and language ideology is heavily influenced by attitudes about assimilation and integration. This being said, the results of Lambert’s study show that, at least in 1967, the use of Canadian French was stigmatized and this makes it comparable to the use of Turkish or Turkish-German code-mixing in Germany.

There are diverse reasons for mixing languages, varying from a desire to belong to the minority group (Auer, 2005), a desire to distance oneself from the majority group (ibid), a way of bridging both cultures (Zentella as quoted in Scott, 2002) or a sort of leveling among diverse dialects (Stavans, 2004). None of these reasons are those cited by critics of code-mixing, who view it as proof of a lack of proficiency in either language, (Zentella, 1982), or see it as a disregard for one’s culture of heritage.

Public opinion surrounding language mixing is generally negative. A clear example is the use of Spanish-English code-mixing among Hispanics in the United States. Public opinion, both in the United States and in Latin America, is that speakers of ‘Spanglish’ mix Spanish and English due to a lack of proficiency in one or both of the languages (Acosta-Belen, 1975; Zentella, 1982). The assumption that speakers who mix languages are inadequate in the individual languages has been disproved (see Zentella, 1981; Poplack, 1980). On the contrary, the most proficient switchers prove to be the most proficient speakers of both languages (Zentella, 1982: 47). In her study on 1,639 switches between Spanish and English by bilingual Spanish-English Puerto Rican children in New York, Zentella found that the majority of switches were not for *crutching*, i.e. switching when at a loss for a word (p. 50), but rather performed specific communicative functions.

A study on attitudes towards Cantonese-English code-mixing in Hong Kong (Gibbons, 1983) provides more evidence for a stigmatization of language mixing. Gibbons conducted a *verbal guise* study in which participants rated recordings of native speakers of Cantonese, English, and Cantonese-English code-mixing on a variety of attributes. On the dimension of status, code-mixing was rated equal to Cantonese, while English was rated the highest. On the

dimension of “Chinese humility”, code-mixing was rated lowest, after Cantonese and then English. On the dimension of “Westernization”, English was rated the highest, code-mixing was rated second, and Cantonese was rated the most “culturally Chinese”. The author concluded that, for participants in his study, English is equal to high status and Westernization, Cantonese is equal to Chinese humility and solidarity, and code-mixing is equal to arrogance and antipathy but with equal status to Cantonese and neutral in regards to Westernization.

In his study on language attitudes within a Dutch high school, Ağırdag (2010) found that Dutch-Turkish bilingual students expressed negative evaluations of their own bilingualism. He explained this as *doxa of monolingualism*, which is that the hegemonic view of using only the majority language is imposed onto speakers of another language. This is a type of *standard language ideology*, as defined by Lippi-Green (2004): “a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, non-varying *spoken* language that is imposed and maintained by dominant institutions (p. 292).”

This section has summarized research that demonstrates how attitudes towards groups of people can be expressed as attitudes about their language. It has also presented research that demonstrates the stigmatization of code-mixing in several immigrant communities. The following section summarizes literature documenting the structure of Turkish-German speech.

3.3 Documented descriptions of Turkish-German

3.3.1 Introduction

Several scholars have documented the language use of second and third generation Turkish-Germans in spontaneous conversation, concentrating on the communities of Munich, Hamburg (Auer, 2003), Mannheim (Keim, 2002; Kallmeyer & Keim, 2003) and Berlin (Selting & Kern, 2009). The speech of these populations is variously referred to as “Türkendeutsch”, “Türkenslang”, or “Kanak sprak” (Selting & Kern, 2009: 249). This is not the speech of learners of German, which was the case of the Gastarbeiterdeutsch spoken by new immigrants in the 1970s (Hinnenkamp, 1982). The majority of the literature on these new varieties (Androutsopoulos, 2001; Auer, 2003; Deppermann, 2007) classify Turkish-German speech as an *ethnolect*. The exception is Selting & Kern (2009) which describes it as an *ethnic style*.

“An ethnolect is a way of speaking (style), which is associated with one or more non-German ethnic groups by the speaker and/or others (Auer, 2003: 255)¹.”

“We do not conceive of this way of speaking as an 'ethnolect' but as a style of speaking: Turkish German is not used as a variety determined by extralinguistic parameters, but as a meaningful resource to achieve particular goals in talk-in-interaction (Selting & Kern, 2009: 2497).”

The convention in this dissertation will be to refer to Turkish-German as an *ethnolect*. Auer’s (2003) definition of ethnolect encompasses Selting & Kern’s (2009) definition of an ethnic style, and for the sake of convenience, the term cited most commonly in the literature is used here. Although code-mixing is included in the linguistic varieties of these populations, some of the features of Turkish-German speech are shared by local varieties of non-Turkish German. Attention has also been given to the representation of Turkish-German speech in the

¹ Translated from German by the author.

- Code-mixing (Keim, 2002; Kallmeyer & Keim, 2003):
 - times where one language is identifiable as the matrix
 - other times where neither language is matrix
 - frequent inter- and intra-clause switches (alternating on average every 5th or 6th word)
 - morphosyntactically integrated constructions, such as:
 - Using one phonetic form to mean something distinct in German and Turkish. E.g.:

"O da konusma- <u>de</u> <i>ganzeit</i>	<u>ben de böyle yaptım</u> "
he also speak-de the whole time	I also like that did
"He did not speak all the time and	I did like that."

The morph 'de' (pronounced with a /ə/) is used here for both Turkish 'di' (past tense morpheme) and German 'die' (third person feminine singular article) at the same time.
 - using the Turkish verbs 'yapmak' (to make) or 'etmek' (to do) after a German verb. E.g.:

<i>feiern</i>	<u>yapmıyorum</u>
‘to celebrate’	‘I don’t do’

“I don’t celebrate.”
- "Ben bizim okulda austeilen yapsaydim b vier eins und zwei gelirdi."
- I our school distribute do.COND four one and two came.

Selting & Kern (2009) conducted an analysis of syntactic and prosodic features of spontaneous Turkish-German speech in conversations from participants aged 16 to 22, all second generation Turks who grew up in Berlin. In their data, Turkish-German is not used by the speakers throughout the conversations, but rather in particular turns that fulfill a variety of functions. They identify a syntactic category, which they name “prosodically separated post-positioning of optional constituents” that is unique to Turkish-German speech. In this construction, the word “dings” (‘thingy’) replaces a constituent and projects a post-positioning. The post-positioned material in these utterances is a separate prosodic unit. An example of this category is given here (capitalization indicates primary accent):

Prosodically separated post-positioning of optional constituents: (Selting & Kern, 2009)

“*weil er DINGS hat bestimmt; KUNde*”
 because he thingy has surely; client

3.3.3 Turkish-German in the media

Androutopoulos (2001), Auer (2003), and Depperman (2007) describe the portrayal of Turkish-German speech in the popular media. This portrayal of Turkish Germans, primarily in the TV show *Mundstuh* is usually for comedic effect and is often the primary representation for non-Turkish Germans of Turkish-German speech.

Structure of imitation Turkish-German in the media

- Phonetics:
 - sometimes an epenthetic vowel in consonant clusters, so that a word like 'spielen' (to play) become /ʃipilen/
 - lack of umlaut
 - reduction of /st/ to /s/,
 - coronalisation of /x/ to /ʃ/, (/iʃ/ instead of /ix/).
- Prosody: syllable-timed instead of stress-timed.
- Morpho-Syntax:
 - omission of prepositions and articles
 - SV word order when German has inversion
 - overgeneralization of 'den' for other definite articles
- Lexis:
 - frequent use of adjectives as evaluative markers:
 - *krass* (crass)
 - *korrekt* (correct)
 - *konkret* (concrete)
 - No non-German lexical items
- Topics: restricted to things like cell phones, cars, bragging, and songs.

3.3.4 Imitation by non-Turkish Germans

Androutopoulos (2001), Auer (2003), and Depperman (2007) also wrote about stylized Kanaksprak, or imitation of Turkish-German speech by non-Turkish Germans, which is modeled off of the speech of popular TV shows such as *Mundstuhl*. Imitation Kanaksprak is highly ritualized, used for assessments, and clearly set off from the matrix conversation. In contrast to the authentic ethnolect, it is restricted to a very small range of lexical items and syntax.

"In Auer's (1988) terms, sequences of stylized Kanaksprak are 'code-transfer': they are insulated, mostly short sequences which are inserted into a stream of conversation in the speakers' unmarked colloquial variety (Depperman, 2007: 344)."

Structure of stylized Kanaksprak by German adolescents:

- Phonetics:
 - apical 'r'
 - reduction of /ts/ to /s/
 - coronalisation of /x/ to /ʃ/
 - voicing of voiceless stops /t/ to /d/, and /k/ to /g/
 - lowering and backing of vowels
 - [y]-sounds are considered code-markers for the Turkish language
- Morpho-Syntax:
 - overgeneralized use of 'den' (masculine singular accusative) as pronoun/article, wrong agreement
 - excessive use of tags
 - SV word order when Standard German has inversion
 - lack of agreement

- Lexis:
 - excessive use of stereotypical code-markers in German:
 - *krass* (crass)
 - *korrekt* (correct)
 - *konkret* (concrete)
 - *alder* (old one)
 - use of Turkish lexis:
 - *tam* (exact)
 - *çay* (tea)
 - *tschucki* (short for *cok iyi*).
 - *lan*: "Probably, this is the most widely known Turkish word among German youngsters and it is regularly used as a social categorization for Kanaksprak-speakers (Depperman, 2007: 338)."

There are features that occur in all three varieties described above: naturally occurring Turkish-German speech, imitation Turkish-German in the media, and imitation Turkish-German by non-Turkish Germans. However, there is also a great deal of difference between the authentic ethnolect and the imitations. In Chapter 5: A comparison of language use in films with real-world Turkish-German, the dialogue from the clips used as stimuli in the online survey will be analyzed and compared with the findings from the studies summarized in this section in order to determine whether the dialogue in the films is an accurate representation of Turkish-German mixing or whether it more closely resembles descriptions of the imitation of the ethnolect in the media or by non-Turkish Germans.

3.4 Discourse Analysis

Chapter 6, Section 2 presents a discourse analysis of the film dialogue used as stimuli for the participants in the online survey. The review of discourse analysis literature here will concentrate on identity construction and conversation analysis of Turkish-German communication. The research discussed here is based on corpora of naturally occurring Turkish-German conversation (Keim 2002, Kallmeyer & Keim 2003), as well as speech by non-Turkish German youth (Deppermann 2007). The research on imitation Turkish-German speech is important for two reasons: First, the ways that non-Turkish German youth in Deppermann's work frame their stylization of Turkish-German speech hold important information about the attitudes they hold about Turkish-Germans and the way that they speak, and second, Deppermann cites popular media as the primary input for imitation Turkish-German speech. This is highly relevant for this study in justifying the use of popular media as stimuli in an investigation of language attitudes.

This section will summarize the findings of previous research on identity construction in conversation analysis of Turkish-German speech and imitations thereof. Previous literature in this area demonstrates that the use of Turkish-German code-mixing in Germany is meaningful sociolinguistically. Because the speakers know both German and Turkish, potentially to similar degrees, the choice to use a mixed code indexes membership in the specific group of people who speak both German and Turkish. Auer (2005) describes this type of context as the use of a 'neutral' language and an 'ethnically rich' language;

"This is what we typically find in immigrant situations in Europe or in the Americas, where the 'majority language' is neutral with respect to ethnic

belonging and the ‘minority language’ is a potential symbolic carrier of ethnic (or other) self-identification (p.405).”

In addition to indexing their belonging in the Turkish-German community, the literature in this section demonstrates some of the important social categories for Turkish-Germans and the surrounding community. These categories and their relevant identity attributes will be important in discussion of the current study.

Keim (2002) is a case study of the communicative practices in the construction of social style for three groups of second-generation Turkish immigrants in Mannheim, Germany, and Kallmeyer & Keim (2003) looks in more detail at one of these groups. Keim identifies four dimensions of expressive behavior that are essential for the construction of a social style (p. 285-286): 1) pragmatic rules of speaking, 2) construction of systems of social categories, 3) formulaic speech, and 4) linguistic variation for purposes of interactional organization and for socio-symbolic reasons. Her analysis concentrates on the last of these: variation and the self-positioning of her participants in relation to other groups. Table 3.3 provides a summary of the demographic make-up, relevant out-group social categories, and language uses of the groups in the study (the group names were chosen by the participants). The following is a brief description of each of the groups.

The "European Turks" are a group of university graduates between 26 and 32 years old who see themselves as "Turks" with international and European networks, and Turkish is their dominant language. The group's aim is “to fight by means of an elaborated socio-cultural program and a self-presentation as sophisticated, competent bilingual and bicultural Turks in Europe against the negative image of the Turkish guest worker (their parents) as uneducated, unskilled migrants with only a poor command of the German language (p.288).”

While they are bilingual, the European Turks’ aim is to speak both languages well and to keep them separate. “They try to avoid mixing practices that they regard as stigmatized forms signaling a ghetto background (p. 296).” However, in informal contexts some of them mix German and Turkish. The only relevant out-group social category mentioned for the European Turks is “Turkish ghetto-kids.” They see this group very negatively and blame them for the negative image that migrants have in German society. They position themselves in opposition to “ghetto-kids” and want to be seen as well-educated, well-behaved and polite.

Table 3.3 Keim (2002), Kallmeyer & Keim (2003), Summary

Group	Age	Social Categories (out-group)	Language
European Turks	26-32	“Turkish ghetto-kids”	-Turkish dominant -Bilingual, but: -Aspire to no mixing
Unmündige	25-32	Prejudiced Germans with high positions	-Standard German -Some Turkish-German mixing -Lack of interest in Turkish
Powergirls	15-21	1) First generation immigrants 2) Second generation immigrants 3) Germans	-Turkish-German mixing -Mannheim Turkish -Mannheim German (“Stadtteilsprache” or “district talk”) -Near-standard German

The "Unmündige" ("Without mouths") chose their name in reference to their political and social status. They are a multiethnic group dominated by Turkish members between 25 and 32 years old, mostly university graduates. They define themselves as a political group fighting against racism in Germany and strive for a self-determined life in Germany with equal rights (p.288). The only relevant out-group social category given for the Unmündige was prejudiced Germans in positions of authority. In contact with prejudiced Germans they use irony and reversal of perspectives to uncover hidden prejudices. German is the dominant language for the Unmündige, and they try to speak standard High German, even in-group. Sometimes a change in modality (e.g. joking, playfulness) causes a switch to Turkish or Turkish-German mixing, however they are in general uninterested in using Turkish.

The "Powergirls" are a group of 15 girls between the ages of 15 and 21 from inner city Mannheim, a district with over 60% immigrants. They were also the focus of Kallmeyer & Keim (2003). Keim describes this group as living in tension between the Turkish migrant society with an orientation towards the old rural traditions of their parents and the German society. They see themselves as neither Turkish nor German, but "as tough Turkish-German young women who fight against all forms of discrimination from members of the majority." They associate with softness and intimacy on the one hand, and directness and aggressiveness on the other.

The Powergirls' linguistic repertoire (p. 289) is made up of Turkish-German mixing, (their default, in-group code), near-standard German (used with adults and the professional language for the older girls), and Mannheim Turkish (a vernacular Turkish with German insertions). They also use Mannheim German ("Stadtteilsprache", or "district talk") as criticism of other "ghetto-youngsters" or Germans, and forms of "Gastarbeiterdeutsch" to caricature asocial Turks (p. 287).

There are 3 out-group social categories that are relevant for the Powergirls, all negative:

- 1) First generation immigrants, including;
 - a. "Der asoziale Türke" (the asocial Turk) who speaks Gastarbeiter deutsch (Guestworker German)
 - b. "Der türkische Bauer" (the Turkish farmer) who speaks east-Anatolian Turkish,
 - c. "Der möchte-gerne-Moderne" (the wannabe Modern) who speaks Standard Turkish
- 2) Second generation immigrants, including;
 - a. "Assi", or 'asocial criminal' who speaks Stadtteilsprache (district talk)
 - b. "Vollidiot" (complete idiot), religious and uneducated, who speaks Turkish or Turkish-German mixing.
 - c. "Die Angepassten", Turkish-assimilated youth who follow their parents and prefer Turkish.
- 3) Germans, including;
 - a. "der dumme Deutsch" (the dumb German) who is prejudiced, uneducated, and speaks the Mannheim dialect,
 - b. "arrogante Deutsche" (arrogant Germans) who treat minorities as stupid, and speak standard German in divergence to the minorities.

Keim concludes that "the construction of different social styles of communication is directly related to the groups' different socio-cultural orientations they developed in reaction to migration experiences, especially interaction to discrimination and marginalization (p. 297)."

Kallmeyer & Keim (2003) explore the dimensions of expressive behavior used by the Powergirls for constructing a social style in more detail. They describe how each of the language varieties controlled by the girls (as seen in Table 3.1) are used in their discourse. The attribute of “toughness” is communicated by the girls’ in-group language variety, called “district talk” (“Stadtteilsprache”) (p. 31). The girls also use “Gastarbeiterdeutsch” (“Guestworker German”) for the caricature of uninformed and uneducated workers from rural regions of southern countries (p. 31).

In the girls’ use of Turkish-German mixing, switching (or not switching) in conversation among the participants can perform the following functions: 1) “New interactional constellation”, when a new participant with different language competence enters the conversation, 2) topical organization: accommodating to a speaker’s language signals agreement while diverging can signal disagreement, 3) ritual insults are always returned in the same language variety as the preceding speaker, 4) variation practices are used to outline two-part structures: for example, quotations or reporting someone's reactions in a narration would call for a switch.

In conclusion, the authors list the three aspects that are most important to the girls' self-positioning in their social surroundings (p. 43):

- 1) Distance from their parents' generation and their social and cultural orientations, especially in relation to women's education,
- 2) Distance from adult German society which confronts them with discrimination, and
- 3) Reaction to the styles of other youth groups

These conclusions will be important in the analysis of the film dialogue in the clips used as stimuli for the survey, as well as in the content analysis of the comments about Turkish-German language mixing given by the participants.

Deppermann (2007) describes the use of stylized ‘Kanaksprak’ by German youth. ‘Kanaksprak’ is a term used, usually derogatorily, to describe ‘foreigner talk’ in German. The word ‘Kanaksprak’ is derived from ‘Kanacke’, a derogatory term for foreigners. The word is most often associated with immigrants from Turkey or their descendants, although it can also be used in regards to other minority groups. In Deppermann’s data, use of the term was restricted to descriptions of male adolescents and young adults. While the German adolescents in his study had friends who were immigrants, they don't refer to them as Kanacken and don't associate the same characteristics with them. The construction of ‘Kanacken’ fits into the description of relevant out-groups that was relevant in the discussion of Keim (2002) and Kallmeyer & Keim (2003) above.

The data given in Deppermann (2007) are examples of stylized Turkish speech by native German speakers. This type of stylized speech occurs in popular media, particularly in comedic representations of the Turkish community. Deppermann cites *Mundstuhl*, and *Stefan und Erkan* as programs that use Kanaksprak, as well as the popular Turkish-German comedian, Kaya Yanar. The primary example of the use of stylized Kanaksprak in the media as cited in the article is *Mundstuhl*:

"Mundstuhl ridicule the purportedly prototypical Kanaksprak-speaker who lives in Germany's immigrant 'ghettos'. Indeed, a lot of these linguistic features can also be identified in authentic speech of immigrant adolescents with a 'ghetto'-background (see Auer 2003; Auer and Dirim 2004). However, their frequency and intensity is exaggerated in the comedies, and the linguistic repertoire of the stylized characters is much more restricted. The majority of

these features... are specific to (stylized) Kanaksprak and do not appear in domestic varieties of German (p. 330)."

The linguistic structure of stylized Kanaksprak is described in the previous section. Deppermann's results, described here, correlate the use of this stylized speech with specific identity attributes. The subjects in Deppermann's study were a peer-group of 20 boys ages 14 to 20 in a small town near Frankfurt. The core members of the group were all of German heritage, but the periphery included an Italian, a Moroccan, and a Turkish boy (p. 328). Frankfurt, where they went to school, is more than 50% immigrants of Turkish, Arabian, and Slavic heritage but their town is only 10% immigrants (p. 328). Deppermann used the conversation analytic method, in which "people's social identities and the features associated with them are neither invariably fixed nor relevant for just any interaction. Rather, they are locally invoked and flexibly shaped by ways of speaking (p. 327)."

The identity attributes ascribed to Kanacken in his data include (p. 331):

- Use cell phones to show off.
- Aggressive and violent, make fights for no reason. German adolescents fear them.
- Bad at school (German adolescents see this as revenge for physical superiority).
- Drug-dealing and petty crimes.
- Bragging and claiming abilities and morals that they don't have.
- Ridiculous and untrustworthy.

Use of Kanaksprak defines the identity of Kanacken for the participants in this study: "Their language is judged to be indicative of their character, since its pragmatics, but also its semantic and phonological features attest to identity-attributes that are quite distinctive and subject to devaluation and ridicule (p. 331)." A stereotypical speaker of Kanaksprak is "someone who makes extreme assessments in a repetitive, highly ritualized and restricted way—someone who is ridiculous and a bit stupid (p. 347)."

Stylized Kanaksprak, like Mock Spanish in the United States (Hill, 1995), is a representation of a stigmatized language variety that, conversely, holds cultural capital for the stylizers. Deppermann analyzes stylized Kanaksprak with a layering of voices (p. 335). The first layer, "other-positioning", represents the self-positioning of the Kanacken: however, "the stereotypical Kanaksprak-character is only faintly present as a constitutive backdrop."

The second layer is the speaker's "attitude toward other-positioning", and the third layer is "representational self-positioning versus represented other". The fourth and final layer is "interactional self-positioning versus interlocutor". Thus, "stylized Kanaksprak is used to maintain the group's own sense of belonging by shared routines and shared knowledge of cherished media models." Deppermann's study demonstrates how linguistic stereotypes are distributed by the media and are then adopted by conversationalists and integrated with their everyday experience.

"Media sources provide speakers with linguistic blue-prints they can use for interactional work on social categorization, stereotyping and coping with real-world experiences as well as a resource for interactional self-positioning, display of fandom and self-entertainment as the business of conversation (p.351)."

Further support for scholarly research on popular media comes from Sifianou and Bayraktaroglu (2012). They performed a discourse analysis of a popular Greek-Turkish sitcom, following Goffman's concept of "face-work": "the actions taken by a person to make whatever

he is doing consistent with face (Goffman 1972: 324).” They offer the following justification for analyzing a corpus of speech taken from popular media: "these programs offer a kind of window through which one can "overhear" conversations about views, beliefs, and customs and "watch" how people enact their daily lives (p. 292)." They claim that, while fictional media can portray an exaggeration of reality, "if viewers cannot relate to anything said or represented, they will most probably not be prepared to watch let alone enjoy the product (p. 293)."

In intercultural communication, the socio-historical knowledge which interlocutors possess is employed in interaction with another individual. This knowledge comes to them from, among other sources, media reports of conflicts and problems." (p. 302) "Elite racism" (a term from van Dijk, 1993) "finds voice through various forms of media to regulate and control the public opinion so that the power and indeed the hegemony over the migrants can be maintained, if not augmented (p. 295)."

Within this theory, the definition of a stereotype is "enduring publicly perceived attributes" and "enduring publicly "imagined" attributes" that have been formed over the years (p. 298)." In this sense, interlocutors already have a sense of "face" before coming into contact with an individual from the other culture. While the cultures under consideration by Sifianou and Bayraktaroglu, Greek and Turkish, are portrayed as equal rivals in the sitcom he considers, the cultures in the films analyzed here, Turkish and German, are portrayed in a relationship between majority (German) and minority (Turkish) cultures. The conclusions will therefore be different, however the methodology of analyzing interaction in fictional media can still apply.

The literature described in this section demonstrates that the use of Turkish-German code-mixing in Germany is meaningful sociolinguistically. Because the speakers know both German and Turkish, potentially to similar degrees, the choice to use a mixed code indexes membership in the specific group of people who speak both German and Turkish. In addition to indexing their belonging to the Turkish-German community, the literature in this section has demonstrated some of the other important social categories for Turkish-Germans and the surrounding community. These categories and their relevant identity attributes will be important in discussion of the present study.

4 Methodology

4.1 Research Questions

This dissertation investigates attitudes regarding the use of Turkish-German code-mixing in two films by Fatih Akin. The experiment consisted of a survey given to German speakers, Turkish speakers, and American English speakers. The survey asked questions about the characters in Turkish-German films following short video clips, with the goal of exploring the correlation between the language(s) used by characters in the films and lay folks' attitudes about the personalities of the characters. The over-arching research questions for the study and corresponding hypotheses were as follows:

RQ 1) How does the language a *character* speaks affect the perception of the character?

H1) German-speaking characters will be rated more "German", Turkish-speaking characters will be rated more "Turkish", and code-mixing characters will be rated more "Turkish-German."

H2) Characters who combine languages will be evaluated negatively

The first research question regards the way that the language choices displayed by a character in a film will affect the way that character is viewed. The responses to attitudinal questions about ethnicity will help to answer this question. These questions asked participants to respond to the following statements according to how strongly they agreed with them:

This character is a typical Turk.

This character is a typical German-Turk.

This character is a typical German.

The responses to these statements will be correlated to the language use of a character. Hypothesis 1 is that characters who present as monolingual speakers of a certain language will be rated more highly on the ethnicity that corresponds to that language and that speakers who code-mix will be rated more highly on the hyphenated 'Turkish-German' identity. These ratings will also be correlated to the ratings for characters on various attributes. Hypothesis 2 predicts that code-mixing characters will be rated lower in terms of overt prestige, such as education.

RQ 2) How does the native language of a *viewer* affect their perception of the characters?

H1) Turkish and German speakers will evaluate switchers negatively.

H2) Bilingual Turkish-German speakers will:

C. evaluate switchers negatively in terms of status.

D. evaluate switchers positively in terms of solidarity.

H3) American English speakers will be unaffected by a character's language choice.

The second research question addresses the way that a viewer's perceptions of the characters in a movie are affected by their own language background. Building on the findings of Lambert (1967) and Zentella (1982), the first hypothesis is that speakers of German or Turkish will be biased against the use of code-mixing and will rate switchers lower in terms of overt prestige. Hypothesis 2, regarding the Turkish-German bilinguals, has two subhypotheses. It has

been demonstrated that members of a stigmatized language community will adopt the view their own language variety negatively (see Lambert et al, 1960; Zentella, 1982; and Lippi-Green, 1997), and for this reason Hypothesis 2A is that Turkish-German bilinguals will also evaluate mixing negatively in terms of status. However, some of the same research (Lambert 1960), as well as Rickford's (1983) work on covert prestige among speakers of Guyanese Creole, has shown that members of the minority evaluate their own group positively on measures of solidarity, and for this reason Hypothesis 2B predicts that Turkish-Germans will evaluate mixing positively in terms of covert prestige.

The third hypothesis for RQ 2 is that participants who are not speakers of either German or Turkish will be unaffected by a character's language choice. The English versions of the movies contain subtitles for all dialogue, without indication of where switches occur. Hypotheses 1 and 2 address the ways that bilingual Turkish-German speakers and monolingual speakers of Turkish and German will evaluate language mixing. The hypotheses that speakers within the immigrant community as well as those from the surrounding communities will evaluate mixing negatively are based on literature regarding stereotypes of the Turkish-German community as well as literature demonstrating that code-mixing is stigmatized in other communities. These hypotheses rely on the assumption that Germans, Turks, and Turkish-Germans have access to knowledge about what a Turkish-German identity *indexes* (Silverstein, 2003). American participants do not have access to this knowledge. In this way, the monolingual American English speakers in the study can act as a control group. Their attitudinal responses can be taken as a baseline with which to compare the responses of German and Turkish speakers.

An area in which these hypotheses can be addressed is in the metalinguistic commentary. As detailed below in Section 4.4, the questions following each clip in the survey included a set of open-ended questions about the participant's reactions, and this served as an opportunity for participants to express their opinions about the language use in the clips. Based on literature about the community and other immigrant communities, a hypothesis is that speakers of German, Turkish, and bilingual Turkish-German speakers will volunteer negative evaluations of the use of code-mixing while monolingual Americans will not. The research questions and hypotheses will be slightly reframed in Chapter 6 for the content analysis of metalinguistic comments.

4.2 Participants

Participants in the survey were native speakers of German, Turkish, and/or English and at least 18 years old. The respondents were separated into three age groups: those who were 18 to 28 years old, those who were 29 to 44 years old, and those who were 45 and older at the time of the survey. The age groupings were made based on historical events that shaped the lives of the Turkish-German community. The oldest group started school during the time that the majority of Turkish immigrants were on the guest laborer program. The middle age group started school after 1973, the year the German government stopped recruiting guest laborers. The youngest group was 5 years old or younger in 1989, the year the Berlin Wall fell, meaning that those living in Berlin started school in reunified Germany. Not only was this event an important one to Berliners and all of Germany, but it specifically impacted the Turkish immigrant community in Berlin. Kreuzberg, the neighborhood with the highest proportion of Turkish immigrants, had previously been on the edge of town pushed up against the Wall. After the Wall fell Kreuzberg was suddenly in the middle of the city and the neighborhood's subway stop is now one of the most trafficked in Berlin. This age grouping is the most salient for the respondents who belong to the Turkish-German community and Germans who are close to that group.

The recruitment ad for the survey was distributed in English, German, and Turkish on Facebook and over email using the “friend-of-a-friend” or “snowball” technique (Milroy & Gordon, 2003; 32). While this method has historically been used in recruiting subjects for face-to-face interviews, it is equally applicable to an online survey. In an era where people are increasingly connected with one another through social networking websites such as Facebook, it is extremely easy to share information with large groups of people online. The recruitment ad was posted to the author’s personal Facebook page and to the pages of friends who belong to the target demographic groups. Friends could then re-post the recruitment ad to the pages of friends within their networks. In this way it was possible to obtain responses from subjects in diverse locations around the world without the necessity of in-location fieldwork. In addition, when nearing the end of the sampling period it was possible to target a quota sample (Bauer & Aarts, 2000) by closing down versions of the survey that had met their quota of participants. The URL contained in the recruitment ad sent participants randomly to one of the 4 versions of the online survey in their language hosted on the University of Washington website at www.catalyst.uw.edu.

The survey received 99 total responses, between June of 2013 and October of 2014. Several participants who submitted an English-language survey were in fact native speakers of Turkish or German. Because the native language of the subject is more relevant here than the language of the survey, the analysis separates groups by native language rather than survey language. The demographic break-down of the respondents is given below in Table 4.1. There were predictably more English native speakers (41), but the remaining participants were fairly evenly divided between German (20) and Turkish (26) native speakers. There were a total of 12 respondents who met the description of native Turkish-German speakers.

The age of participants ranged from 18 to 76 at the time of the survey. There were a fair amount of respondents in the younger two age groups, but very few in the oldest group. The distribution among genders is also uneven, with females (68) outweighing males (31) in almost every group. More importantly for the reliability of the study, the respondents were evenly divided among the version, or presentation order of the movie clips, that they were exposed to. The film clips and presentation orders will be discussed below in section 4.5.

For the purposes of examining the attitudes of specific respondent groups, the subjects have been separated into categories of native German speakers (20), native Turkish speakers (26), Turkish-German bilinguals (12) and English speakers with no knowledge of either German or Turkish (25). Of the 20 native German speakers, eight gave their ethnicity as “German”, one as “Caucasian”, five as “European” or “West European”, one “White”, one as “Southwest German”, one “Franconian”, one “American” (born in Berlin) and two declined to list an ethnicity. 17 were born in Germany, one in Austria, one in the UK, and one in Brazil. 11 currently live in Germany, six in the United States, one in France and one in Lebanon. Six reported some knowledge of Turkish, but only as a foreign language.

Of the 26 native Turkish speakers, 19 reported their ethnicity as “Turkish”, one as “Turkish/White”, one as “Turkish-Laz” (an ethnicity native to the Black Sea region), one as “Turk-Georgian-Laz”, two as “Turkish-American”, one as “Thessalonian” and one as “Caucasian.” 20 were born in Turkey, one in France, two in the United States, one in Germany, and one failed to report a birthplace. Eight currently live in Turkey, 12 in the United States, one in Germany, one in the Netherlands, one in Dubai, and three in England. Six reported some knowledge of German.

Of the 12 respondents who were characterized as “Turkish-German”, one gave their ethnicity as “German”, nine as “Turkish”, one as “Islam”, and one declined to report an ethnicity. Four were born in Turkey, seven were born in Germany, and one did not list a birthplace. Two currently live in Turkey, six in Germany, one in the Netherlands, one in Belgium, one in England and one in the United States.

Of the 41 native American-English speakers, 33 reported their ethnicity as either “White” or “Caucasian”, one as “White/Hispanic”, one as “American”, one as “English”, one as “German, Danish”, one as “Scottish”, one as “Korean”, one as “Lebanese”, and one as “Vietnamese.” All 41 were born in the United States. 38 currently live in the United States, one is in Spain and two failed to report a current hometown. 10 reported some knowledge of German: one is a German-English translator and one is a Germanics professor, and one had a German Au Pair growing up. Eight have some knowledge of Turkish, and two have studied both German and Turkish.

Table 4.1 Respondents by Age, Native Language and Gender

Age /Language	German (m/f)	Turkish (m/f)	Turkish-German (m/f)	English (m/f)	Total (m/f)
18-28	5 (1/4)	10 (5/5)	6 (2/4)	15 (4/11)	36 (12/24)
29-44	13 (7/6)	12 (2/10)	4 (0/4)	19 (4/15)	48 (13/35)
45 +	2 (1/1)	4 (2/2)	2 (0/2)	7 (3/4)	15 (6/9)
Total	20 (9/11)	26 (9/17)	12 (2/10)	41 (11/30)	99 (31/68)

4.3 Demographic questionnaire

In the first section of the survey, participants were asked to fill out a demographic questionnaire. The questionnaire collected information on the subjects’ linguistic and ethnic background, as well as the social variables of age, education level, and gender. All respondents were asked if they consider themselves “German”, “Turkish-German”, and/or “Turkish.” Respondents who spoke German and/or Turkish were asked in which contexts they hear and use the languages, and all respondents were asked if there are any situations in which it is inappropriate to use German or Turkish. For respondents who indicated that they spoke both German and Turkish, the survey included questions asking whether they are comfortable speaking a mixture of the languages and in which language they are more comfortable speaking, as well as two questions about their opinions about code-mixing (here, as in the rest of the dissertation, German is shown in italics and Turkish is underlined):

Self-CM) How comfortable are you mixing German and Turkish?

Wie leicht fällt es Ihnen, sich einer Mischung aus Deutsch und Türkisch zu bedienen?

Türkçe ve Almanca’yı karıştırarak ne kadar rahat kullanabilirsiniz?

and:

Others-CM) How comfortable are you with **other people** mixing German and Turkish?

*Was halten Sie davon, wenn **andere Leute** eine Mischung aus Deutsch und Türkisch sprechen?*

Almanca ve Türkçe’yi karıştırarak kullanan **diğer kişiler** hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

The author is a native speaker of English and met with native speakers of German and Turkish to verify translations and, in some cases, change the wording. Although care was taken to phrase the questions in such a way that participants were responding to the same question in each language, a completely direct translation from English to the other two languages was not always possible. This was the case in the first question above, in regards to how comfortable the participant feels mixing German and Turkish. The Turkish question is semantically equivalent to the phrasing in English, however in German a translation for the word ‘comfortable’ does not work in this context. For this reason, the question was rephrased from “how comfortable are you” to “how easy is it for you” which, according to native German-speaker consultants, was a way of asking the same question.

The second question, regarding the participant’s comfort with other people mixing German and Turkish, was phrased slightly differently in all three languages (labeled Others-CM). The phrasing in German uses the verb “davon halten”, meaning literally “to think about”. Thus, the question in German asks, “What do you think about other people speaking a mixture of German and Turkish?” The verb in German is a clearly evaluative term, with appropriate replies being “a lot” or “not much”, indicating positive or negative evaluations. In Turkish, the verb “düşünmek” also means “to think”, but due to the grammatical structure of Turkish the phrase is more directly translated to “What do you think about other people who mix German and Turkish?” In this case, however, the verb “to think” is not evaluative like the verb in German, but more general as it is in English.

4.4 Attitudinal questions

Survey participants were shown three or four video clips excerpted from one of two popular Turkish-German films directed by Fatih Akin. The characters were portrayed speaking German, Turkish, or a mixture of the two. The video clips are discussed in more detail below in section 4.5. After viewing each clip, the participants were presented with a series of attitudinal questions about the movie characters and the movies in general. Each question was phrased in the form of a declarative sentence to which the participants were asked to respond on a scale of 1 to 5 according to how strongly they agreed with the sentence, with 1 corresponding to “strongly disagree” and 5 corresponding to “strongly agree.”

The first three items following the first clip in each version of the survey were in regards to the movie from which the clips were taken: either *The Edge of Heaven* or *Head-On*. The statements they were asked to rate were, “This movie is interesting,” “I would choose to watch this movie on my own,” and “This movie is realistic.” These questions were presented to each participant only once.

Following the questions about each film was one question asking the participants to rate how strongly they agreed with the statement, “I like this clip.” Subsequently they were presented with a series of statements about the characters in the clip. The statements described the characters with 13 different characteristics to which participants had to determine how strongly they agreed. An example of the items for one character in a clip are given below:

1. Nejat is a good person.
2. Nejat is educated.
3. Nejat is a typical Turk.
4. Nejat is a typical Turkish/German.
5. Nejat is a typical German.

6. Nejat is old-fashioned.
7. Nejat is friendly.
8. Nejat is intelligent.
9. Nejat is attractive.
10. Nejat is offensive.
11. Nejat is funny.
12. I could be friends with Nejat.
13. The character 'Nejat' is realistic.

Items 2 (educated) and 8 (intelligent) on the list of attributes correspond to Zahn and Hopper's (1985) factor of Superiority. Items 1 (good person), 7 (friendly), 9 (attractive), and 12 (could be friends) correspond to Zahn and Hopper's (1985) factor of Attractiveness. Items 6 (old-fashioned), 10 (offensive), 11 (funny), and realistic were added due to the nature of the stimuli being excerpts from popular films. The construction of characters in the films calls to mind characteristics like old-fashioned, offensive, and funny, and viewers' perceptions of the characters on the other attributes are likely to be affected by their ratings of them on these three. In addition, viewers' opinions on whether the movie and the characters portrayed are realistic, or authentic portrayals of the types of people they are meant to represent, will also affect the way that they respond to the characters.

Items 3, 4, and 5 ask about the background of the character. The inclusion of the word 'typical' is problematic, because it can have a negative connotation even without the co-occurrence of an ethnic term. However, the alternative of asking participants to rate a statement such as "This character is a Turk" is even more problematic. Such a statement would appear to have a binary response, and a rating scale of 5 points would be highly unnatural. Therefore, the decision was made to proceed with the wording given above.

This list of statements was repeated for the second character in the clip, and sometimes for a third. In the case of clips with more than three characters, the three characters with the most lines were chosen. Following the list of attitudinal questions, two open-ended questions were given for each clip. The first question excerpted a few lines of the dialogue from the clip which contained at least one instance of code-mixing and asked the participants, "How did you feel during the following dialogue?" After subsequent clips, participants were again presented with a list of statements to rate about the clip in general and the characters in the clip. If there were characters in common with the first clip, they were asked to rate those characters again. Following the section of the survey with video clips, participants who had seen the selected film in its entirety were asked to comment on their reactions to it, and participants who recognized one or more of the actors in the clips were asked to describe their knowledge and attitudes about those actors.

Three versions of the demographic questionnaire and the survey were constructed: one in English, one in German, and one in Turkish. The movies were each released with versions that have German subtitles, Turkish subtitles, and English subtitles. The German and Turkish versions are partially subtitled, meaning that only the other language is subtitled. The international release contains English subtitles for all dialogue. The four clip orders times three languages means that there were 12 total versions of the survey. One version of the English-language version of the survey in its entirety is given below, in Appendix A.

4.5 Film clips and presentation orders

What follows is a brief synopsis of the films used in this study and the content of the clips that were used as stimuli along with the reasoning for the choice of clips. A more extensive plot summary is available for each of these movies at the website, www.imdb.com. The linguistic structure of the Turkish-German speech in the clips is compared to the documented structure of Turkish-German speech in Germany in Chapter 5. The content of the dialogue in each of the film excerpts is analyzed following discourse analytic methods in Chapter 6, section 2.

4.5.1 The Edge of Heaven (Fatih Akin, 2007)

Nejat, a German-born Turk, is a German literature professor in Bremen. His father, Ali, meets a prostitute, Yeter, also from Turkey and invites her to live with him. Soon after she moves in he accidentally kills her in a drunken rage. Nejat, out of guilt for his father's actions, goes to Turkey to look for Yeter's daughter. He wishes to fund her education. In Turkey he buys and runs a German-language bookstore. Table 4.2 summarizes the clips taken from this movie. The complete transcript for the clips is included as Appendix B.

Table 4.2 Edge of Heaven Film clips

Clip	Characters	Languages	Summary
EH 1	Ali, Yeter	German, Turkish	Ali hires Yeter as a prostitute
EH 2	Nejat, Ali	German, Turkish	Nejat visits his father, Ali
EH 3	Nejat, Ali, Yeter	German, Turkish	Ali introduces Yeter to Nejat
EH 4	Nejat, Markus	Turkish then German	Nejat with his cousin in Istanbul, leaves him to enter a German bookstore
EH 5	Nejat, Lotte	German	Nejat, now the bookstore owner, helps out a German visitor

In EH 1, Ali meets Yeter by visiting the brothel where she works. The conversation switches between German and Turkish, and between formal and informal registers. This scene is a good example of negotiating identities through the use code-mixing.

The next scene, EH 2, shows Ali and his son, Nejat, at home. The scene is one of a father and son spending an even together in companionable conversation. The switches between German and Turkish exemplify the differences in language use between first and second generation immigrants.

In EH 3, Ali introduces Yeter to Nejat over dinner. They frequently switch languages in the conversation, with Nejat preferring German and Yeter and Ali preferring Turkish.

The last two clips from *The Edge of Heaven* were chosen as a baseline for comparison. In contrast to EH 1 through 3, EH 4 and 5 do not contain many instances of code-mixing. EH 4 starts in Turkish when Nejat is talking to his cousin as they walk down an Istanbul street, but he leaves his cousin when he enters a German bookstore. Within the bookstore he has a monolingual conversation in German with the store owner (outside of the insertion of the word “çay”, for *tea*), in which he decides to buy the store. In EH 6 Nejat has a monolingual conversation with Lotte, a visitor from Germany who walks into the store.

4.5.2 Head-On (Fatih Akin, 2004)

The clip numbering for *Head-on* is, unfortunately, not the consecutive order in which the clips come in the movie but rather the order in which the digital files were prepared for use as stimuli. As above for *The Edge of Heaven*, what is given here is a summary of the movie as shown in the excerpted clips and a more complete plot synopsis is available at www.imdb.com. Table 4.3 summarizes the clips taken from *Head-On*. The complete transcript for the clips is included as Appendix C.

Table 4.3 Head-On Film Clips

Clip	Characters	Languages	Summary
HO 1	Cahit, Seref, Yilmaz	German, Turkish	Cahit and Seref meet Sibel's parents and brother, Yilmaz
HO 2	Cahit, Sibel, Yilmaz	German, Turkish	Cahit and Sibel visit Yilmaz
HO 3	Cahit, Seref	Turkish	Cahit tells Seref he will follow Sibel to Turkey
HO 4	Cahit, Selma	German, English	Cahit, in Istanbul, asks Selma where Sibel is
HO 5	Cahit, Sibel	German	Sibel asks Cahit to pretend to marry her
HO 6	Cahit, Seref	Turkish	Cahit tells Seref about Sibel

HO 5 is the first clip from *Head-on* in terms of the chronological ordering in the movie. In this clip Sibel, a second generation Turkish-German female, encounters Cahit, a second generation Turkish-German male, while jogging. The conversation between Sibel and Cahit is all in German.

In HO 6, Cahit is in another bar, talking to his friend, Seref. He and Seref speak only Turkish together.

HO 1, the third clip in the movie, shows Cahit and Seref going to Sibel's house to meet her family, with the ultimate aim of Cahit asking for her hand in marriage. The matrix language of the conversation is Turkish, and side conversations between Cahit and Sibel's brother, Yilmaz, are in German.

HO 2 shows Sibel and Cahit driving on their way to visit Yilmaz. In the car, Sibel and Cahit speak German with a few Turkish insertions. Conversation at Yilmaz' house switches between German and Turkish.

In clip HO 3, Cahit and Seref meet in a café to discuss Cahit's plans to follow Sibel, who has moved to Turkey. This conversation occurs entirely in Turkish.

HO 4 shows Cahit, now in Istanbul, with Sibel's cousin, Selma. This is the only clip in which Turkish is paired not with German, but with English. As a non-German Turk, Selma speaks no German. Cahit has difficulty finding the right words to express himself in Turkish, and so their conversation switches in and out of English.

The scenes described above were chosen in an effort to find fairly socially neutral content. Although it is impossible to find dialog that will not bias viewers in any way for or against the characters, the above excerpts are a good attempt. Popular films, possibly films about immigrant communities in particular, are often very culturally loaded. Effort was made to choose stimuli that do not overtly call upon existing stereotypes surrounding the community. That way, attitudes expressed by the survey respondents would be in response to the language

choice rather than to the content of the movie. Because it is impossible to present respondents with a completely neutral dialog, the results will have to be considered in light of the biases introduced by the story line. For example, a high rating for education on the character Nejat would likely be due to the fact that the character is a professor and, in fact, highly educated. A low rating for education would, thus, be due to an evaluation by the respondent about his language use or about Turks born in Germany.

The order of presentation of the clips was also chosen in order to control for some biases against characters that were evident in some clips and not others. For example, while the clip EH 1 was especially interesting due to the language choices made in the dialogue, the fact that the scene takes place in a brothel and that one character is hiring the other as a prostitute will almost certainly influence some viewers in a way that is not due to language. For this reason, only half of the participants who were shown clips from *The Edge of Heaven* saw this clip, and it was the last one that they saw. In that way the responses to Ali for that clip can be compared to the responses from participants who did not see that scene. Responses from participants who did see that clip can be compared across clips to determine how the subject material affected their ratings of him. Table 4.4 gives the clips included in each version of the survey in the order in which they were presented.

Table 4.4 Presentation orders

Version 1	EH 2	EH 3	EH 4	EH 5
Version 2	EH 2	EH 3	EH 1	
Version 3	HO 5	HO 6	HO 1	
Version 4	HO 1	HO 2	HO 3	HO 4

Table 4.5 shows the number of respondents with each native language who submitted each version of the survey. The respondents were evenly distributed among the four versions of the survey, meaning half of the respondents saw clips from *The Edge of Heaven* and the other half saw *Head-On*. Within each movie, half of the participants saw each of the two presentation orders.

Table 4.5 Respondents by Version and Native Language

Versions 1 and 2 contained clips from *The Edge of Heaven*, and versions 3 and 4 contained clips from *Head-On*.

Version/Language	German	Turkish	T-G	English	Mono English	Total
1	3	8	4	8	6	23
2	7	5	4	10	6	26
3	2	9	3	12	7	26
4	7	3	3	11	6	24
Total	19	25	14	41	25	99

4.6 Data Summary

The survey results were imported from Catalyst into an excel spreadsheet. The respondents were grouped into categories based on their language background, as determined by their responses to the questions of whether they speak German and/or Turkish, their age of acquisition of each of the languages, and their level of fluency in each language. Each participant was assigned to one respondent group.

Respondents who indicated they learned German and not Turkish from birth were categorized as German native speakers. The Turkish native speakers were defined in the same way. Participants who listed their ethnicity as Turkish or who were born in Turkey and raised in Germany, and who grew up using both languages, were included in the Turkish-German group. Respondents who indicated they learned American English from birth and spoke no German or Turkish were categorized as monolingual Americans. Native speakers of American English who have studied some German or Turkish were treated as a separate group, labeled “American 2.”

In the demographic section, there were a number of open-ended questions which resulted in some evaluative comments. Participants who indicated that they spoke both Turkish and German were asked how comfortable they are using a mixture of the languages and how they feel about others code-mixing. These questions lead to a total of 50 comments. Each participant was asked whether or not they consider themselves ‘German’, ‘Turkish’, and/or ‘Turkish-German’, and how important this identity is to them. They were invited to add any comments they have on this subject. The question of German identity led to 27 comments, Turkish identity resulted in 17 comments, and Turkish-German identity received seven comments.

Additional qualitative data was collected in the responses to the questions following each clip: “How did you feel during the following dialogue?” and “Did you notice anything interesting about the use of language?” Examples of these questions and the responses given are included below in the results section. There were a total of 494 responses given to these questions, totaling across film and clip. After the section containing film clips, participants were asked if they knew of Fatih Akin, the specific movie they were shown, and any of the actors in the clips before taking the survey and were invited to share their opinions about them. These questions resulted in 102 comments. A space for any other comments at the end of the survey received a total of 38 responses. The content of the comments to these open-ended questions will be addressed in Chapter 6, section 3: Study A.

In addition to qualitative data, the survey resulted in a large number of responses to the Likert-scale attitudinal questions which were described in Section 4.4 above. The set of three questions about each movie as a whole were asked once to each of the 99 participants. The one question about each clip as a whole was asked three to four times to each participant. The set of 13 attitudinal questions were asked about two to three characters in each of the three to four film clips, resulting in 9,902 cells containing a number 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5. The participants were given the option of skipping any question and 186 cells were left blank, but the number of total number of tokens, 9,716, is sufficiently large to subject to quantitative analysis.

The quantitative data was subjected to statistical analysis in R in order to test the hypotheses stated above. Descriptive statistics generated for each attitudinal response across character and subject included frequencies of each rating (1-5), mean ratings, and standard deviations. Inferential statistics conducted in R included χ^2 tests for independence for each of the attitudinal questions explored below. The statistical results and quantitative analysis will be presented in Chapter 7: Study B.

5 A comparison of language use in films with real-world Turkish-German

5.1 Introduction

As described in section 3 of the literature review, several scholars have documented the language use of Turkish-Germans in spontaneous communication, imitation Turkish-German speech in the media, and imitation Turkish-German speech by non-Turkish Germans. This section presents an analysis of the speech of Turkish-Germans in the clips that were presented as stimuli in the online survey.

The purpose of this study is to better understand what participants in the survey are responding to when rating characters on various character attributes. If the dialogue is an authentic representation of Turkish-German speech, the responses can be taken as reactions to the same. If, on the other hand, the representation of Turkish-German speech in Akin's films is closer to that of other popular media representations or imitation of Turkish-German speech by non-Germans, it is quite likely that survey participants are reacting differently than they would to Turkish-Germans in real life.

Scholars (Whittier, 2010; Gueneli, 2012) and Akin himself (Akin et al, 2001; Machtans, 2012) claim that his representations are more realistic than previous ones. Identifying the defining features of Turkish-German speech and comparing them with the dialogue in Akin's films is a way of testing those claims. Additionally, Androutsopoulos (2001) and Auer (2003) claim that media representations of Turkish-German speech have influenced the attitudes and speech of Germans who have no Turkish-Germans in their network. If this is true, perceptions of participants will be influenced by their exposure to these common constructions in the media.

5.2 Research questions

The research questions for this section are:

- Does the speech of Turkish-Germans in Fatih Akin's films
- RQ 1) fit the description of Turkish-German speech in real life?
 - RQ 2) fit the description of imitation Turkish-German speech from stereotypical portrayals in the media?
 - RQ 3) fit the description of imitation Turkish-German speech by non-Turkish Germans?

In order to address these questions, features of Turkish-German speech as described in the literature are used as criteria in analyzing the dialogue in the films. The concentration here is on the levels of morphology, syntax, lexis, and phonetics, and the intonational/prosodic features documented in the literature are not included.

5.3 Methodology

In tables 5.1 through 5.3 below, the criteria are listed according to the speech style in which they have been attested. In the column for "Turkish-German", a criterion was assigned a checkmark if it was listed as a feature of the naturally occurring spontaneous speech of Turkish-Germans in Androutsopoulos (2001), Keim (2002), Kallmeyer & Keim (2003), Auer (2003), or Selting & Kern (2009). In the column for "Media", a criterion was assigned a checkmark if it was listed as a feature of imitation Turkish-German speech in the program *Mundstuhl* as described in Androutsopoulos (2001), Auer (2003) or Deppermann (2007). In the column labeled "Imitation by non-Turkish Germans", a criterion was assigned a checkmark if it was

listed as a feature of imitation Turkish-German speech by non-Turkish Germans in Auer (2003) or Deppermann (2007).

In analysis of the film dialogue, a criterion will be considered satisfied if any evidence of it is found in the video clips. Because of the limited size of the corpus and the lack of frequencies given in the literature, it will not be possible to compare the frequency of occurrence of the criteria in the films with those in naturally-occurring speech. The last column in Tables 5.1 through 5.3 contains a checkmark if the feature exists in the film clips, along with an example of its occurrence, and is blank if it does not.

5.4 Analysis

There are eight features that are listed in the descriptions of the authentic speech varieties as well as in the imitations, as shown in Table 5.1. Evidence was found for four of these in the film clips under analysis. For the syntactic category, “SV word order” when German has inversion, there was evidence in one utterance by Ali in *The Edge of Heaven*, clip 2:

Ali	<i>Wir gucken, ne?</i>
Gloss	we look, eh?
Standard German	<i>Gucken wir, ne?</i>
Translation	Let’s look, eh?

There was evidence of three phonetic features in the film clips. The first phonetic feature for which there was evidence was “coronalization”. This was evident in the speech of Yeter, the female first-generation immigrant in *The Edge of Heaven*, in words ending in ‘-ig’ (e.g. *fünfzig*, “fifty”). The second phonetic feature evident in the clips was apical ‘r’. This was attested in the speech of Ali, the older male first-generation immigrant in *The Edge of Heaven*. In his pronunciation of the words “bravo,” “trinke,” “Türkin,” and “gar” his ‘r’ is realized apically where Standard German would have a uvular trill (syllable-initially, as in “bravo” and “trinke”) or a glide (syllable-finally, as in “Türkin” and “gar”). The last feature was also in the speech of Ali. In his utterance, “ich trinke gar nicht so viel”, the [t] in “nicht” preceding the [s] of “soviel” was deleted. Thus, the criterion of [ts]-[s] simplification was fulfilled.

Table 5.1 Feature of all three speech varieties

Level	Criterion	Turkish-German	Media	Imitation by Non-Turkish Germans	Fatih Akin film clips
Syntax	SV word order when German has inversion	√	√	√	√Ali: “wir gucken”
Syntax	Omission of articles	√	√	√	
Syntax	Omission of preposition	√	√	√	
Lexis	Frequent use of evaluative markers (krass, voll, cool)	√	√	√	
Phon.	Coronalization of velar [x] or palatal [ç]	√	√	√	√Yeter: fünfzig

	fricative to alveolar [ʃ] or alveo-palatal [ç]				
Phon.	/r/ in word-initial clusters pronounced apically	√		√	√Ali: Bravo, Trinke, Türkin, gar
Phon.	Word-final /r/ deletion	√		√	
Phon.	Simplification of [ts] to [s]	√	√	√	√Ali: “nicht soviel”, “letzte”

There are eight features of spontaneous Turkish-German speech that are not in the descriptions of the imitations, as shown in Table 5.2 (and one, “Turkish lexical items”, which is very limited in the imitation of Turkish-German speech by non-Turkish Germans). There was evidence for only two of these in the film clips under analysis, and again this was a phonetic feature of the speech of Ali. There was evidence for the phonetic criterion, “aspiration of voiceless stops”. In the utterance, “gut, gut, schon gut”, the last occurrence of “gut” ended in a released, aspirated [t].

Second, there was a great deal of Turkish spoken in the films clips. In addition to intra-sentential switches, there were many occurrences of Turkish lexical items being inserted into German utterances. This is a feature of naturally-occurring Turkish-German speech which does not occur in the media imitations and is very limited in the imitation by non-Turkish Germans.

Table 5.2 Features of spontaneous Turkish-German speech that are not in the imitations

Level	Criterion	Turkish-German	Media	Imitation by Non-Turkish Germans	Fatih Akin film clips
Morph	Variation in gender	√			
Syntax	Generalization of verbs like <i>Machen</i> , <i>gehen</i> , <i>kommen</i>	√			
Syntax	DINGS phrases (Selting & Kern, 2009)	√			
Syntax	Code-mixing: Morphosyntactically integrated constructions	√			
Phon.	Aspiration of voiceless stops	√			√ (Ali: ‘gut’)
Phon.	Shortening vowels and diphthongs	√			
Phon.	/fv/ to /fw/	√			
Lexis	Turkish lexical items	√		√ (very limited number)	√ All 1st- and 2nd-generation Turkish-Germans

There are ten features of imitation Turkish-German in the media or in the speech of non-Turkish Germans that are not in the descriptions of the authentic ethnolect, as shown in Table 5.3. There was evidence of only three of these features in the film clips. The phonetic feature, “voicing of voiceless stops” was evident in the /t/ in Ali’s pronunciation of the word “trinke” and in the /k/ of Shane’s utterance of the word “Keller”.

The second feature from Table 5.3 that was found in the film clips was “lowering of high vowels”. This was only evident in the speech of Ali, who pronounced words with /u/ or /i/ noticeably lower than the Standard German variants. Third, there was evidence for [st] to [s] simplification in the speech of Shane, one of Yilmaz’ friends. In his line, “Du musst mal mitkommen, Digger”, the ‘t’ in ‘musst’ is deleted, so that he says, “muss mal.”

There was one phonetic feature in the speech of Ali that was not listed in any description of Turkish-German (also shown in Table 5.3). This was fricative-stopping, evident in his pronunciation of the word, “nicht”, which was pronounced [nɪkt].

Table 5.3 Features of imitation Turkish-German in the media or by non-Turkish Germans that are not in the authentic ethnolect

Level	Criterion	Turkish-German	Media	Imitation by Non-Turkish Germans	Fatih Akin film clips
Phon.	Reduction of [st] to [s] (e.g. ‘weiss u?’)			√	√Shane: “musst mal”
Phon.	Voicing of voiceless stops			√	√ Ali: “trinke” Sly: “Keller”
Phon.	Lowering and backing of vowels			√	√ Ali: lowering of high vowels
Phon.	[y] as a Turkish code-marker			√	
Syntax	Missing pronouns			√	
Syntax	Lack of agreement			√	
Lexis	Excessive use of tags			√	
Syntax	Overgeneralized use of ‘den’ for definite articles		√	√	
Phon.	Epenthetic vowels (e.g. [ʃipilen])		√		
Phon.	Lack of umlaut		√		
Phon.	Fricative stopping				√ Ali: “nicht”

5.5 Conclusions

In *The Edge of Heaven*, linguistic features of Turkish-German as described in the literature were only evident in the speech of Ali and Yeter, both first-generation immigrants. While the scholars documenting Turkish-German in naturally occurring speech were all working

on second or third generation immigrants, the speech of Nejat, the only second generation immigrant in *The Edge of Heaven*, was noticeably lacking in ethnolectal features. His speech was consistent with that of a highly educated speaker of Standard German.

In *Head-On*, the principal characters, Cahit and Sibel, are second-generation immigrants. Like Nejat in *The Edge of Heaven*, Cahit and Sibel speak a German devoid of regional or ethnic markers, although they are shown using a much more casual register than he. The only characters in the clips from this film that display evidence of the phonetic features of Turkish-German speech are Yilmaz and his friends, Shane and Sly, and the features they use are those attested in imitation Turkish-German, not in the authentic ethnolect. However, the phonetic features, specifically voicing of voiceless stops and consonant simplification, are ones that also occur in regional varieties of German, including the variety of Low German spoken in Hamburg (e.g. Russ, 1990), where this scene takes place. Thus, while a native German-speaker listening to this dialogue would guess the characters' Turkish ethnicity based on their use of Turkish lexical items and occasional code-switches, the phonology of their speech would most likely be recognized as the Hamburg German dialect rather than a Turkish-German ethnolect.

The second-generation Turkish-German characters have variable proficiency in Turkish: Cahit is portrayed speaking very disfluent Turkish. Nejat appears more capable of communicating in Turkish but his Turkish is accented and he is unfamiliar with colloquial terms such as "hayat kadini" (see section 6.2.3). Sibel, while shown using Turkish less frequently than the other two, has a more native-sounding command of the language.

The first-generation characters are, as expected, highly fluent in Turkish. Ali and Yeter both speak German and display some of the features included in the tables above. Ali's speech contains the most features in all three tables, however his speech is more accurately described as Turkish-accented German than a Turkish-German ethnolect, as it is more similar to descriptions of Gastarbeiterdeutsch (Hinnenkamp, 1982) in the 1970's and 1980's. The first-generation immigrants in *Head-On*; Sibel's parents and Cahit's friend Seref, are only ever seen speaking Turkish.

In conclusion, there was evidence for three of the eight features that occur in both authentic Turkish-German and the imitations thereof (Table 5.1), two of the eight features of Turkish-German that are not in the imitations, and three of the ten features of imitation Turkish-German that are not in the authentic dialect. Thus, while the portrayal of Turkish-German speech in this small corpus does not include many of the features described in accounts of the authentic ethnolect, neither does it follow the stereotypical representations cited in popular media caricatures or in non-Turkish German imitations. The inclusion of Turkish lexical items and lengthy switches into Turkish, missing from popular imitations of Turkish-German, does a lot to enhance the authenticity of the dialogue.

Participant reactions to the speech of the second-generation characters Nejat, Cahit, and Sibel will mostly be guided by the use of Turkish-German code-mixing, as the other markers of Turkish-German speech are largely absent. In the case of Ali, his speech more closely resembles that of the learner variety Gastarbeiterdeutsch, and evaluations of his speech can be taken as evaluations of such. Only in the speech of Yilmaz and his friends Sly and Shane were some phonetic aspects of Turkish-German speech as portrayed in the media and imitated by non-Turkish Germans apparent, and these features were ones that also occur in the regional variety of Low German as spoken in Hamburg.

6 Qualitative Analysis of film dialogue and survey responses

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the qualitative analysis of dialogue in the film clips used in the survey and of the open-ended responses to the survey. Section 6.2 presents a discourse analysis of the dialogue in the film clips, using a conversation-analytic approach to look at the identity construction of the characters through language choices. Selected comments given in response to the clips under discussion will be included to support the analysis. Section 6.3 presents the qualitative part of the analysis of survey responses. This consists of a content analysis of the comments submitted to the open-ended questions in the survey. First, the responses to questions about appropriateness of Turkish and German in various contexts are discussed. Second, the responses which included an evaluation of the use of Turkish-German code-mixing are analyzed. The conclusions discuss differences in responses between groups of respondents and between the responses to Turkish or German as a whole as compared to Turkish-German mixing.

6.2 A discourse analysis of film dialogue

6.2.1 Introduction

This section will look at the identity construction of the principal characters in the movies *Head-On* and *The Edge of Heaven*, using a conversation-analytic approach as described in Pomerantz and Fehr (2011). The following analysis is on the dialogue in the set of clips that were used in the online survey. The justification for the clip selection and the clip orderings that participants were exposed to are detailed in Chapter 4, section 5. For the purposes of this section, a conversation analysis was conducted on the dialogue in the clips that were used in the survey. Special consideration was given to examining the reasons that German or Turkish are used at any specific point, and in exploring the discourse functions at work in each language switch.

The purpose of this analysis is to aid in the interpretation of responses to the survey. With this goal in mind, the identity construction of the characters through language mixing and other discursive actions will be examined in order to understand what it is that respondents to the survey might react to in forming opinions of the characters. Some responses from the survey are included to support the analysis.

The research questions addressed in this section are:

RQ 1) How is language used to construct the identities of the characters in “The Edge of Heaven” and “Head-On”?

RQ 2) How are common stereotypes called upon in order to construct the identities of the characters in “The Edge of Heaven” and “Head-On”?

6.2.2 Film as a linguistic corpus

A corpus can be defined as “a finite collection of materials, which is determined in advance by the analyst, with (inevitable) arbitrariness, and on which he is going to work” (Barthes, 1967: 96). In this study, the corpus consists of the complete transcripts of the clips selected for the online survey, including the original dialogue and subtitles in German, Turkish, and English. In a film, the pragmatic reasons for switches between languages do not necessarily convey the desires of the actor or character speaking the lines, but rather are chosen by the director and/or scriptwriter. This can make it more difficult to reach conclusions about the

specific reasons for choosing one language over the other or choosing to combine languages. Rather than implying anything about the individual character, language choices may be made by the director in order to elicit certain reactions from the viewer or to comply with the expected speech patterns of a certain community.

Although the same methods of conversation analysis that are used to analyze natural spoken language can be applied to the dialogue of a movie, it must be understood that this is not a ‘naturalistic’ conversation and the actors are not necessarily speaking exactly as an individual in their situation would in real life. With this in mind, popular film can still be a valuable source of linguistic data. Although we cannot make assumptions regarding the actors’ or characters’ desires in using language the way they do, each language choice does say something about what the director intends the audience to get out of the film. For the purposes of discourse analysis, it is perhaps not so different to examine the real-life performance of a person enacting their identity in spontaneous conversation than it is to examine the way that an identity is created by an actor, director, and screenwriter in a movie. Because the research questions for the present study are directed at the viewers of the movies, it is arguably unproblematic that the original motives in constructing the dialogue are unclear. Film is a medium that reaches millions of people around the world and, keeping the limitations in mind, using film as a source of data opens up a resource that is commonly left untapped and one which has a profound effect on popular culture.

6.2.3 The Edge of Heaven, Fatih Akin, 2007

This movie was released in Germany as *Auf der Anderen Seite*, in Turkish as *Yaşamın Kıyısında*, and internationally with the English title, *The Edge of Heaven* and English subtitles. The versions differ only in the subtitles; however the language a viewer speaks will most certainly affect their experience of the film. Akin wrote the script for the movie in addition to directing. Akin is a German-born Turk from Hamburg who had little real-life experience with Turkey before filming movies there. He took advantage of this opportunity to get to know his “homeland” and to visit the town in Trabzon that his family comes from (Akin, 2001).

The character Nejat is a German-born Turk and a German literature professor in Bremen. His father, Ali, meets a prostitute, Yeter, also from Turkey and invites her to live with him. Soon after she moves in he accidentally kills her in a drunken rage. Nejat, out of guilt for his father’s actions, goes to Turkey to look for Yeter’s daughter. He wishes to fund her education. In Turkey he buys and runs a German-language bookstore. After spending time in prison, Ali is released and deported to Turkey. When Nejat hears about his father he leaves the bookstore and travels to his father’s hometown, assumedly for reconciliation.

There are no strict monolinguals among the main characters in *The Edge of Heaven*. Ali and Yeter are Turkish-dominant, having been born in Turkey, but both are competent in German. Nejat, a Turk born in Germany, appears to be dominant in German, a fact accentuated by his job as a Germanics professor and his purchase of a German bookstore in Turkey, but he has no trouble communicating in Turkish. The actor playing Nejat, Baki Davrak, is a German-born Turk. Tuncel Kurtiz, who played Ali, is a Turkish actor not from Germany but who has been involved in other Turkish-German productions. Nursel Köse, playing Yeter, is a Turkish actress who moved to Germany at age 17 (imdb.com).

The clips that were selected do not reveal the entirety of the plot, nor is it necessary to know the whole story in order to view the clips. The events detailed in each clip are summarized as follows:

- EH_1: Ali, an older Turk in Germany, hires Yeter, also from Turkey, as a prostitute.
 EH_2: Nejat, a younger German-born Turk comes to visit his father, Ali.
 EH_3: Ali introduces his son to his new girlfriend, Yeter.
 EH_4: Nejat enters a German bookstore in Istanbul and talks to the owner.
 EH_5: Nejat, now the owner of the bookstore, helps out a customer from Germany.

The English subtitles do not make it clear which language is being used. In the experiment, monolingual English speakers serve as a control group. Their reactions to the characters can be said to be purely based on the plot, the subtitled text, and visual stimuli. Because language choice is not apparent in the subtitles, an audience that does not understand German or Turkish will not have those languages as a resource in forming opinions of the characters.

EH_1 Ali meets Yeter

At the beginning of the film, Ali meets Yeter by visiting her at the brothel where she works. The conversation begins in German, but as Yeter turns on some music and Ali recognizes the Turkish song, he switches to Turkish. This scene is a good example of negotiating identities through the use of code-mixing.

The beginning of the conversation presents a generic scene of a man walking past prostitutes on the street and choosing someone to hire. In Gee's (2011) terms, this scene is 'creating' and 'reproducing' the context of this type of situation. The conversation begins in German and both Ali and Yeter address each other in the informal "du", but the informality is clearly superficial as Yeter uses a pseudonym (Jessy). Their conversation follows a typical client/customer exchange, establishing the services she provides and the amount he will pay. Yeter's first few phrases, "Na?" and "Halbe stunde, 50 Euro" are incomplete sentences, expressing the bare minimum of content necessary for the transaction. This fact doesn't come through in the English subtitles, which translate Yeter's "Na?" (equivalent to 'yeah?', 'so?' or 'well?' in English) as well as Ali's formal "Guten Tag" to "hello". Her second utterance is also transformed into a complete sentence in the English subtitle.

Yeter	<i>Na?</i>
Gloss	Yeah?
Subtitle	Hello

Ali	<i>Guten Tag.</i>
Gloss	Good day/Hello
Subtitle	Hello

Yeter	<i>Halbe stunde, 50 Euro</i>
Gloss	Half an hour, 50 Euros
Subtitle	It's 50 euros for half an hour

The sound of Turkish music in Yeter's house interrupts the regular course of the conversation and Ali asks, this time using the formal "Sie", "Sind Sie Türkin?" (Are you Turkish?). He is evidently shocked to find he is dealing with a fellow Turk and changes the tone of the conversation, showing her some respect by addressing her formally.

The following topic shift, from that of a business transaction to a more personal conversation, is marked by a shift in code from German to Turkish. When switching languages, Ali also switches back from the formal “you” (German “Sie”) to the informal (in the declination of “Adın ne senin” in Turkish), and the formal tone is gone. He even refers to her as ‘girl’ in asking for her name. Identifying her as a fellow Turk, Ali puts aside pretenses of anonymity, switching to their native language and speaking in a more familiar tone. He also disregards her pseudonym “Jessy” and insists on knowing her real name. While she at first resists, she eventually gives him her real name and even the history behind it. Once this more personal exchange is finished, she offers him a drink and he switches back to the matrix language of German in requesting water.

Ali *Sind Sie Türkin?*
 Gloss Are you Turkish?
 Subtitle Are you Turkish?

Yeter *Kann sein.*
 Gloss Could be.
 Subtitle Could be...

Ali Şimdi utanmaya başladım. Adın ne senin, kız?
 Gloss Now I got embarrassed. What’s your name, girl?
 Subtitle Now I’m ashamed. What’s your name, girl?

Yeter Jessy, dedim ya.
 Gloss Jessy, I said.
 Subtitle I told you: Jessy.

Ali Jessy değil, adın ne söyle bana.
 Gloss Not Jessy, tell me your name.
 Subtitle And you real name?

Yeter Yeter.
 Gloss Yeter (also means “that’s enough” in Turkish”).
 Subtitle Yeter. That’s enough.

Ali Nasıl “Yeter”?
 Gloss How “Yeter”?
 Subtitle What’s enough?

Yeter Yeter yahu benim adım! Yedi kız kardeşimin sonuncusuyum. Ne içersin?
 Gloss Yeter is my name! I’m the last of seven sisters. What will you drink?
 Subtitle “Yeter” means “that’s enough”, right? I’m the youngest of seven sisters.
 The baby of the family. What will you have to drink?

Ali *Wasser, Wasser.*
 Gloss Water, water.
 Subtitle Water. Water.

In this scene, the identities of both Yeter and Ali are constructed as first-generation immigrants from Turkey to Germany. Yeter’s profession as a prostitute is clearly established. Ali’s character is constructed as someone who visits brothels, but who is embarrassed about this, at least when in the presence of a fellow Turk. The negotiation of identity in the scene is done through switches between German and Turkish, between formal and informal registers, and between the use of a pseudonym and the real name of a character.

Participants who spoke one or both of the languages were quick to comment on the language-mixing, and a few even offered an analysis of the language use in the clip. In row 1 of Table 6.1 below, an American who has studied Turkish concluded that the languages were tied to the topics of the conversation. In line 2, a German with some knowledge of Turkish views German as removed from social conventions for Ali’s character, and Turkish as tied to them. In line 3, a German with no knowledge of Turkish similarly expresses the perception that Turkish is tied to traditional values for these characters.

Table 6.1 EH1 Language analysis

	Subject	Gender	Group	Birth-year	Occupation	Comment
1	30	f	a2	1985	Teacher	German was used as a language of transaction and sex, the Turkish seemed to be warmer
2	23	m	g	1978	higher education administrative assistant	Language (German) empowers Ali to care less about social conventions (sexuality). It also reinforces these (once he finds out Yeter is Turkish).
3	84	m	g	1960	Curator	The Turkish language as reservoir of traditional values

EH 2 Nejat and Ali

The next scene shows Ali and his son, Nejat, at home. Their conversation starts inside and then they move into the garden where Ali is watering his tomato plants. The scene is one of a father and son spending an evening together in companionable conversation.

One of the discursive activities being done in this scene is to build the father/son relationship between Ali and Nejat. This is done at the beginning of the clip, by each character using a salutation in the other’s preferred language: Nejat says “n’aber?” (“what’s up” in Turkish) and Ali responds “Gut, gut. Schon gut. Und wie geht es dir?” (“Good, good. Very good. And how are you?” in German.)

This clip also demonstrates the difference in language use between father and son. Ali, born in Turkey, seems to have no trouble understanding German but clearly prefers to use Turkish. His non-native accent in German is strong, and his choice of words resembles that of the memorized dialogue from an introductory German-language textbook. He evidently does not speak English, and his pronunciation of “Sunshine of life” later in the scene is done as if phonetically reading the words in Turkish.

Nejat, on the other hand, is a second-generation Turkish immigrant and appears to be more comfortable with German than with Turkish, although his fluency in Turkish is higher than his father's level of German. Nejat's high level of education is evident in the way that he translates for his father and from the fact that he brings Ali a book. He introduces the book as a topic of conversation in German, although he does answer his father's first Turkish question in Turkish. Later on, he responds to his father's horse-racing tip in German ("Welches Pferd?"). He also speaks English, at least to some extent, as shown by his ability to translate "Sunshine of Life." His first instinct is to translate the name into German, but then gives it to his father in Turkish, as well. Although he prefers German, he does not seem to have any difficulty speaking in Turkish.

Comments about this clip tended to be observations about the characters' language ability. Several participants commented that Nejat's German was better and that he has difficulty in Turkish. Turks also picked up on Ali's Black Sea dialect in Turkish. Two Turkish-German participants were surprised that Nejat was using German with his father, and at least one viewed it as disrespectful. In Table 6.2 below, the last two rows contain comments from the same subject.

Table 6.2 EH 2 Evaluations

	Subject	Gender	Group	Birth-year	Occupation	Comment
1	76	f	tg	1970	Childcare professional	Strange, the son gives the father a lot of German answers.
2	77	f	tg	1968	Teacher	Yes the young person has interest in foreign languages, but his attitude is not correct.
3	77	f	tg	1968	Teacher	I did not like Nejat's speaking German with his father who speaks Turkish. He should have been modest.

EH_3 Nejat, Yeter and Ali

In this scene, Yeter has accepted Ali's offer to move in with him and she meets Nejat. The three of them frequently switch languages in a conversation over dinner on the patio. There is a lot going on in this dialogue content-wise as well as linguistically. It is evident that Yeter, like Ali, is more comfortable using Turkish than German, but she does respond to German and will use the language at times. Nejat consistently starts a topic in German but will respond in Turkish when necessary. Likewise, his father responds to him in German when he says "ich trinke gar nicht soviel" (I'm not drinking so much).

Once Ali has gone to bed, Yeter gamely follows Nejat's choice of German as the matrix language, but switches to Turkish when telling him of her profession as a prostitute. Her description that she is a "woman of life" (subtitled in English as "lady of easy virtue") is not familiar to Nejat, although it is a common expression in Turkish. His confusion at the term displays both his disfluency in Turkish as well as, perhaps, his innocence about the culture of

prostitution. She then switches from the politically correct to the more vulgar description of the job, in both German and Turkish, making sure that he understands and perhaps daring him to be offended. It is interesting that instead of being embarrassed about having to explain her profession, she answers directly and without hesitation. This might be a way of gaining control in an otherwise awkward conversation. Having gotten her point across, she abruptly switches back to German and fairly formally bids goodnight. This is again a way of gaining power in the interaction. After saying “Gute Nacht”, Yeter gets up from the table and leaves Nejat to his thoughts. The absence of the second “Gute Nacht”, normally expected in the terminal exchange of a conversation, highlights the marked nature of the exchange.

The speech in this scene falls into Auer’s (1999; p. 328) classification of “codeswitching” as opposed to a “mixed language” or “fused lects”. There is a clear preference for one language at a time, and the switches between languages are at clause boundaries if not at utterance boundaries. The matrix language seems to be under negotiation, with Nejat preferring to start conversation topics in German (“Das mach’ ich”, “Noch Kola?”, “Trink nicht soviel”, “Wie habt ihr euch kennengelernt?”) and Yeter and Ali preferring Turkish. Ali responds to Nejat in German at first (“Ich trinke gar nicht soviel”) as does Yeter (“Er ist zu mir gekommen.”) but both of them turn the conversation back to Turkish. The one utterance in which a switch into German is made by Yeter is at the very end; first to give a German word for prostitute when Nejat fails to understand the term she uses in Turkish, and then to bid him “Gute Nacht”.

Table 6.3 below shows some survey respondents’ offered analyses of the language use in the clip. In row 1, an American who has studied both German and Turkish notices Nejat’s divergence in answering a question from Yeter and views it as creating distance between the characters. The divergence she is referring to occurs in the following excerpt, when Yeter asks Nejat (in Turkish) if he is really a professor, and Nejat replies (in German) simply, “Yes.”

Yeter	<u>Sen şimdi harbiden profesör müsün?</u>
Gloss	Are you really a professor now?
Subtitle	Are you really a professor?
Nejat	<i>Ja.</i>
Gloss	Yes.
Subtitle	Yes.

In row 2, a German with no Turkish knowledge says that “the unappetizing is expressed in Turkish.” This is probably in response to the switches Yeter makes in explaining her profession, but the association of Turkish with more “unappetizing” phrases doesn’t seem to hold. As described above, Yeter first gives her profession with a euphemistic phrase in Turkish. It’s only when Nejat doesn’t understand that she gives the more vulgar term, and then she gives it in German (Hure) before Turkish (orospu).

Yeter	<u>Ben bir hayat kadınıyım.</u>
Gloss	I’m a woman of life.
Subtitle	I’m a lady of easy virtue.
Nejat	<u>Hayat kadını... ne demek?</u>
Gloss	Woman of life... what does that mean?
Subtitle	What does that mean?

Yeter	<i>Hure. Bildiğin, orospu işte. Gute Nacht.</i>
Gloss	A whore. You know, a whore. Good night.
Subtitle	A whore. A hooker, if you like. Good night.

Table 6.3 EH 3 Language analysis

	Subject	Gender	Group	Birth-year	Occupation	Comment
1	18	f	a2	1991	Student	Nejat seems to be using language to distance himself from Yeter. She asks him a question in Turkish and he answers in German.
2	1	f	g	1977	Librarian	The unappetizing is expressed in Turkish
3	23	m	g	1978	higher education administrative assistant	I found the code switching to be very interesting here: it creates distance (Nejat - German) and attempts familiarity (Yeter- Turkish). I also felt that Yeter was sizing up Nejat for his Turkish skills.
4	73	m	tg	1985	Doctoral student	The second generation Turks living in Germany understand and speak the daily language. However they do not understand idiomatic phrases like "hayat kadini".

EH 4 Nejat at German bookstore as customer

The last two clips from *The Edge of Heaven* are mostly monolingual and were chosen partially as a baseline for comparison, and also because of a detail in the English subtitles. Clip EH 4 starts out with Nejat walking on a street in Istanbul with his cousin, speaking Turkish. When he notices a German bookstore he enters, and his cousin leaves. When Nejat enters the bookstore, the German proprietor, Markus, offers him tea. While the conversation is held in German he uses the Turkish word for tea: “çay.” In Nejat’s response, he repeats the word in Turkish, and both times the English subtitles contain the word “çay” instead of translating it into “tea” or even transliterating it as “chai.”

The majority of the dialogue in the bookstore is in German, except for the insertion of “çay” and an aside when Markus asks his Turkish employee to bring the tea. These exceptions generated comments from survey participants. Table 6.4 below shows a selection of these comments. In the first three rows, participants expressed the perception that the use of the word “çay” was locally more meaningful than its German translation would have been. The last comment, from a Turkish-German, brought up the switch to Turkish when Markus spoke to his employee.

Table 6.4 EH 4; çay

	Subject	Gender	Group	Birth-year	Occupation	Comment
1	18	f	a2	1991	Student	I had no feelings in particular. Must be that the Turks drinks SO MUCH TEA and he is more used to hearing 'çay' than 'Tee.'
2	14	f	t	1986	Linguist	It sounded very Turkish :) I didn't understand why he didn't prefer to use the German word for "Cay", maybe because for Turks the expression is more meaningful.
3	73	m	tg	1985	Doctoral student	People are more open to internalizing the idiomatic expressions of the places they live. When 'tea' is said, it is implied Turkish tea there. Of course there is tea in Germany and in the German language, but they are not the same teas.
4	76	f	tg	1970	Childcare professional	Yes, the German bookstore owner that spoke Turkish

The English subtitles add additional confusion to Markus' offer to Nejat in their translation of the German word "Mokka". While the "Mokka" in Germany refers to strong, black coffee, the English subtitle "mocha" calls to mind a fancy chocolatey drink, unlikely to be given for free to customers in a bookstore. The Turkish subtitle more accurately gives the term "Türk kahvesi", or "Turkish coffee."

EH 5 Nejat at bookstore as owner

When another German character, Lotte, later enters the shop and speaks to Nejat, now the owner, he offers her tea and uses the German word "Tee". This time, the subtitles display the English word, "tea." Leaving the Turkish word for tea in the original language creates a feeling of foreignness for an English viewer, presumably similar to what a monolingual German would feel at hearing this dialogue. In fact it is likely that most of the English-speaking audience and a large part of the German-speaking audience will not even recognize the word "çay". As mentioned in participant comments above, we are also given the feeling that "çay", and the activity of offering "çay" to a guest means something more specific than "tea", and the word places us culturally as well as linguistically in Turkey. When the word is used later in German, giving the English word in the subtitles means that an English-speaking viewer feels no sense of foreignness (outside of what is already created as an effect of reading subtitles for the movie) and we feel at home, as Lotte does in the German bookstore.

As to why the first owner of the store uses the Turkish word and Nejat later uses the German word, this might be related to the addressee. Nejat, a Turk (and Markus can be seen to assume this identity for Nejat after hearing his name), can be assumed to understand the Turkish word. Lotte, on the other hand, displays no knowledge of Turkish and this could affect Nejat's decision to use the German word "Tee." Four of the responses to clip EH 5 mentioned the use of the word "Tee". These comments are given in Table 6.5 below.

Table 6.5 EH 5; Tee

	Subject	Gender	Group	Birth-year	Occupation	Comment
1	1	f	g	1977	Librarian	Now he said "Tea" instead of "Cay".
2	73	m	tg	1985	Doctoral Student	I noticed the use of the word tee above.
3	16	f	t	1990	MA student	It does not sound so Turkish as much as Markus' asking <i>çay</i>
4	73	m	tg	1985	Doctoral student	Nejat thinks that Lotte is a foreigner to Turkey and he thinks that she would not understand the word "cay."

6.2.4 Head-On, Fatih Akin, 2004

This film was released in Germany as *Gegen die Wand*, in Turkey as *Duvara Karsi*, and in English as *Head-On*. Fatih Akin was the director and screenwriter as well as the producer for this movie. At the beginning of the movie Cahit, a German-born Turk, tries to commit suicide by driving into a building. At the psychiatric center where he is being treated, Sibel, also a German-born Turk, sees him. When she hears his Turkish last name she decides she wants to marry him. She is also in the center being evaluated after a suicide attempt. As she explains to Cahit, though, she doesn't want to die: she just wants to be free from her family's expectations. She convinces him to marry her so that her family will leave her in peace and she can go about her own life.

After the wedding, it is evident that Cahit and Sibel are really starting to fall in love. They both have other lovers, though, and this catches up to them. Cahit gets jealous of a man that Sibel slept with and attacks him, killing him. Cahit goes to jail and Sibel flees to Turkey to escape her family's wrath. In Istanbul she stays with her cousin, Selma, who is the manager of a successful hotel. She rejects Selma's attempts to control her life, though, and soon moves out. When Cahit is released from prison, his friend Seref picks him up. He plans to follow Sibel to Istanbul, although Seref tries to talk him out of it. When he gets to Istanbul he finds Selma, Sibel's cousin, and asks her to bring him to Sibel. She refuses and says that Sibel is happy now, with a new family and no need for Cahit. He gets her number anyway and calls her to arrange a meeting. She does look better now; happier and healthier. She agrees to meet Cahit, and they make love in his hotel room. He says he is leaving the next day and asks her to join him. They agree to meet at the bus station the following morning but she never shows up. The movie ends with Cahit, alone, riding on the bus.

Birol Ünel, playing Cahit, is Turkish-born but lives in Germany and studied acting in Hannover. Sibel Kikelli, playing Sibel, is a German-born actress of Turkish descent. Güven Kirac, who plays Seref, is a Turkish actor who primarily appears in Turkish movies, and Meltem

Cumbul, who plays Selma, is a Turkish actress primarily appearing in Turkish films. Cem Akin, playing the part of Yilmaz, is a German-born actor of Turkish descent and is the brother of Fatih Akin.

The clips that were selected again do not reveal the whole plot of the movie. The clips are summarized as follows (the numbers in the naming of the clips follows, unfortunately, the order in which they were created as opposed to their order in the movie. They are listed here in the order in which they appear in the film).

HO_5 Sibel tries to convince Cahit to marry her.

HO_6 Cahit tells his friend Seref about Sibel's request.

HO_1 Cahit asks Sibel's parents for her hand in marriage. He has convinced Seref to pretend to be his uncle.

HO_2 Cahit visits Sibel's brother, Yilmaz, and plays Rummikub with him and his friends.

HO_3 Cahit is let out of prison and Seref picks him up. Cahit plans to follow Sibel to Istanbul, where she moved when he was arrested.

HO_4 Cahit asks Sibel's cousin Selma in Istanbul for help finding Sibel.

As in *The Edge of Heaven*, the subtitles in *Head-On* do not indicate which language is being spoken. Interestingly, this movie was so popular that the script was published as a book (Akin, 2004). The script is all in German, but indicates that Turkish is spoken by labeling some lines "Türkisch". The script does not follow the on-screen dialogue exactly, but did aid in the transcription of the dialogue.

HO_5 Cahit and Sibel in bar

This clip does not contain any code-mixing. It was included in the survey partly as a control (it is all in German) and partly to introduce the characters. Both characters are native speakers of German, and Cahit in particular speaks an extremely casual register evidenced by his use of slang. The register of the conversation is conveyed in English through some interesting subtitling decisions, particularly in the use contracted forms. Sibel's "Weißt du was?" is translated as "Y'know what?" and when she says "Findest du meine Nase schön?" the translation is "D'you think my nose is nice?" Despite the casual register, the speech of both Cahit and Sibel is devoid of regional or ethnic markers. There were only 15 comments in response to HO 5, and any comment about language tended to mention the swearing and vulgar words.

HO_6 Cahit and Seref

This clip is entirely in Turkish and will serve as a comparison with clip HO 5, which is all in German. Because Cahit appears in both clips, it will be possible to compare how participants evaluate him when he speaks German as opposed to when he speaks Turkish. In contrast to his German, his Turkish is that of a non-native speaker. In this scene he speaks fairly fluently and confidently but there are a number of ungrammatical constructions and his phonology displays interference from German. His friend Seref is evidently a more fluent Turkish speaker. Of the 12 comments received in response to HO 6, five of them mentioned Cahit's disfluency.

HO 1 Cahit meets Sibel's parents

This is one of the most interesting clips in the film. The conversation is primarily in Turkish, but there are several forays into German. To a Turkish speaker, it is evident that Cahit's Turkish is very rudimentary. This is not immediately obvious to viewers that don't speak Turkish, however, since the situation, one of asking a father for his daughter's hand in marriage, would make anyone nervous and that could account for Cahit's hesitation speaking. It's not until Yilmaz states "Your Turkish sucks" that it is evident for non-Turkish speakers that Cahit is not fluent in Turkish. Ironically, Yilmaz makes that statement in German. In fact, all of Yilmaz' contributions to the conversation, mostly critiques or interrogations of Cahit, are in German.

The character 'Yilmaz' is played by Fatih Akin's brother, Cem. Cem frequently plays a small role in his brother's movies, often that of a stereotypical "macho" German-Turk that is similar to the portrayal of Turks in Germany in films from the 1970s and 1980s. Popular movies in Germany during this time period usually showed Turkish immigrants in one light: the men were chauvinistic and the women were oppressed. Cem states elsewhere that he does not speak much Turkish (Akin, 2001), and that could be the reason why he speaks only German in this clip. It adds irony to the scene, however, in that Yilmaz seems to be questioning Cahit's authenticity as a Turkish speaker but does it solely in German.

Here and in the following clip, viewers are presented with competing constructions of reality (Cameron, 2001; 125): that presented by Cahit and that presented by Yilmaz. Yilmaz expresses the importance of the Turkish language and presents himself as an obstacle to gaining entrance into the family: while the purpose of the visit is ostensibly to convince Sibel's father of Cahit's worthiness as a suitor, it is Yilmaz who does the majority of the judging. Here and in the following clip, Cahit presents a narrative in which the Turkish identity is rejected. Although Cahit is supposed to be acting convincingly "Turkish" in order to win over the family, his nonchalance about his heritage language shows through in his response to Yilmaz' questioning.

Yilmaz	<i>Dein Türkisch ist ganz schön im Arsch, Mann.</i>
Gloss	Your Turkish is really in the ass (sucks), man.
Subtitle	Your Turkish sucks.

Yilmaz	<i>Was hast du mit deinem Türkisch gemacht?</i>
Gloss	What did you do with your Turkish?
Subtitle	What did you do with it?

Cahit	<i>Weg geworfen.</i>
Gloss	Threw it away.
Subtitle	Threw it away.

Yilmaz' next question is about how Cahit met Sibel, which leads to his question about Cahit's occupation. It is only after Yilmaz appears to be satisfied that the conversation goes back to the purpose of the visit. The scene ends with very formulaic language. Seref, posing as Cahit's uncle, asks for Sibel's hand. Yunus, Sibel's father, asks Sibel if she wants to get married, and then gives his blessing. This part of the scene occurs all in Turkish, and neither Cahit nor Yilmaz interact vocally at this point.

Seref	<u>Artık sadede giderim. Efendim sebab-i ziyaretimiz allahın emri peygamberin yaratımız.</u>
Subtitle	Let's get down to our reason for coming. We have come, God be willing,
Seref	<u>kavliyle kızınız Sibel'i oğlumuz Cahit'e, siz de uygun görürseniz istiyoruz.</u>
Subtitle	For my nephew Cahit to ask for the hand of your daughter Sibel.
Yunus	Sibel!
Subtitle	
Sibel	<u>Efendim, baba.</u>
Subtitle	Yes, Father?
Yunus	<u>Sen şimdi kararlı mısın evlenmeye?</u>
Subtitle	Is your mind made up?
Sibel	<u>Evet, baba</u>
Subtitle	Yes, Father.
Yunus	<u>Ne yapalım? İki genç anlaşmışlar, birbirlerinden hoşlanmışlar,</u>
Subtitle	What can one do? When two young people have come together, and are in love with one another,
Yunus	<u>bize bir laf söylemek. Allah Mesut etsin.</u>
Subtitle	what is left for us to say? God bless you both.
Seref	<u>Sağolun efendim. Cahit oğlum, öp babanın elini haydi.</u>
Subtitle	Thank you. Cahit, kiss your father's hand.

Participants picked up on the tension between Cahit and Yılmaz and its expression through code-mixing. In row 1 of Table 6.6, a Turkish respondent observed Yılmaz' failure to speak Turkish while criticizing Cahit's Turkish. The respondents in rows 2 through 4 specifically commented on the tension between Cahit and Yılmaz and describe it as tension between valuing and rejecting Turkish identity. The last comment, from an American who has studied Turkish, also views Cahit's rejection of the Turkish language as rejection of Turkish identity and she evaluates this negatively, with the word 'sad'.

Table 6.6 Cahit and Yilmaz; language

	Subject	Gender	Group	Birth-year	Occupation	Comment
1	44	f	t	1983	student	Although Yilmaz criticizes Cahit's Turkish he never speaks Turkish himself. I think that's interesting.
2	50	m	t	1989	Unemployed	One side prizes the Turkish identity, while the other rejects it.
3	85	f	t	1981	student	Cahit is trying to get rid of his Turkish identity, on the other hand for Yilmaz, Turkish identity is important.
4	53	f	a2	1991	Student	Tension between the two characters, and more generally, the tension between Turkish Germans who hold on to their Turkish-ness and Turkish Germans who reject it and make themselves 'more German'.
5	52	f	a2	1990	student	Sad, because although Cahit was born in Mersin he in essence discarded his Turkish identity living in Germany.

HO 2 Cahit with Sibel's brother

In this scene, Cahit is again enacting the identity of someone who rejects their Turkish heritage. This scene starts out with Cahit and Sibel in the car on the way to Yilmaz' house. The conversation is entirely in German except for the obscenity "Siktir" that Cahit inserts. Sibel reacts to the Turkish term by jokingly complimenting his Turkish language skills, turning an uncomfortable conversation into a lighthearted one.

An interesting challenge for translation occurs in Cahit's use of the word "Kanaken" to describe Yilmaz and his friends. The term "Kanake" is a derogatory word in German that refers to foreigners and is most commonly used in reference to Turks. The use of this term is interesting in itself. Like many words that have been used to pejoratively describe ethnic groups, "Kanake" has arguably been reclaimed by some members of the immigrant community in Germany and can now be heard as an in-group term (Cheesman, 2007; Prelude in the Television Studio). In this scene, although Cahit is ethnically Turkish it is evident that he is not using the term as an expression of solidarity but rather as an insult; a way to distance himself from Sibel's brother and friends.

The shades of meaning contained in the German term do not easily translate into English or Turkish. The English subtitles show the word “Turkish” and the Turkish subtitles say “pis yabancı”, or “dirty foreigner.” In this way, the English translation conveys the specificity of the term “Kanake”, while the Turkish term gets across the negative evaluation.

Cahit	<i>Ich hab' keinen Bock auf diesen Kanaken Film, ich hab' keinen Bock drauf!</i>
Gloss	I really don't feel like going to this “Kanake” film, I don't want to!
Subtitle	I hate all this Turkish crap!
Sibel	<i>Ach, Bitte, Cahit.</i>
Gloss	Oh, please, Cahit.
Subtitle	Oh, please, Cahit!
Cahit	<u>Siktir</u> , “ <i>ach, Bitte</i> ”!
Gloss	Fuck you, “Oh, please”!
Subtitle	Fuck your “Oh, please”!
Sibel	<i>Dein Türkisch macht ja echt Fortschritte!</i>
Gloss	Your Turkish is really improving!
Subtitle	Your Turkish is really improving!

The rest of the scene occurs in Yilmaz' house where Cahit joins Yilmaz and his friends for a game of Rummikub. The conversation is predominantly in German, with several Turkish terms and phrases inserted. For a German or Turkish-German viewer, the characters Yilmaz and his friends, Shane and Sly, here are clearly portraying a stereotypical Turkish-German identity, while Cahit distances himself from that community. The German spoken by Yilmaz, Shane and Sly is an urban variety and that is commented on by a few participants (rows 1 and 2 in Table 6.7).

Table 6.7 HO 2 Reactions

	Subject	Gender	Group	Birth-year	Occupation	Comment
1	62	m	g	1980	Student	Digger' reminds me of Ghetto-Slang.
2	61	m	g	1980	Academic employee	hamburg dialect in German
3	65	f	a	1982	Paleontologist	Primarily how offensive the word 'fuck' was when Cahit used it in reference to the two friends' wives, despite the fact that they apparently have no problem visiting brothels and slinging the f-bomb around in reference to other women.

4	94	f	a	1957	registered nurse	Fuck was meant derogatory, because the men did not consider that they fucked their own wives.
5	59	f	a2	1977	professor	recognizably the German I associate with Turkish speakers, brief Turkish use (but not by Cahit)
6	58	f	g	1970	Librarian	When it's about heavy emotions, the characters speak Turkish
7	68	m	g	1987	Mechanic	when it gets serious, Turkish is spoken

The content also separates Cahit from his brother-in-law and friends. When the topic of the conversation turns to looking for prostitutes at a brothel, Shane invites Cahit to join them sometime. Cahit resists his inclusion in the group of men who would go to brothels, and asks what he would do there. This leads to Shane's joke, excerpted below. The joke is a pun on the last name "Jackson" and the second-person future tense affix in Turkish, "-ceksin."

While the rest of the men laugh at the joke, Cahit again doesn't follow the proposed path of the conversation and instead asks, "Warum fickt ihr eigentlich nicht eure eigenen Frauen?" (Why don't you fuck your own wives?). The question seems reasonable to a Western audience. Why, indeed, do these men feel the need to hire prostitutes when they are married? The characters are offended by the question, however, because of the disrespect implied in the use of the word "ficken" (fuck) in relation to their wives. Shane threateningly orders Cahit not to use that word, and switches the conversation into Turkish. Survey respondents commented on the use of obscenities in the clips, and the comments in rows 3 and 4 specifically mentioned the reactions of the characters to the word "fuck".

Shane *Ey, Enischte! Du musst mal mitkommen Digger!*
Gloss Hey, brother-in-law! You should come with, Digger!
Subtitle Hey, brother-in-law, you should come with us some time.

Cahit *Wohin?*
Gloss Where to?
Subtitle Where to?

Sly *In Puff!*
Gloss To the brothel!
Subtitle The brothel.

Cahit *Was soll ich denn im Puff?*
Gloss What should I do in the brothel?
Subtitle What would I want there?

Shane *Digger, Kennst du nicht den Bruder von Michael Jackson? Siki ceksin.*
Gloss Digger, don't you know Michael Jackson's brother? Siki ceksin (you will fuck)!
Subtitle What's Micheal Jackson's brother called? Siki Ceksin! (I'm gonna fuck!)

Sly	<i>Wo hast du den denn her, Digger!</i>
Gloss	Where do you have that from, Digger!
Subtitle	Good one!
Cahit	<i>Warum fickt ihr eigentlich nicht eure eigenen Frauen?</i>
Gloss	Why don't you actually fuck your own wives?
Subtitle	Why don't you fuck your own wives?
Shane	<i>Was hast du gesagt, Digger?</i>
Gloss	What did you say, Digger?
Subtitle	What did you say?
Cahit	<i>Warum ihr nicht eure eigenen Frauen fickt.</i>
Gloss	Why you don't fuck your own wives.
Subtitle	Why don't you fuck your own wives?
Shane	<i>Digger, erwähn das Wort ficken nie wieder im Zusammenhang mit unseren Frauen!</i>
Gloss	Digger, don't ever use the word "fuck" in connection with our wives again!
Subtitle	Don't ever use the word "fuck" in connection with our wives!

When one of their wives comes in to replenish their food and drinks, the topic changes and the conversation switches back into German. There is also an observable switch in 'key' as the conversation revolves around soccer until she leaves. The language use in this scene fits Auer's (1999) description of a "mixed language". The use of German and Turkish by these men can be characterized as a group style: not every switch seems to perform a pragmatic function. While German is the matrix language, Turkish insertions happen at the word, phrase, or clause level and the play on words with Michael Jackson's name indicates a level of comfort with mixing languages.

HO 3 Cahit with Seref

In clip HO 3, Cahit and Seref discuss Cahit's plan to go to Istanbul and look for Sibel. This conversation between Cahit and Seref is again all in Turkish. Like HO 6 this clip allows participants to evaluate Cahit based on his use of Turkish and in comparison to Seref. The clip also shows participants Cahit's decision to go to Istanbul and find Sibel.

HO 4 Cahit with Sibel's Cousin Selma

In clip HO 4, Cahit talks to Sibel's cousin Selma and tries to convince her to tell him where Sibel is. This scene contains code-mixing, however the languages involved are Turkish and English, not German. Cahit does not feel that he can fully express himself in Turkish and since Sibel's cousin does not speak German, he falls back on English. The use of a mixed code here does not indicate a bilingual Turkish-English identity. Rather, English is used as a sort of 'neutral' code. In both Germany and Turkey, English is associated with upward mobility while Turkish-German speech is associated with lower-educated migrants. Thus, we expect

participants to evaluate Turkish-English bilingualism differently than Turkish-German bilingualism.

The English dialogue is not subtitled for English-speaking viewers so what we hear is his accented non-native English with some ungrammatical sentence constructions. This contrasts with the dialogue in this and earlier scenes where he uses non-native Turkish, since the English subtitles were done in completely grammatical English that does not indicate his level of disfluency. The experience of watching the scene is very different for a Turkish monolingual, who reads fluent Turkish subtitles of the English dialogue that contrast with the accented Turkish he spoke earlier.

A monolingual German viewer reads subtitles for the entire scene. Although no indication is given of the switches between English and Turkish, it is likely that most German viewers pick up on the use of English as a ‘lingua franca’ in this scene, and many viewers in Germany would understand a large part of the English speech. In the comments following clip HO 4, many participants mentioned the use of English. Several Americans expressed confusion about why English was being used.

Table 6.8 HO 4; English

	Subject	Gender	Group	Birth-year	Occupation	Comment
1	65	f	a	1982	Paleontologist	Wait, why English?
2	94	f	a	1957	registered nurse	"The language changed to English (Was it supposed to?) I felt sorry for Cahit. He did express his deep love for Sibel."
3	59	f	a2	1977	professor	Confused--why would he use English with her?
4	67	f	g	1985	Doctoral student	Surprise about the English
5	58	f	g	1970	Librarian	Why does Cahit speak English ? His English is very bad, Selma's English is better.
6	62	m	g	1980	Student	The switch between English and Turkish seemed unrealistic to me. At the same time, I was surprised that Selma didn't react when Cahit started speaking English all of a sudden.
7	57	m	t	1965	Teacher	Cahit is really in love and yearning for Sibel. His switch to English was curious since he knows that Selma will understand him, and I didn't know about Selma's knowledge of English.

6.2.5 Conclusion

This section has demonstrated the ways that German, Turkish, a mixture of German and Turkish, or even English can serve to construct the identity of characters in two Turkish-German movies. Viewers who are familiar with the Turkish immigrant community in Germany have many resources to call upon in forming an evaluation of the characters, including their language choices and the way they enact or make reference to commonly held stereotypes.

The research questions for this section are reproduced here:

RQ 1) How is language used to construct the identities of the characters in “The Edge of Heaven” and “Head-On”?

RQ 2) How are common stereotypes called upon in order to construct the identities of the characters in “The Edge of Heaven” and “Head-On”?

In *The Edge of Heaven*, the characters Ali and Yeter are portrayed as first-generation immigrants from Turkey to Germany. This comes out in their dominant use of Turkish, while using German for certain situations. Nejat is portrayed as a second-generation immigrant who is more educated than the older characters. He speaks both languages but is more comfortable with German. His comfort with German is emphasized by the fact that he is a German literature professor.

Responses to the clips from *The Edge of Heaven* indicate the values that each language holds for participants. While Nejat’s command of German and English causes him to be viewed as more educated and successful than his father Ali, his use of German in the home is seen as disrespectful and immodest (see Table 6.2). Comments from respondents to these clips also associated German with power and business, while Turkish was “warmer” and associated with family values (Table 6.1).

Viewers are presented with two competing narratives in *Head-On*; those of Cahit and Yilmaz. Cahit plays the role of an assimilated Turkish-German. While the character is irreverent, smokes, drinks and swears, his interaction with Yilmaz constructs his identity as someone who respects the Western value of monogamy. He is also the principal character in the movie and viewers are expected to identify with him and his interests. The narrative constructed by this character is one in which Germans of Turkish heritage can integrate into German culture, but only if they ignore the culture and language of their parents. The only counter-narrative presented is that of Yilmaz, who values his Turkish identity but whose actions are offensive to Cahit and to viewers alike. Viewers are presented, then, with two contrasting social categories (see Keim, 2002; Kallmeyer & Keim, 2003) in which to place German-Turks: they either reject their German heritage, like Cahit, or embrace it and reject the society around them, like Yilmaz.

A functional framework for code-mixing such as Auer’s (1995) model is a good complement to a discourse analysis of bilingual speech. This conversational approach to analyzing language mixing allows for concentration on the social and pragmatic reasons behind switches and how the choice of one language over another is perceived by members of the community and of the surrounding communities. Special consideration was given here to examining the reasons that German or Turkish were used at any specific point, and in exploring the discourse functions at work in each language switch. The purpose of this analysis was to aid in the interpretation of responses to the survey.

The perception of these characters will be broken down further in Chapter 7, in the quantitative analysis of participant Likert-scale responses towards the characters on a range of

attributes. There is evidence that, for German, Turkish, and Turkish-German respondents, the character Yilmaz represents a typical “Turkish-German” identity, and the identity attributes associated with him are those that are associated with this community.

6.3 Study A: Content Analysis of survey responses

6.3.1 Introduction

This section contains a summary of the types of responses that were received to open-ended questions on the survey, divided according to respondent group, with a concentration on evaluative comments regarding language use. A qualitative analysis was performed, following the Pattern Coding process of qualitative data coding as described by Saldaña (2009). The purpose of the analysis was to determine which types of evaluative comments are made about Turkish-German mixing, and how the types of comments differ between groups of participants.

As mentioned above, the surveys were available in German, Turkish, and English. The instructions at the beginning of the survey requested that participants take the survey in their native language. There were, however, four non-native speakers of English who chose to take the survey in English. These included three native Turkish-speakers (subjects 2, 16, and 43) and one native German-speaker (subject 23).

6.3.2 Research questions

The qualitative analysis of comments given in the survey was conducted with two research questions in mind. These research questions mirror the research questions in the quantitative analysis of the survey results as described in Chapter 5, above, but were reframed to better suit the qualitative data involved. Research Question 1, stated below, asks which types of evaluative comments are made in regards to Turkish-German code-mixing.

RQ 1) What types of evaluative comments are made in regards to Turkish-German code-mixing?

RQ 2) How does the native language(s) of a speaker affect the evaluative comments that they make towards Turkish-German code-mixing?

H1: Turkish and German speakers will evaluate mixing negatively,

H2: Bilingual Turkish-German speakers will

A. approximate monolingual Turkish and German speakers in negative evaluations in terms of status,

B. evaluate mixing positively in terms of solidarity.

H3: American English speakers will be unaffected by language choice.

Research Question 2 asks about the ways that comments about code-mixing differ between participant groups. This research question has three hypotheses, which again mirror the hypotheses to the second research question in the quantitative section above, but are framed slightly differently for the qualitative context. Code-mixing has been demonstrated to be stigmatized by the surrounding monolingual majority in a variety of communities (see, for example, Zentella 1982), and for that reason the first hypothesis is that the monolingual German and Turkish speakers will evaluate mixing negatively. Hypothesis 2, regarding the Turkish-German bilinguals, has two subhypotheses. It has been demonstrated that members of a stigmatized language community will adopt the view of the majority and evaluate their own language variety negatively (see Lambert et al, 1960; Lambert 1967; Zentella, 1982; and Lippi-

Green, 1997), and for this reason Hypothesis 2A is that Turkish-German bilinguals will also evaluate mixing negatively in terms of status. However, as mentioned in section 6.1 above, some of the same research (e.g. Lambert, 1960; Zahn & Hopper, 1985) has shown that members of the minority evaluate their own group positively on measures of solidarity, and for this reason Hypothesis 2B predicts that Turkish-Germans will evaluate mixing positively in terms of covert prestige. Finally, as in the previous section, monolingual American English speakers are predicted to make no evaluative comments about language mixing.

6.3.3 Methods

In addressing Research Question 1, rather than come up with a set of hypotheses about the types of evaluative comments that would be made by participants in the survey, the process of qualitative data coding as described by Saldaña (2009) was followed and the themes in the responses that emerged through the process of cyclical coding were explored. The nature of the research question involving the evaluation of Turkish-German language mixing defined the first two steps in the coding process: 1) Only comments that include some type of evaluation of language mixing were included, and 2) the first level of coding involved the categorization of the comments according to the polarity of their evaluation (positive, negative, and neutral). These steps and the further levels of content analysis will be described in further detail below.

Before being asked for their opinions about language mixing, survey participants were asked whether they speak German and/or Turkish, and in which contexts they use/hear each language. All participants who speak either of the languages were asked if there is any context in which either language is not appropriate. Before addressing the research questions about attitudes towards language mixing, the types of responses that were received to these questions of language appropriateness will be described. American participants are included in the broad description of responses, but the subsequent content analysis concentrates on the German, Turkish, and Turkish-German groups of respondents.

6.3.4 Language (in)appropriateness

All participants who indicated that they speak either German or Turkish or both were asked if there is any situation in which German or Turkish are not appropriate:

German inappropriateness)

In what contexts, if any, is it **not** appropriate to use German?

*In welchen Situationen, wenn überhaupt, ist es **nicht** angemessen, Deutsch zu verwenden?*

Sizce, nerelerde ve(ya) hangi koşullarda, eğer böyle bir ortam varsa, Almanca kullanmak uygun **değil**?

6.3.4.1 German inappropriateness

The question regarding German inappropriateness received 54 responses. Of these responses, 10 were from Americans. Eight Americans responded that it is inappropriate to speak German with someone who doesn't understand it, one said that it is not appropriate at work, and one said that no, there is no place where German is inappropriate.

Figure 6.1 below shows the categories of responses from Germans, Turks, and Turkish-Germans. The most common response, by far, was in the category labeled "intelligibility." The remaining responses fell into the categories of "yes", "no", and "idk" (I don't know). Of these,

the largest category was “no” (11 responses). Two responses were in the category “idk”, and only five named a place where German is not appropriate. The categories are further defined below.

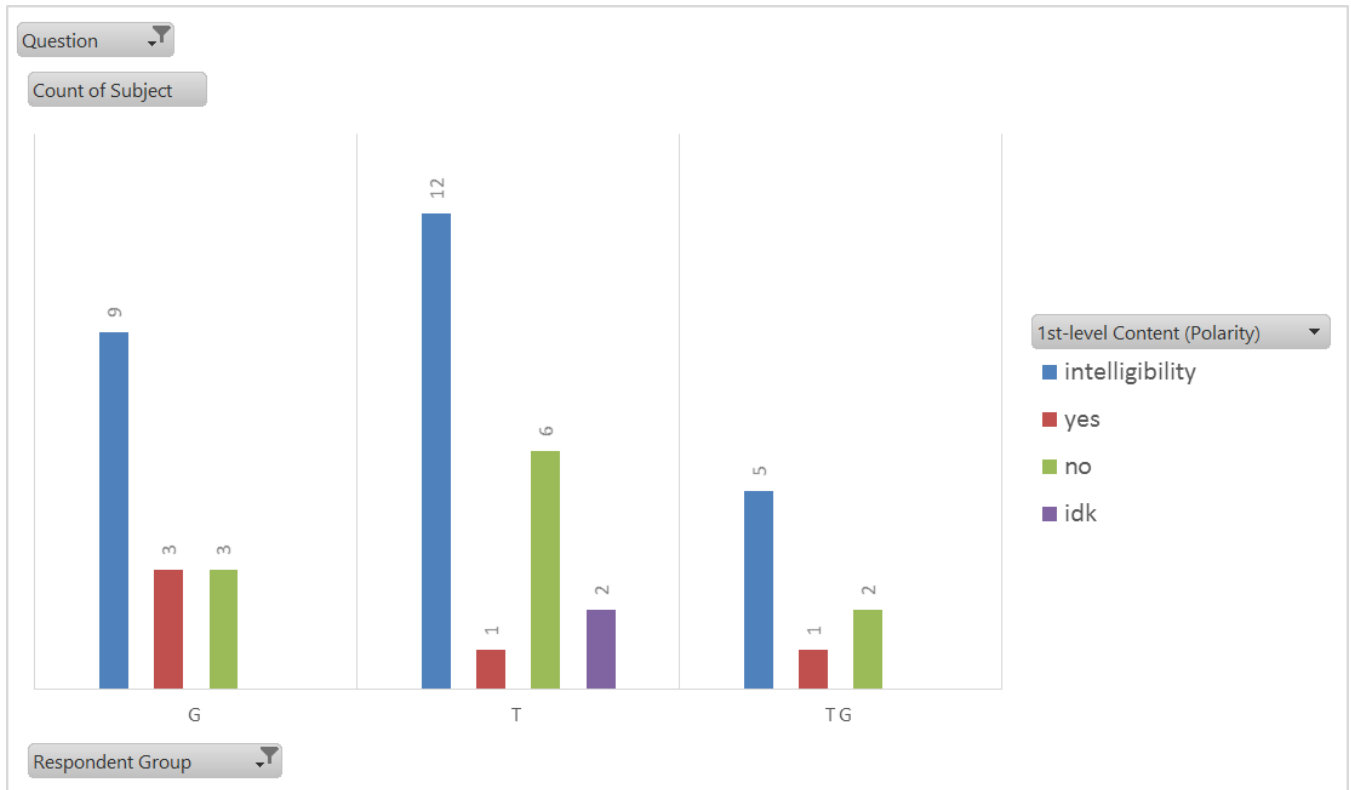


Figure 6.1 German inappropriateness

Table 6.9 gives some exemplifying responses in the category of “intelligibility” and table 6.10 contains examples in the category “no” for the question of German inappropriateness. Responses in the category “intelligibility” indicated that the participants feel it is only inappropriate to use German with or around people that don’t understand German. Responses in the category “no” indicate that the participant believes there is no place where it is inappropriate to speak German.

In this table, as in the remaining tables in this section, all comments are displayed in English. The Turkish comments were translated with the help of a Turkish native-speaker. The German comments were translated by the author and then verified and corrected with a native speaker. Comments given in English were left as-is, with no editing.

Table 6.9 German: “intelligibility”

	Subject	Gender	Group	Birth year:	Occupation	Comment
1	5	f	t	1982	student	near people who don't understand
2	6	f	g	1982	Health insurance professional	In a non-German-speaking place abroad
3	86	f	tg	1979	employee	When turks are there who don't understand german so well

Table 6.10 German: “no”

	Subject	Gender	Group	Birth year:	Occupation	Comment
1	48	f	t	1985	student	appropriate everywhere.
2	14	f	t	1986	Linguist	I think it's possible to speak German in every environment. I don't know if there's any environment where it's not appropriate.

Table 6.11 displays all comments that answered the question of German inappropriateness with an affirmative. These responses were categorized as “yes”. Of the 5 respondents who gave a place where German is inappropriate, 3 were native German-speakers: one answered, “Holocaust museum”, another indicated there are some academic contexts in which it is not appropriate, and a native German-speaker studying in the U.S. answered, “while shopping and in public”.

There was one “yes” comment from a Turk, and one from a Turkish-German. The reply from a Turk in line 1 can be interpreted sarcastically, due to the smiley-face tacked on after the statement “German is not appropriate anywhere.” The Turkish-German woman who replied “when I talk to my husband” probably meant that her husband doesn’t understand German, so this comment could also be grouped under the category “intelligibility.”

Table 6.11 German is inappropriate

	Subject	Gender	Group	Birth year:	Occupation	Comment
1	29	f	t	1985	engineer	German is not appropriate anywhere:))
2	36	f	g	1992	Student	while shopping, in public
3	67	f	g	1985	Doktoral student	sometimes in academic surroundings
4	76	f	tg	1970	Childcare professional	when I talk to my husband
5	84	m	g	1960	Curator	Holocaust museum

6.3.4.2 Turkish inappropriateness

The equivalent question about the inappropriateness of Turkish received 46 responses. Six responses were from Americans. Of those, four were categorized as “intelligibility”. One was categorized as “ability”, as in “my Turkish is not good enough”, and only one respondent gave an answer that there is somewhere it is not appropriate to use Turkish. For the questions of where she hears and uses Turkish she had indicated that she only uses it in Turkish class or while watching a movie, and for this question she responded “all except above.”

Figure 6.2 below shows the categories of responses from Germans, Turks, and Turkish-Germans. As with the equivalent question about German, the most common responses to this question by far were some variation on “when you are with someone who doesn’t understand Turkish.” Three responses (two from Germans and one from a Turk”) were labeled “idk” (“I don’t know”), and the remaining responses fit the categories “yes” and “no.” In contrast to the question about German inappropriateness, this time the affirmative comments, indicating that there is a place that Turkish is inappropriate, outnumbered the negative.

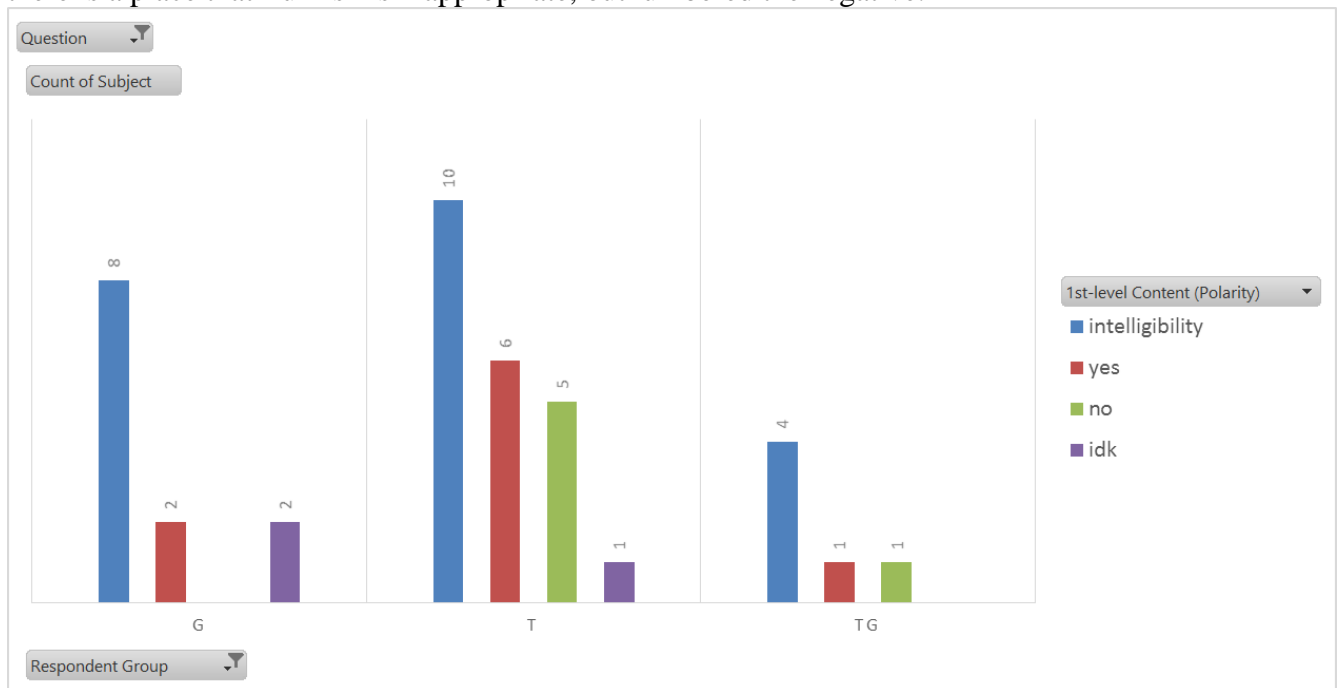


Figure 6.2 Turkish inappropriateness

Table 6.12 gives some exemplifying responses in the categories of “intelligibility” and Table 6.13 gives examples of the category “no” for the question of Turkish inappropriateness.

Table 6.12 Turkish: “intelligibility”

	Subject	Gender	Group	Birth year:	Occupation	Comment
1	1	f	g	1977	Librarian	When no one else present understands Turkish
2	5	f	t	1982	student	I think it's not appropriate to use it around people who don't know Turkish
3	29	f	t	1985	engineer	It's not appropriate to speak Turkish if there is somebody in the environment who doesn't understand Turkish

Table 6.13 Turkish: “no”

	Subject	Gender	Group	Birth year:	Occupation	Comment
1	73	m	tg	1985	Doctoral student	I don't believe this. A person should be able to speak their native language everywhere freely. Every language is appropriate everywhere.
2	69	m	t	1989	student	Turkish can be used in every environment.

Table 6.14 below shows all affirmative answers to the question, “In what contexts, if any, is it **not** appropriate to use Turkish?” These are the responses categorized as “yes” in figure 6.2. Of the 10 responses, six were from native Turkish-speakers, three from native German-speakers, and one from a Turkish-German. In row 1, the comment “while I’m with my foreign friends” is probably, like row 4 in the German table above, meant in terms of intelligibility. In row 2 a native Turkish-speaking linguist in England states that, in Turkey, it is not appropriate to speak Turkish with Kurds and Arabs. In row 3 a native Turkish-speaker in Turkey responded: “In Europe in environments where the majority don't like Turks,” and in row 4 a native Turkish-speaking teacher in the U.S. said, “Work space?”

Lines 5 through 7 (two from Turks, one from a German) all indicate that there are certain academic situations in which subjects felt it inappropriate to use Turkish. In lines 8 and 9, both from native German-speakers, the responses fit two categories: the phrase in brackets was counted as “intelligibility,” and the remainder fit the category “yes”. In line 8, the respondent indicates it is not appropriate to use Turkish in official events, and in line 9 a German student in Lebanon replied: “Probably not in front of Armenians.” The last comment is the only one from a Turkish-German. This is from a student in Germany who indicates that she rarely uses Turkish at school.

Table 6.14 Turkish inappropriateness

	Subject	Gender	Group	Birth year:	Occupation	Comment
1	9	f	t	1984	Research Assistant	While I'm with my foreign friends
2	14	f	t	1986	Linguist	While in Turkey, it was not appropriate to speak Turkish with our Kurdish and Arabic neighbors, other than that, in Turkey, Turkish is used in every public space.
3	74	f	t	1969	Lecturer	In Europe in environments where the majority don't like Turks.
4	57	m	t	1965	Teacher	Work space?
5	16	f	t	1990	MA student	in classrooms
6	49	m	t	1987	Student	In a class that's conducted in English.
7	68	m	g	1987	Mechanic	in German school, except in classes
8	20	m	g	1970	College teacher	In official events or [when the language would mostly not be understood]
9	62	m	g	1980	Student	[When the person in social contact doesn't speak Turkish.] Probably not in front of Armenians.
10	97	f	tg	1991	Student	I seldom use Turkish in the Univeristy

6.3.4.3 Discussion

The responses to the questions of German or Turkish inappropriateness provide some context for the following discussion of comments regarding Turkish-German language mixing. The questions about the appropriateness of German and Turkish came before the questions about participants' views on code-mixing in the survey and before they were shown the video clips. Therefore, the views they express about the use of each language have not been influenced by the context of the languages in the films.

Some general observations about participant opinions on German and Turkish can be made. First, by far the most common type of response to the questions about both German and Turkish appropriateness was the category "intelligibility." That is, rather than thinking of a specific place or context where either language is not appropriate, respondents generally came to the conclusion that the only reason to avoid a language would be so that interlocutors or even bystanders can understand the conversation.

After the category of intelligibility, the most important categories were those labeled "yes" and "no." "No" indicated simply that the participant did not believe there is any situation in which the language is inappropriate. "Yes" contained responses, regarding either German or

Turkish, in which the participant gave an example of a situation in which they believe the language is not appropriate. The proportions of these responses are where the difference between views towards German and Turkish come out.

The total numbers of responses in the categories “intelligibility”, “yes”, and “no” from Germans, Turks, and Turkish-German are reproduced in table 6.15 below. As seen in the columns for “yes” and “no”, the number of responses for each category in the columns “G inappr.” and “T inappr.” are almost exactly flipped. While there were six responses giving a situation where German is inappropriate compared to 11 saying there is no such situation, for Turkish there were 12 examples of inappropriate places and only six responses that there is none.

Table 6.15 Inappropriateness: German, Turkish, and Turkish-German respondents

Category	G inappr.	T inappr.	Total
intelligibility	34	26	60
yes	6	11	17
no	12	6	18
Total	52	43	95

In proportion to the total number of participants in the survey, the number of comments giving a context in which one or the other language is inappropriate is very small. However, the differences between the responses regarding German and those about Turkish show that, even before the questions about language-mixing or about the dialogue in the specific film excerpts, the two languages are evaluated differently by these participants. Firstly, more respondents could think of places where Turkish is inappropriate as compared to German. Secondly, as seen in the graphs above, no Germans responded that there is no place where Turkish is inappropriate, while three of them submitted comments in that category for German.

Finally, in looking in more detail at the content of the comments (Tables 6.3 and 6.6), there was a difference in reasons given for why either language might not be appropriate. There was only one respondent who gave an example of a place where German might be offensive (Holocaust museum), while there were three such comments about Turkish (in front of Armenians, in front of Kurds and Arabs, and in front of Europeans who don’t like Turks). While only one respondent indicated that there are some academic situations where German is not appropriate, there were four responses that Turkish is not appropriate in school. This supports the findings of Agirdag (2010) that members of the majority (in his case, speakers of Dutch in Belgium) support a *doxa of monolingualism*, in discouraging the use of minority languages in schools.

There were very few responses to these questions from native Turkish-German bilinguals. They submitted only 14 total comments, in comparison to the 27 from Germans and 43 from Turks. This would not appear surprising given that there were fewer Turkish-German participants in the survey than participants in the other respondent groups. However, as discussed in the following section, the bilingual group responded at a much higher rate to the questions about Turkish-German mixing. Thus, while they gave fewer answers about the appropriateness of German or Turkish in general, they had much more to say about the appropriateness of mixing the languages. This will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

In conclusion, German and Turkish are evaluated differently by the survey participants. There are more respondents who give situations where Turkish is inappropriate and there is a

broader range of situations in which it is said to be inappropriate. German, in contrast, appears to be perceived as acceptable in almost any context.

6.3.5 Attitudes to Code-mixing

6.3.5.1. Code-mixing survey questions

As described in section 5.3, survey participants who indicated they speak both German and Turkish were asked two questions about their opinions about code-mixing:

Self-CM) How comfortable are you mixing German and Turkish?

Wie leicht fällt es Ihnen, sich einer Mischung aus Deutsch und Türkisch zu bedienen?

Türkçe ve Almanca'yı karıştırarak ne kadar rahat kullanabilirsiniz?

and:

Others-CM) How comfortable are you with *other people* mixing German and Turkish?

*Was halten Sie davon, wenn **andere Leute** eine Mischung aus Deutsch und Türkisch sprechen?*

Almanca ve Türkçe'yi karıştırarak kullanan **diğer kişiler** hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

As mentioned earlier, the wording in German for these questions is slightly different from the Turkish and English. In the first question, the wording in German is more literally translated to “how easy is it for you to mix German and Turkish?” rather than “how comfortable are you mixing German and Turkish?”, as the English and Turkish versions ask. In the second question, the German verb “*davon halten*” is more clearly evaluative than the English phrasing “comfortable with” or the Turkish “düşünmek” although both the German and Turkish verbs can be translated to “think about”. The differences in wording of these questions were considered when analyzing the responses. Each comment, coming directly in answer to a question on the survey, was treated as the second half of an “information exchange sequence” (van Dijk, 2011: 175).

6.3.5.2. Questions following Film clips

All participants, regardless of language knowledge, were asked a set of questions following each video clip. The first question (labeled ‘Reaction’ in the tables below) was followed by an excerpt from the dialogue which exhibited Turkish-German mixing. The second question (labeled ‘Language Reaction’) asked the participants to think about the language use in the clip. In the translation of these questions, the wording was more straightforward than in the code-mixing questions above. In both questions, the wording in English, German, and Turkish is close to equivalent.

Reaction)

How did you feel during the following dialogue?

Wie fühlten Sie sich während des folgenden Dialogs?

Aşağıdaki diyalogu duyduğunuzda ne hissettiniz?

Language Reaction)

Did you notice anything interesting about language use in this clip?

Ist Ihnen zum Sprachgebrauch in diesem Clip etwas besonderes aufgefallen?

Klipte lisanın kullanımında ilginç bir durum fark ettiniz mi?

6.3.5.3. Content analysis

The content analysis was done on all comments submitted to the survey that included an evaluation of code-mixing. There were a total of 54 answers to the questions asking bilinguals about their opinions on code-mixing. All of these comments, being given in response to direct questions about code-mixing evaluations, are included here. In addition, out of the total of 473 responses to the open-ended questions about the movie clips, there were 63 responses to that contained an evaluation of the use of code-mixing. Combining these comments, there were a total of 117 comments that contained some sort of evaluation of code-mixing, either in the context of the film or in regard to its use in daily life. These comments will be the focus of the content analysis.²

The first level of analysis involved coding each comment according to polarity: negative, positive, and neutral. 21 comments related to code-mixing were negative, 17 were positive, and 79 were neutral. Examples illustrating each type of comment are given below. There were a few cases in which a single comment covered more than one category. For example, Subject 39 responded to the question, “how comfortable are you mixing German and Turkish?” with the comment, “It’s easy, but I’ve always taken care to speak either one or the other. My parents put great value on that.” Because the comment was split between two types of evaluations, these comments were analyzed as two separate tokens. The division was made at the point in the comment where the valence of the evaluation changes. In the example just mentioned, the phrase: “it’s easy” was understood as a neutral response to code-mixing, and the rest of the response was considered a negative evaluation of code-mixing.

Four of the 117 comments subjected to content analysis were submitted by monolingual Americans, and 26 of the comments were given by American respondents with some knowledge of German and/or Turkish. As a point of comparison, the American groups are included in Table 6.16 and Figure 6.3 below. Subsequent analysis concentrates only on the German, Turkish, and bilingual Turkish-German groups.

Table 6.16 below summarizes the first level of coding for comments that evaluated the use of code-mixing. The categories are listed according to the participant group of the respondent. The Americans are listed in two groups here: “American” excludes everyone with some knowledge of Turkish or German, and “American2” includes those speakers who indicated some knowledge of Turkish or German. As seen here, neutral comments are by far the most common, and for monolingual Americans the comments belong exclusively to that category.

² Comments that were submitted in German or Turkish have been translated and verified with native-speaker consultants. Comments that were submitted in English have been left as-is.

Table 6.16 Code-mixing comments

Group	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
a		4		4
a2	1	23	2	26
g	4	16	5	25
t	3	18	6	27
tg	13	18	4	35
Total	21	79	17	117

Figure 6.3 displays the counts from Table 6.16 expressed as percentages of the total number of comments by each respondent group. All four of the comments from monolingual Americans were neutral. 26 of the comments were given by American respondents with some knowledge of German and/or Turkish. Two of these were positive, indicating that it is interesting for them to hear the languages being used together. One was negative, stating that Cahit, in clip 1 of *Head-On*, was discarding his Turkish identity by using primarily German in the clip. The remaining 23 comments were neutral.

Germans and Turks responded neutrally more than they did either negatively or positively, but gave more positive or negative evaluative comments than either American group. Only the final group, made up of Turkish-German bilinguals, displayed a more even distribution among the types of comments they submitted, with neutral (18) comments being contributed at a similar frequency to positively or negatively valued ones (17).

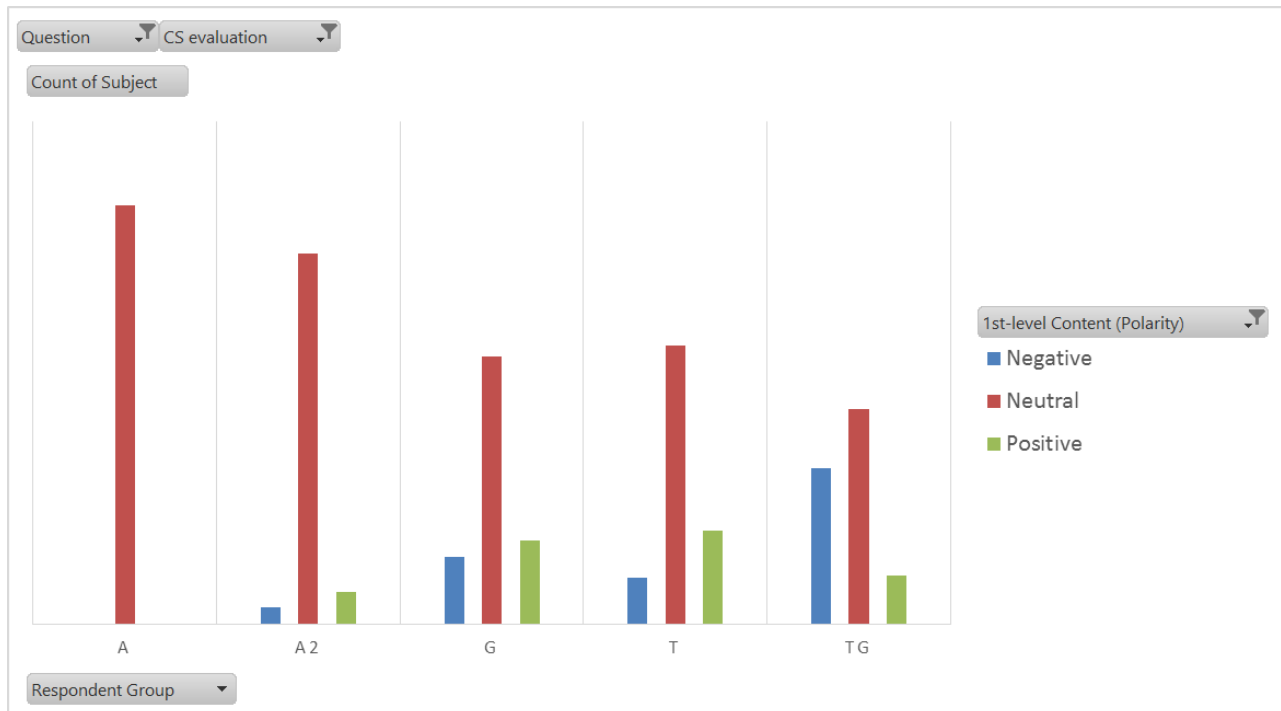


Figure 6.3 Code-mixing comments, Percentage by group

Table 6.17 presents a more in-depth look at the negative comments regarding code-mixing, reported by participant group. In order to focus on the community surrounding Turkish-German bilinguals, the American groups have been excluded at this point. Not only did

bilinguals respond to code-mixing with evaluative comments much more frequently than did other participants, but their reasons for responding negatively or positively were different from the other groups. Out of the four negative comments given by Germans, three were that the use of code-mixing in the film seemed unrealistic, and only one actually characterized code-mixing as ‘bad’. The three negative comments given by Turks were actually negative evaluations of the use of code-mixing. Considering the bilingual Turkish-German participants, out of their 13 total negative comments regarding code-mixing, one comment was simply that the participant ‘doesn’t do it’, one was that the code-mixing in the movie is unrealistic and the other 11 comments were negative evaluations of code-mixing.

Table 6.17 “Negative” comments regarding code-mixing

Group	Bad	I don't do it	Unrealistic	Grand Total
g	1		3	4
t	3			3
tg	11	1	1	13
Grand Total	15	1	4	20

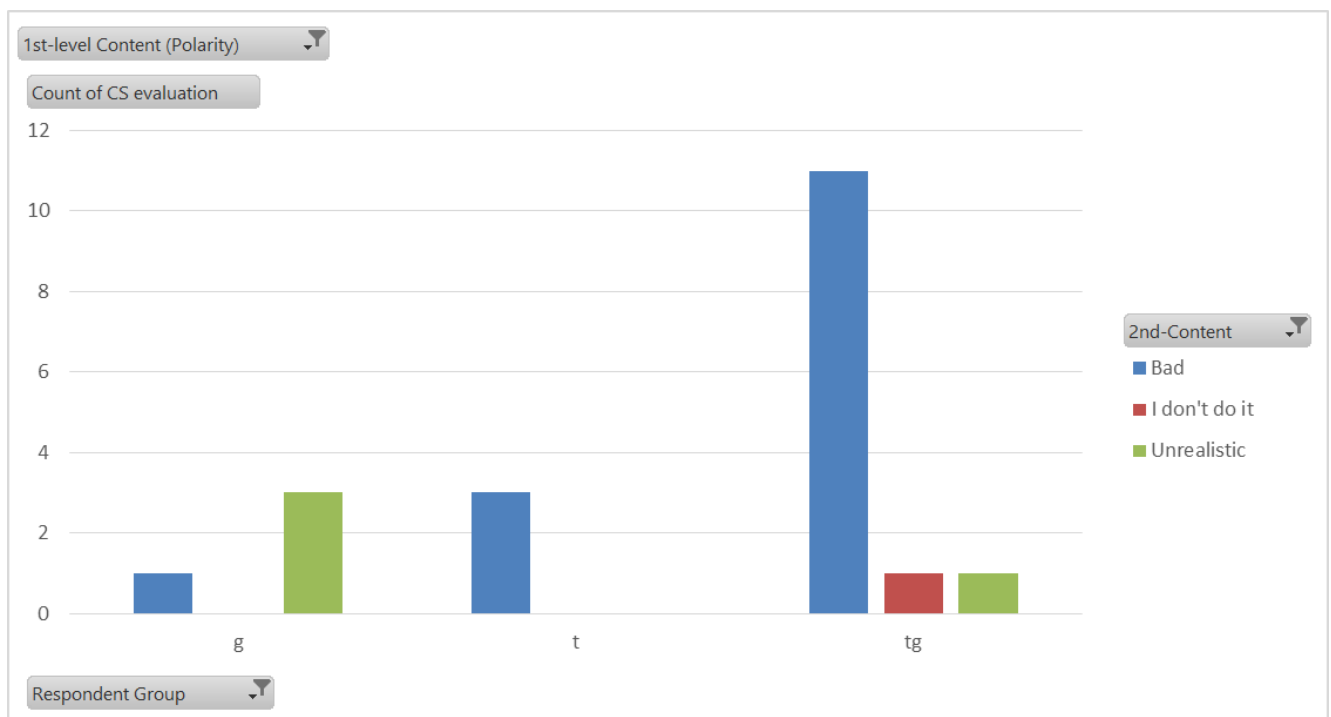


Figure 6.4 “Negative” comment categories

Being that there were only 15 comments with an overtly negative evaluation of code-mixing (comments labeled “bad”), it is possible to display them all here and discuss them in more detail. All 15 comments are displayed below, in table 6.18. The comments come from nine different participants: subjects 33, 39, and 97 contributed two comments each, and subject 77 contributed three.

The first five comments, with the label “Self-CM” in the “Question” column, were in response to the question, “how comfortable are you mixing German and Turkish?” This question

was presented to all participants who indicated some knowledge of both German and Turkish, and received a total of 27 answers. In lines 1 through 3 below, subjects 39, 77, and 82, all native bilinguals, indicated that they are very comfortable mixing languages, but that they try not to, or think it is inappropriate (the first part of these comments, in brackets, were counted separately, as neutral comments regarding code-mixing). In line 4, Subject 87, also a bilingual, also indicates that, although she tries to keep the languages separate, it is very easy to switch between them. Finally, subject 97, also bilingual, indicates that she avoids mixing the languages. In contrast to the first four respondents, she does not perceive herself as accidentally slipping into code-mixing and would only do it on purpose.

Lines 6 through 10 are comments that were given in response to the question asking how comfortable participants are hearing other people mix German and Turkish. This question was also presented only to participants who indicated some knowledge of both languages, and received a total of 27 answers. Lines 11 through 15 are comments that were given in response to the movie clips. As mentioned above, all participants regardless of language background were shown two to three movie clips and were given the opportunity to report their reactions. These questions resulted in a total of 472 comments, but only the five shown here were negative evaluations of code-mixing, and these all came after clips from *The Edge of Heaven*.

Table 6.18 Negative comments

	Subj.	Gender	Group	Birth-year	Occupation	Question	Comment
1	39	f	tg	1975	hotel professional	Self-CM	[It's easy,] but I've always taken care to speak either one or the other. My parents put great value on that.
2	77	f	tg	1968	Teacher	Self-CM	[It's used easily,] but I don't think it's appropriate. A Turkish lady saying 'kom oğlum'.
3	82	f	tg	1985	Doctoral student	Self-CM	[Very easy. When I talk with my parents I often make use of mixed speech.] Unfortunately, that transfers over to my Turkish language skills, so when I talk with Turks who don't speak German I still use German terms.
4	87	f	tg	1994	Student	Self-CM	I personally try as much as possible to keep the languages separate. That tends to be very difficult for us Turks in Germany. When I start to speak Turkish I can't think of a specific word in Turkish and use the same word in German instead.
5	97	f	tg	1991	Student	Self-CM	I avoid mixing both languages. If I did it, then it would be on purpose.
6	39	f	tg	1975	hotel professional	Others-CM	not much.
7	73	m	tg	1985	Doctoral student	Others-CM	Mostly Turks living in Germany. And the bigger majority is the second and third generations. The Turks in Germany need to give more importance to education. If I had a choice, of course I would want them to speak both German and Turkish like their native languages. Because all languages are beautiful, just speaking these two languages as native

							languages changes and improves one's world view.
8	77	f	tg	1968	Teacher	Others-CM	[It's used easily,] but I don't think it's appropriate. A Turkish lady saying 'kom oğlum'.
9	97	f	tg	1991	Student	Others-CM	It shows me that these people don't speak good Turkish or German.
10	98	f	g	1944	Secretary	Others-CM	When it's for convenience' sake I don't think much of it.
11	33	f	t	1990	Teacher	EH3 Reaction	frankly I didn't find it very pleasant. Either speak all in German or all in Turkish. Speaking disconnected like that isn't very pleasant.
12	76	f	tg	1970	Childcare professional	EH3 Language	irritated that yeter also speaks German
13	2	f	t	1978	Professor	EH2 Reaction	Weird. Mixing two languages sounds lazy especially for non technical terms.
14	33	f	t	1990	Teacher	EH2 Reaction	It reminded me of that code switching thing but I didn't like it very much; it's as if Ali doesn't want to speak German but the feeling is raised that he needs to speak it for Nejat. Because while defining Ali as a typical Turk, it is possible to say that Nejat is stuck in the middle (Turkish-German).
15	77	f	tg	1968	Teacher	EH2 Reaction	I did not like Nejat's speaking German with his father who speaks Turkish. He should have been modest.

There were a total of 15 comments regarding code-mixing that were positive, as shown in Table 6.19³. In this case, there were two categories that bear further discussion: those that were labeled “realistic”, and those that were labeled “good.” The comments in both of these categories are given below, in Tables 6.20 and 6.21.

Table 6.19 “Positive” comments regarding code-mixing

Group	Good	Realistic	Appropriate	Language observation	Unclear	Funny	Grand Total
g	1	3	1				5
t	4	1				1	6
tg	1		1	1	1		4
Grand Total	6	4	2	1	1	1	15

³ Note: There are respondents who are represented more than once in these tables. In table 6.13, subject 77 gave the same comment for both the question about mixing Turkish and German themselves and for how they feel when others mix the languages.

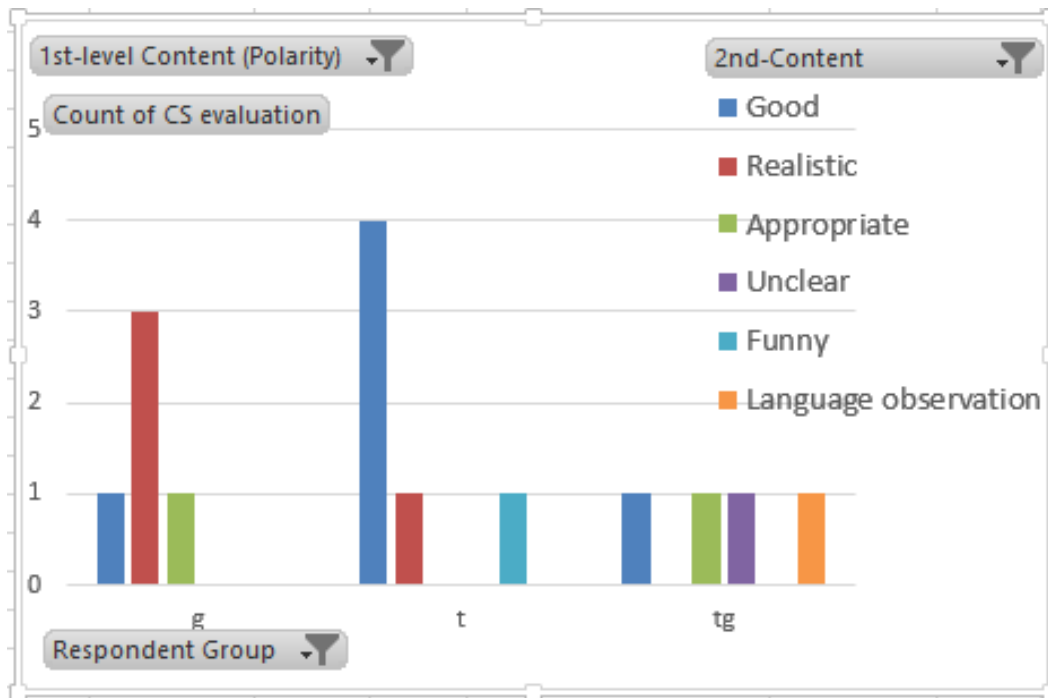


Figure 6.5 "Positive" comment categories

The 'realistic' comments about code-mixing, given in Table 6.20, were given following film clips: three from *The Edge of Heaven* and one from *Head-On*. Three were from Germans and one from a Turk. They all indicated that the use of code-mixing in the clip was realistic. The 'good' comments about code-mixing, given in Table 6.21, were given in response to the questions acting directly about code-mixing. Out of the six comments describing code-mixing as "good", four were given by Turks, one was from a German, and one from a Turkish-German.

Table 6.20 "Realistic" comments about Code-mixing

	Subj	Gen der	Group	Birth-year	Occupation	Question	Comment
1	23	m	g	1978	higher education administrative assistant	EH2 Reaction	Surprised and then at home.
2	32	f	g	1989	Director	EH2 Reaction	Relaxed. I've often had this dialogue myself. It feels like the beginning of a typical dialogue.
3	32	f	g	1989	Director	EH1 Reaction	I found the dialogue very believable.
4	56	f	t	1954	University instructor	HO1 Reaction	I found it realistic and interesting. Good dialogue. It summarizes the characters and the situation very well.

Table 6.21 “Good” comments about Code-mixing

	Subj.	Gen der	Group	Birth -year	Occupation	Question	Comment
1	9	f	t	1984	Research Assistant	Self-CM	good
2	32	f	g	1989	Director	Others- CM	It makes me happy.
3	43	m	t	1983	Engineer	Others- CM	I believe that some words are more powerful to convey a point if used in a different language. For instance, when you try to explain what a song in Turkish is talking about to an English friend, I realize that the point of the song seems trivial or not as powerful as it is originally intended to be.
4	69	m	t	1989	student	Others- CM	Good for them
5	75	f	tg	1967	business employee	Others- CM	When it's between kindred spirits, I find it okay!
6	79	m	t	1964	teacher	Others- CM	Great

The first challenge in coding ‘neutral’ evaluations was separating them from comments with no evaluation of code-mixing at all. The division is not at all clear-cut, and coding involved making some subjective decisions. For example, comments pointing out that characters were using two languages, or simply giving the word “code-switching”, were considered observational rather than evaluational. However, comments with the word “typical”, or even “normal”, especially from bilinguals, were considered an evaluation of code-mixing, without being positively or negatively assessed. In addition, comments were included that contained words like “interesting” or “fascinating” in regards to mixing, even when the following observation was similar to those in comments that were considered purely observational.

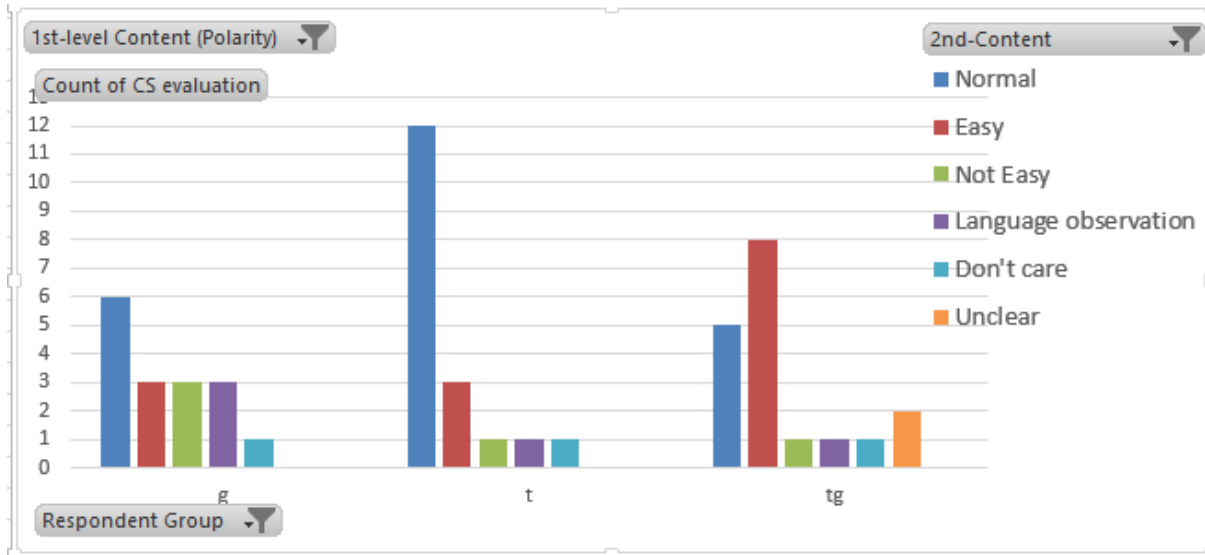


Figure 6.6 “Neutral” comment categories

Table 6.22 “Neutral” comments about code-mixing

Group	Language observation	Don't care	Unclear	Easy	Not Easy	Normal	Total
g	3	1		3	3	6	16
t	1	1		3	1	12	18
tg	1	1	2	8	1	5	18
Total	5	3	2	14	5	23	52

There were a total of 52 comments about code-mixing submitted by Germans, Turks, and Turkish-Germans that were considered “neutral”. As in positive and negative evaluations, neutral evaluations can be further divided into several categories. Five were categorized as a “language observation,” in which the participant made some sort of observation about code-mixing in the clip that was neither overtly positive nor negative. Three ‘neutral’ comments (one from a Turk, one from a German, and one from a Turkish-German) indicated that the respondent simply “doesn’t care” when others mix German and Turkish. Two other comments (both from Turkish-Germans) were labeled “unclear”, because, while the comment was about code-mixing and wasn’t clearly positively or negatively valued, it was unclear just what the respondent was trying to say. These two comments are shown here in Table 6.23 for reference.

Table 6.23 “Unclear” neutral comments

	Subj.	Gender	Group	Birth-year	Occupation	Question	Comment
1	77	f	tg	1968	Teacher	Others-CM	one should not be unfair to the languages.
2	99	m	tg	1985	Student	Others-CM	It sounds normal to me. It shouldn't be, since nowadays there's something surreal in the direction of a subculture. You shouldn't see it like the Indians. IndEnglish :)

While the “easy” comments were at first categorized as “positive”, and the “not easy” comments were categorized as “negative”, after consideration and discussion with colleagues, both of these categories were re-coded as “neutral.” Comments in the “not easy” category indicated that the participant was not fluent enough in both languages to comfortably mix them. The positive comments in the “easy” category, indicating the opposite, bear further discussion. These comments were included under the broad category of “neutral” because, while at first glance “easy” seems like a positive characterization, taking the context into account can change that analysis. A native bilingual who describes code-mixing as “easy” might equate that ease with laziness. Indeed, the first three comments in Table 6.18 of the “negative” comments (all by Turkish-German participants) were each prefaced by saying “it’s easy, but…” and then giving a negative evaluation of code-mixing.

All comments in the “easy” category are displayed below, in Table 6.24. The majority of the comments in the “easy” category came from Turkish-Germans (eight out of 14). These comments all came in answer the “Self-CM” question, except for one comment by subject 77 (line 3). They are all from distinct respondents, against except for subject 77 who submitted the same comment in response to “Self-CM” and “Others-CM” (lines 2 and 3).

The first four rows in Table 6.24 include the comments that were also discussed in the section on “negative” comments, above. These comments were all submitted by Turkish-Germans and start out with a comment that mixing languages is very easy for them, but then end with a negative evaluation of mixing. Rows 5 and 6, both submitted by native Turkish-speakers, indicate that, due to their lack of fluency in German, it is helpful for them when interlocutors use both languages. Rows 7 and 8, one from a German and one from a Turkish-German, both indicate that it is easy to insert Turkish material into matrix German conversations. Lines 9 through 11 all describe mixing as a “way of life” for the participants. While only one of these comments was from a native Turkish-German, the German participant grew up in several different countries and spent a year in Istanbul as a teenager and the Turkish participant studied German in school. The last three rows include comments that mixing is “very easy”, without more context. Here there are two Turkish-Germans and one German who has studied Turkish in school.

Table 6.24 “Easy” neutral comments

	Subj	Gender	Group	Birth-year	Occupation	Question	Comment
1	82	f	tg	1985	Doctoral students	Self-CM	Very easy. When I talk with my parents I often make use of mixed speech. [Unfortunately, that transfers over to my Turkish language skills, so when I talk with Turks who don't speak German I still use German terms.
2	77	f	tg	1968	Teacher	Self-CM	it's used easily, [but I don't think it's appropriate. A Turkish lady saying 'kom oğlum'.]
3	77	f	tg	1968	Teacher	Others-CM	it's used easily, [but I don't think it's appropriate. A Turkish lady saying 'kom oğlum'.]
4	39	f	tg	1975	hotel professional	Self-CM	It's easy, [but I've always taken care to speak either one or the other. My parents put great value on that.]
5	48	f	t	1985	student	Self-CM	Since my German is not that good, if the person in front of me understands both languages, it makes it easier for me.
6	69	m	t	1989	student	Self-CM	Since my level of German is very low, I mix a lot
7	75	f	tg	1967	business employee	Self-CM	I can easily insert Turkish idioms and polite phrases into conversations
8	15	f	g	1988	Student	Self-CM	It's easy to mix single Turkish words or phrases in a conversation.
9	32	f	g	1989	Director	Self-CM	Easy. When I talk to my brother or with other people I grew up with in Istanbul I often speak a mixture of German and Turkish.
10	79	m	t	1964	teacher	Self-CM	I can always think by mixing...
11	86	f	tg	1979	employee	Self-CM	Very easy, when I'm with somebody who can also speak both languages, both languages are used.. Whichever word comes to me first is spoken. Whether German or Turkish
12	76	f	tg	1970	Childcare professional	Self-CM	Very easy.
13	98	f	g	1944	Secretary	Self-CM	very easy
14	99	m	tg	1985	Student	Self-CM	Very easy. Speak both languages in emergencies as a supplement :)

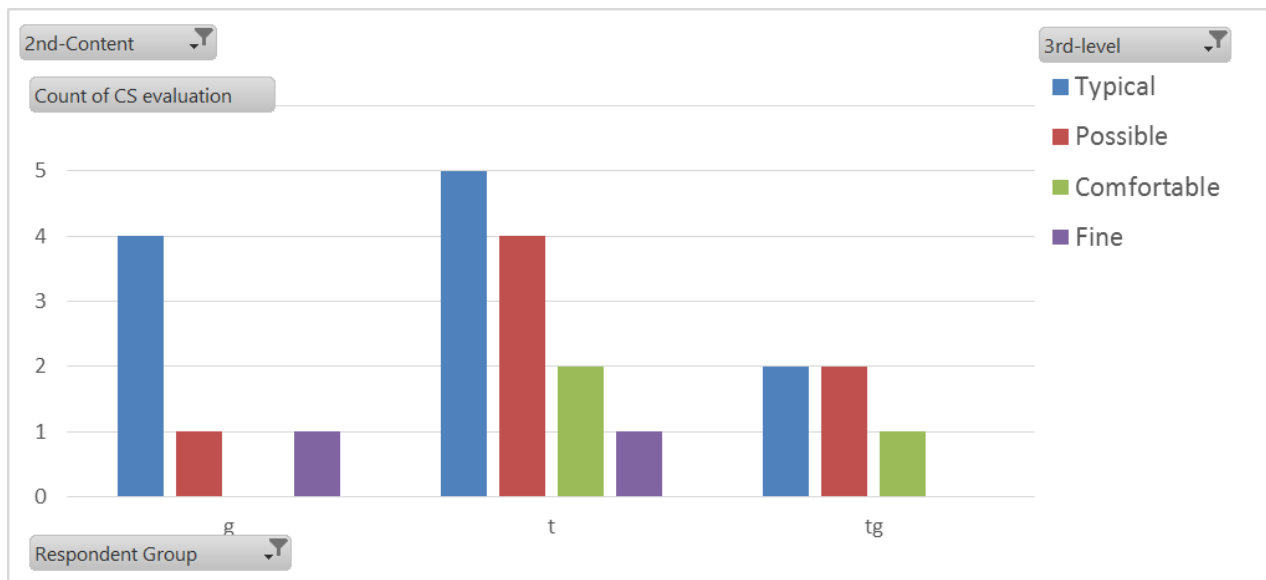


Figure 6.7 “Normal” comment categories

Table 6.25 “Normal” neutral comments

Group	Typical	Possible	Comfortable	Fine	Total
g	4	1		1	6
t	5	4	2	1	12
tg	2	2	1		5
Total	11	7	3	2	23

The remaining 23 neutral comments were categorized as “normal”, as in “mixing German and Turkish is normal.” Out of the 24 comments categorized as “Normal”, six came from Germans, 12 from Turks, and five from Turkish-Germans. As mentioned above, the bilingual group gave fewer “neutral” comments overall in proportion to their total number of comments, in comparison with the other respondent groups.

All 24 comments are listed below, in Table 6.26. It is worth pointing out that these comments come from only 14 individual respondents: seven respondents gave one comment in this category, and seven respondents submitted two or more comments. Subject 9 alone, a Turkish respondent, submitted five comments in this category.

Rows 1 through 3 contain comments categorized as “comfortable”. Two of these come from a Turk (respondent 5) and one from a Turkish-German. These comments indicate that for them, code-mixing is “normal”, because they are used to hearing it or using it in their daily life. While only one of these comments came from a native bilingual, the Turkish respondent indicates that he has been a student in Germany for the past eight months.

Rows 4 and 5 in Table 6.26 contain comments that are sub-categorized as “fine.” One of these, from a Turk, was in response to the question, “how comfortable are you with other people mixing German and Turkish?” which, in Turkish, is more literally translated to “What do you think about other people who mix German and Turkish?” In response to this question, the answer “Normal” can be understood as, “it’s fine”, as opposed to being bad. The other comment in this category, from a German, is also indicating that mixing languages is “fine”; neutral in that it is distinguished from being bad.

Rows 6 through 12 contain comments that were categorized at the third level of analysis as “Possible,” as in, “this type of conversation is possible in real life.” Four of these comments came from Turks (three from the same respondent), one from a German, and two from Turkish-Germans. These comments all came after video clips from *The Edge of Heaven*. All but one were in response to the question, “How did you feel during the following dialogue?” which presented respondents with a code-mixing excerpt. “Normal” following this question was interpreted as an assessment of code-mixing as “normal.” The remaining comment was in response to the question, “Did you notice anything interesting about language use in the clip?” “Normal” in this context was also interpreted as referring to code-mixing as “normal”.

The remaining 11 comments in Table 6.26 were categorized as “Typical”. All but one of these were in response to the questions after clips from *The Edge of Heaven*, and the remaining one was in response to the question about how the participant feels about others mixing German and Turkish. Three of these were from Germans, one from a Turkish-German, and five from Turks, two of those being from the same subject. Four of the comments actually contain the word “typical” and two used the word “classic” in reference to the Turkish-German mixing.

Table 6.26 “Normal” neutral comments, 3rd level of analysis

	Subj	Gen	Group	Birth-year	Occupation	Question	Comment	3 rd -level category
1	5	f	t	1982	student	EH2 Reaction	It seemed normal to me because I'm used to it.	Comfortable
2	5	f	t	1982	student	EH3 Language	no the dialogues that I'm used to but Ali swears a lot after he gets drunk	Comfortable
3	86	f	tg	1979	employee	Others-CM	Doesn't bother me I do it myself. I understand it	Comfortable
4	9	f	t	1984	Research Assistant	Others-CM	Normal	Fine
5	15	f	g	1988	Student	Others-CM	I haven't thought about it. Nothing bad, as long as both languages can be held apart in important moments. I do it myself with my 2nd mother tongue.	Fine
6	9	f	t	1984	Research Assistant	EH2 Reaction	Normal. It could be.	Possible
7	9	f	t	1984	Research Assistant	EH4 Reaction	It seemed normal.	Possible
8	9	f	t	1984	Research Assistant	EH4 Language	Normal.	Possible

9	15	f	g	1988	Student	Eh2 Reaction	Normal	Possible
10	76	f	tg	1970	Childcare professional	Eh3 Reaction	That's just how it is, I found it very normal.	Possible
11	78	f	t	1990	MA Student	Eh2 Reaction	I find it normal.	Possible
12	81	f	tg	1972	teacher	Eh2 Reaction	could be, it's an ordinary conversation	Possible
13	9	f	t	1984	Research Assistant	Eh3 Language	Not surprising. It is after all a Turkish German movie.	Typical
14	10	f	t	1984	Research Assistant	Eh2 Reaction	A typical dialogue for a Turk raised and living in Germany.	Typical
15	16	f	t	1990	MA student	Eh2 Reaction	No so outside of the dialogue, actually I have seen the movie and I am expecting something like that will appear, not so suprising.	Typical
16	20	m	g	1970	College teacher	Eh3 Language	Typical distribution of the language to the roles, father only mother tongue, son only "his" language	Typical
17	23	m	g	1978	higher education administrative assistant	Eh2 Language	Typical code-switching common in bilingual families. We did this in my English-German family context. Lots of Latinos in the U.S. do this.	Typical
18	29	f	t	1985	engineer	Eh2 Reaction	Classic Turkish-German dialogue.	Typical

19	29	f	t	1985	engineer	EH3 Language	No it's a classic Turkish-German dialogue.	Typical
20	82	f	tg	1985	Doctoral students	EH2 Reaction	this is a typical dialogue as I know it.	Typical
21	83	m	g	1970	academic employee (Turkologist!)	EH2 Reaction	I didn't have any specific feelings - the Turkish-German mixing is a linguistic reality	Typical
22	83	m	g	1970	academic employee (Turkologist!)	Others- CM	I often experience the mixing by younger Turks who find that while speaking Turkish they are missing certain expressions in Turkish, which is why they switch to German for single vocabulary items or some phrases. Besides that, mixing an expression of the reality of life for people from Turkey in Germany.	Typical
23	76	f	tg	1970	Childcare professional	EH3 Reaction	That's just how it is,	Typical

6.3.6 Conclusion

Although categorizing comments according to polarity is problematic, the process has led to some interesting observations about the types of patterns that exist within comments about code-mixing. Some of the categories could have been labeled differently if a different scholar were conducting the analysis. For example, the “realistic” comments could have been categorized as “neutral” rather than “positive” and the “not easy” comments could have been categorized as “negative” rather than “neutral”. However, the process of examining each category has led to some insights.

The research questions and hypotheses for the content analysis are reproduced here. Coming back to the first research question, it is possible to talk about the types of evaluative comments that are made in regards to Turkish-German code-mixing. The categorization of responses to open-ended questions into the broad categories of ‘positive’, ‘negative’, and ‘neutral’ served as a good first level of content analysis. As demonstrated above, each of these categories could be further divided into several sub-categories.

RQ 1) What types of evaluative comments are made in regards to Turkish-German code-mixing?

RQ 2) How does the native language(s) of a speaker affect the evaluative comments that they make towards Turkish-German code-mixing?

H1: Turkish and German speakers will evaluate mixing negatively,

H2: Bilingual Turkish-German speakers will

A. approximate monolingual Turkish and German speakers in negative evaluations in terms of status

B. evaluate mixing positively in terms of solidarity

H3: American English speakers will be unaffected by language choice.

For the second research question, the first hypothesis was, “Turkish and German speakers will evaluate mixing negatively.” The survey did receive negative evaluations of mixing by Turkish-speakers and German-speakers. However, there were far more neutral comments and actually more positive comments from monolinguals about code-mixing than there were negative comments. Therefore, the results of the content analysis did not support Hypothesis 1.

Table 6.27 Percentage comment categories

Group	# Subjects	Total # comments	Average # comments/ subject	Average # evaluative comments /subject	Average # ‘bad’ comments /subject
G	20	113	5.65	1.25	.05
T	26	119	4.58	1.04	.12
TG	12	75	6.25	2.92	.92

Hypothesis 2A, that bilingual Turkish-German speakers would evaluate mixing negatively, received support. In fact, Turkish-Germans submitted far more negative evaluations of code-mixing than did any other group. Table 6.27 highlights the different proportions of

comments submitted by bilinguals as compared to monolingual Turks and Germans. While there were fewer Turkish-German subjects in the study, they submitted comments at a higher rate. Considering all comments subjected to content analysis, Turkish-Germans submitted an average of 6.25 comments each, while Germans submitted 5.65 and Turks only 5.48. Narrowing the focus to comments that included an evaluation of code-mixing, Turkish-Germans submitted an average of 2.92 comments each, and the averages for Germans and Turks were, respectively, 1.25 and 1.04. Narrowing the focus even further to look only at the comments that evaluated code-mixing as bad, Turkish-Germans submitted an average of 0.92 comments each. That's more than 18 times the rate for German respondents and almost eight times that of Turkish respondents.

It is not possible to conclude that monolinguals do not evaluate mixing negatively, only that they did not include many negative comments in the survey. What is possible to say is that bilingual respondents display a strong tendency to evaluate language mixing negatively. These respondents, while self-identifying as part of the Turkish-German community, are exhibiting linguistic insecurity about their community's language. As in previous sociolinguistic research on attitudes (Lambert, et al, 1960; Lambert, 1967) as well as in literature on language attitudes of bilinguals (Zentella, 1982; Gibbons, 1983; Agirdag, 2010), these participants are expressing negative evaluations of their own patterns of language use. The responses in this category are very similar to the communicative practices of the "European Turks" as described by Keim (2002). This group of second-generation Turks in Germany valued speaking both German and Turkish separately, but negatively evaluated Turkish-German mixing (p. 288). However, similarly to the first five responses in the 'bad' table above, these same subjects were found to mix languages themselves in informal contexts.

A stigmatization of code-mixing has been noted in other bilingual communities (see Zentella, 1982), and is usually explained as an adoption of the linguistic attitudes of the majority by that of the minority. Previous studies, such as Lambert (1960) have seen more negative attitudes towards a stigmatized variety by the speakers of that variety as compared to members of the surrounding community, but the extreme differences in proportions of negative comments was unexpected.

Hypothesis 2B was that Turkish-Germans would evaluate mixing positively in terms of solidarity. As seen in figure 6.3, Turkish-Germans gave fewer positive comments than either Germans or Turks and proportionally fewer positive comments than negative or neutral. However, a closer look at the "normal" category of "neutral" comments might point to the existence of some amount of solidarity in mixing for native bilinguals. The "easy" sub-category of "normal", indicating that code-mixing is easy for the respondent, was dominated by comments from Turkish-Germans (eight out of 14). As seen in Table 6.24, even the comment that mixing German and Turkish is easy for a participant is stated in different ways. Four of the comments indicated that mixing is easy, but this statement prefaced an overall negative evaluation of mixing. The remaining comments described mixing as easy without a following negative evaluation. These comments can be interpreted as an expression of solidarity with the Turkish-German community. Bilinguals who submitted this type of comment were identifying positively with the community of Turkish-German speakers. Native Germans and Turks who made this type of comment all had some experience with the other language, having chosen to study it in school or to travel to the other country. Their expression of comfort mixing the languages can also be interpreted as a positive evaluation.

The categorization of Turkish-German code-mixing as "normal" could itself be indicative

of solidarity. As seen in work by Preston (e.g. 2010), speakers with high linguistic security often describe their own variety as “normal”. Participants who described the mixed variety as “normal”, as opposed to “bad” or “wrong” could be expressing some sort of positive evaluation of the variety and, by extension, of the community. Further research is needed to delve into the attitudes of this bilingual community, particularly to look at the possibility of positive evaluations on the dimension of solidarity, as opposed to status.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that American English speakers will be unaffected by language choice. As seen in table 6.16, American respondents with no knowledge of German or Turkish gave very few comments that could be considered evaluative, and these all fell into the category “neutral.” Therefore, Hypothesis 3 was supported in the data.

7 Study B: Quantitative Data Analysis

7.1 Introduction

This chapter contains an analysis of the responses to the Likert-scale questions presented to respondents after every film clip. The research questions and hypotheses for the study are reproduced here:

RQ 1) How does the language a *character* speaks affect the perception of the character?

H1) German-speaking characters will be rated more “German”, Turkish-speaking characters will be rated more “Turkish”, and code-mixing characters will be rated more “Turkish-German.”

H2) Characters who combine languages will be evaluated negatively.

RQ 2) How does the native language of a *viewer* affect their perception of the characters?

H1) Turkish and German speakers will evaluate switchers negatively.

H2) Bilingual Turkish-German speakers will:

A. evaluate switchers negatively in terms of status.

B. evaluate switchers positively in terms of solidarity.

H3) American English speakers will be unaffected by a character’s language choice.

7.2 Data Analysis

7.2.1 Turks and education

The clip HO 1 portrays Cahit, a 2nd generation German-Turk, meeting his fiancé Sibel’s family. In this clip, Sibel’s brother Yilmaz does not use any Turkish. While he criticizes Cahit’s use of Turkish, he does it all in German. However, there is something essentially “Turkish” about him, which came out in participants’ responses. In another clip from the same movie, HO 4, Cahit is shown talking to Selma, Sibel’s cousin, in Turkey. Selma uses only Turkish (and some English) in this clip. However, as an evidently wealthy and successful businesswoman she does not fulfill the stereotypes that exist around the Turkish community in Germany. The contrast between these two characters highlights some interesting patterns in the respondents’ ratings.

Table 7.1 shows a ranking of all of the characters in the survey in order of the average ratings that respondents for the statement, “This character is a Typical Turk.” A ‘1’ here represents the most typical, and a ‘10’ is the least. You can see, predictably, that the last two characters are Lotte and Markus, the only two non-minority Germans. The last columns in the table show the character rankings for the statements, “This character is a typical Turkish-German” and “This character is a typical German.” For the Turkish-German rating Lotte and Markus are, again, at the bottom of the scale and for Germanness they are the top two.

Table 7.1 Character ratings for “Turkishness”, “Turkish-Germanness”, and “Germanness”

Character	Ethnicity	Turk	Turkish-German	German
Ali	Gen1 T-G	1	6	9
Yilmaz	Gen2 T-G	2	1	8
Seref	Gen1 T-G	3	5	6
Selma	Turk	4	8	10
Yeter	Gen1 T-G	5	4	7
Nejat	Gen2 T-G	6	2	3
Sibel	Gen2 T-G	7	3	4
Cahit	Gen2 T-G	8	7	5
Lotte	German	9	9	2
Markus	German	10	10	1

The rows for the characters Selma and Yilmaz in Table 7.1 have been highlighted. Selma was the only non-German Turkish character in the survey. Her ratings are interesting because three Turkish-German characters (Ali, Seref, and Yilmaz) were rated more highly on the scale of “Turkishness” than she was. Particularly interesting is her rating lower for Turkishness than Yilmaz, who was only ever shown speaking German. More predictably she rated low on the scale of “Turkish-Germanness”, above only the monolingual German characters, and she was rated last on the scale of “Germanness”.

Table 7.2 reproduces Table 7.1, with a column added for the ratings that the characters were given for “education”. This column gives a ranking of all the characters in order of participant responses to the statement, “This character is educated.” As stated earlier, one of the stereotypes around the Turkish-German community is a lack of education. Selma is rated fourth-highest on the scale of education, and all of the characters above her on the “Turkishness” scale are rated low in terms of perceived education. The opposite is true for “Germanness”. The characters with a high rating for Germanness tend to be rated highly for education as well.

Table 7.2 Average ratings for characters in terms of ethnicity and education

Character	Ethnicity	Turk	Turkish-German	German	Educated
Ali	Gen1 T-G	1	7	9	9
Yilmaz	Gen2 T-G	2	1	8	8
Seref	Gen1 T-G	3	4	6	7
Selma	Turk	4	8	10	4
Yeter	Gen1 T-G	5	5	7	10
Nejat	Gen2 T-G	6	2	3	1
Sibel	Gen2 T-G	7	3	4	5
Cahit	Gen2 T-G	8	6	5	6
Lotte	German	9	9	2	3
Markus	German	10	10	1	2

Table 7.3 shows a table and Figure 7.1 the corresponding scatterplot of the average education scores for each character, as well as their scores for Turkishness, Turkish-Germanness,

and Germanness. As can be seen, the pattern of a lower score for education corresponding to a higher score for Turkishness seems to hold across the board. Interestingly, this tendency is a little less salient for the ratings of Turkish-Germanness.

Table 7.3 Average ratings of “Turkishness”, “Germanness”, and “Turkish-Germanness” by average ratings for education for each character

Character	Ali	Yeter	Yilmaz	Seref	Cahit	Sibel	Lotte	Markus	Selma	Nejat
Educated	2.50	2.46	2.79	2.98	3.07	3.33	3.95	4.14	4.00	4.35
Turk	3.39	2.87	3.21	3.18	2.02	2.43	1.52	1.43	3.00	2.54
Turkish-German	2.63	2.75	3.15	2.77	2.71	3.04	1.62	1.52	2.45	3.14
German	1.96	2.07	2.04	2.12	2.45	2.49	3.71	3.95	1.95	2.62

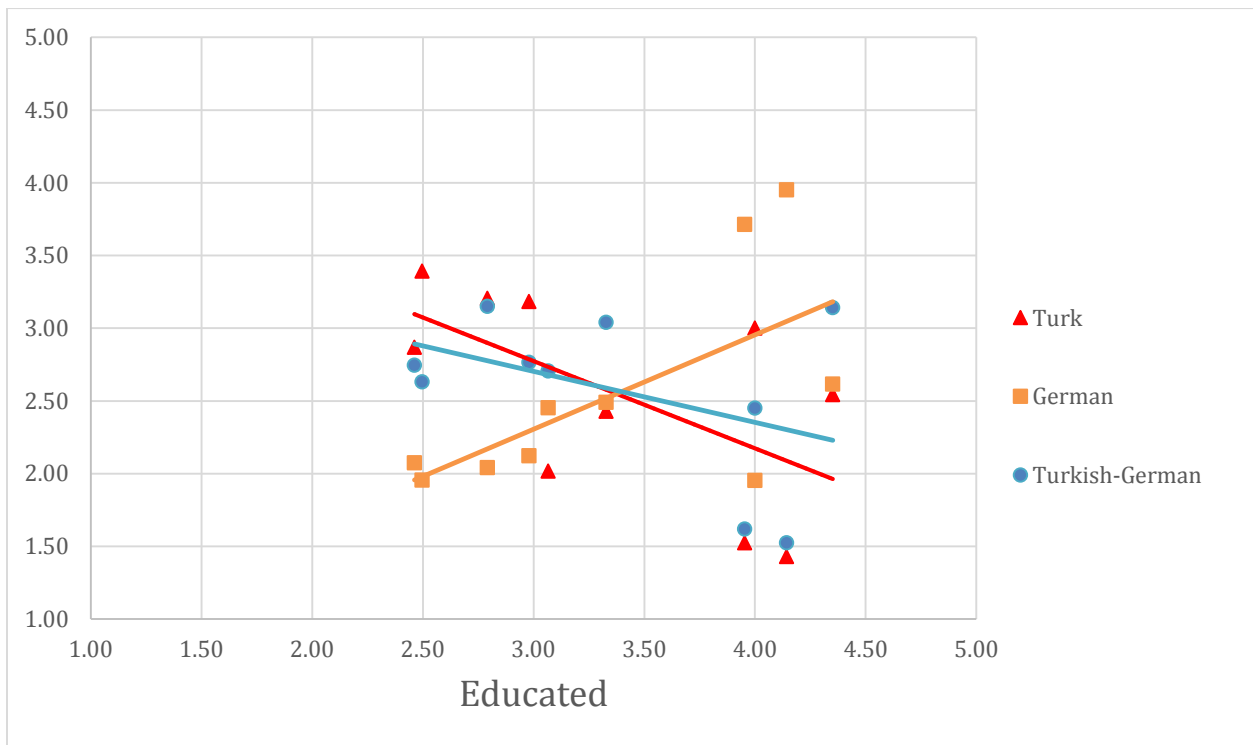


Figure 7.1 Scatterplot for average ratings of “Turkishness”, “Germanness”, and “Turkish-Germanness” by average ratings for education for each character

What could explain this trend? How can we be sure that this correlation is due to attitudes about the Turkish and Turkish-German communities, and not simply due to the roles that these characters are assigned in the movies? This is attempted by separating the respondents into groups based on their language background. Figures 7.2 through 7.4 show the same information as 7.1, with the respondents separated into native German speakers, native Turkish speakers, and monolingual Americans. For both the German respondents and the Turkish respondents, the trendline that fits the data for “Turkishness” by “educated” is even steeper than when all respondents were pooled. The relationship between Turkish-Germanness and perceived education, again, is less distinct.

Table 7.4 German respondents for average ratings of “Turkishness”, “Germanness”, and “Turkish-Germanness” by average ratings for education for each character

Character	Ali	Yilmaz	Yeter	Selma	Seref	Cahit	Sibel	Nejat	Lotte	Markus
Educated	2.37	2.89	2.79	4.29	3.16	3.42	3.70	4.32	4.00	3.67
Turk	3.37	3.44	2.58	2.71	3.16	1.86	2.30	2.21	1.67	1.00
Turkish-German	2.47	3.56	3.00	2.29	3.63	2.94	3.70	3.25	1.67	1.67
German	1.57	1.72	2.11	1.86	2.11	2.56	2.70	2.93	3.67	4.00

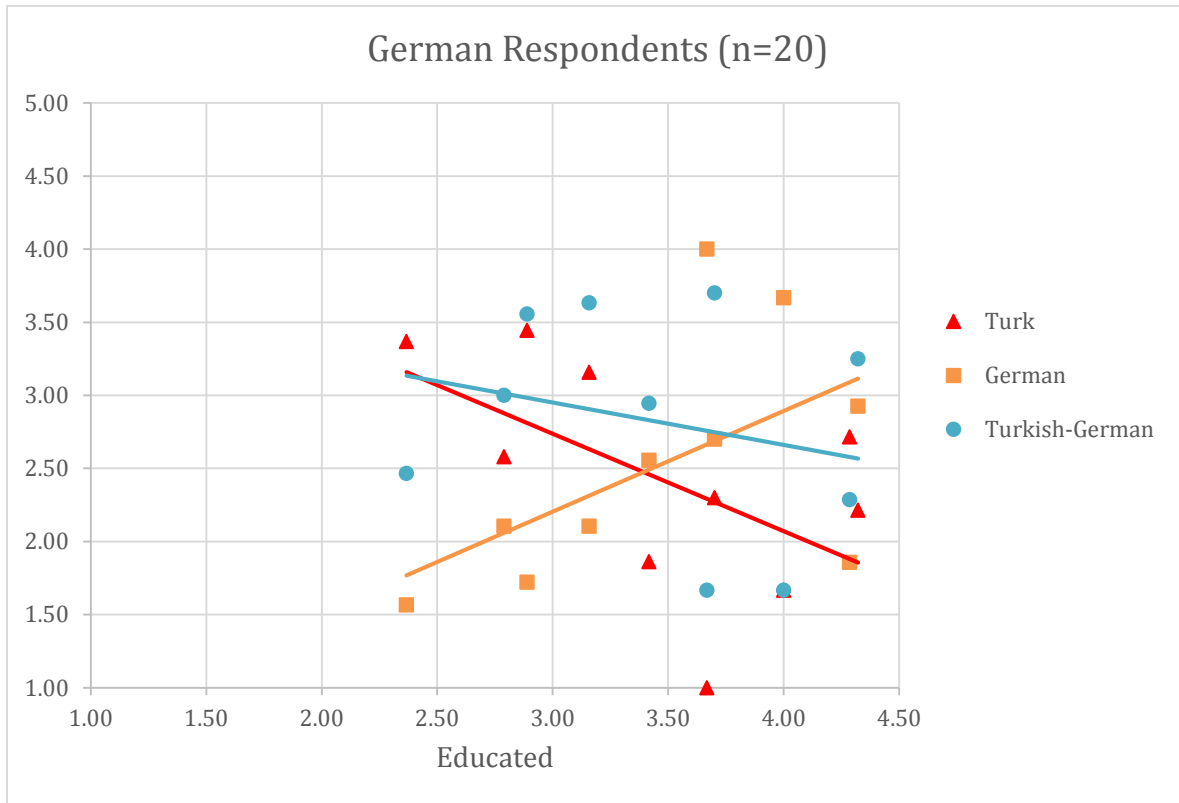


Figure 7.2 Scatterplot of German respondents for average ratings of “Turkishness”, “Germanness”, and “Turkish-Germanness” by average ratings for education for each character

Table 7.5 Turkish respondents for average ratings of “Turkishness”, “Germanness”, and “Turkish-Germanness” by average ratings for education for each character

Character	Ali	Yilmaz	Yeter	Selma	Seref	Cahit	Sibel	Nejat	Lotte	Markus
Educated	2.21	2.27	1.81	3.50	2.42	2.84	2.92	4.29	3.88	4.13
Turk	3.48	3.47	2.75	2.50	3.50	2.11	2.92	2.40	1.25	1.13
Turkish-German	2.66	3.40	2.44	3.00	2.67	2.76	3.42	3.24	1.38	1.13
German	1.68	1.67	1.50	2.00	1.92	2.32	2.25	2.56	4.00	4.63

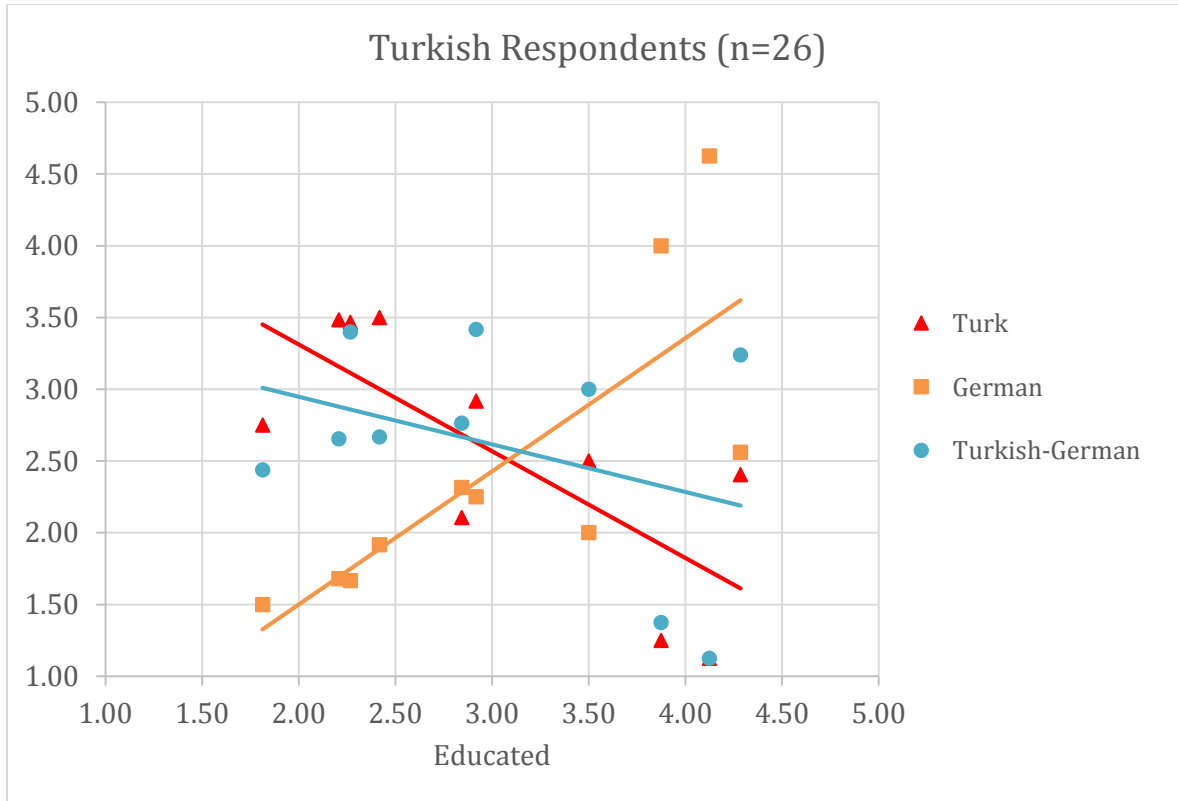


Figure 7.3 Scatterplot of Turkish respondents for average ratings of “Turkishness”, “Germanness”, and “Turkish-Germanness” by average ratings for education for each character

Figure 7.4 shows the American respondents with no language experience in either German or Turkish. These respondents saw subtitles for all dialogue, with no indication of when switches between languages occurred. The same trends exist in the data as did for the previous two graphs, but to a much smaller degree. There is far less variation among characters in ratings given by American respondents. This demonstrates that the American participants can indeed act as a control group. Less affected by preconceptions surrounding the Turkish-German characters, the Americans are presumably responding to the attitudinal questions purely based on the plot of the movies.

Table 7.6 American respondents for average ratings of “Turkishness”, “Germanness”, and “Turkish-Germanness” by average ratings for education for each character

Character	Ali	Yilmaz	Yeter	Selma	Seref	Cahit	Sibel	Nejat	Lotte	Markus
Educated	2.79	3.11	2.46	4.33	3.19	3.09	3.85	4.48	4.40	4.40
Turk	3.46	3.00	3.23	2.83	2.65	2.16	2.46	3.14	1.60	1.80
Turkish-German	3.13	2.58	3.00	2.50	2.62	2.51	2.54	3.07	1.80	1.80
German	2.67	2.37	2.54	2.17	2.58	2.36	2.38	2.66	4.00	4.00

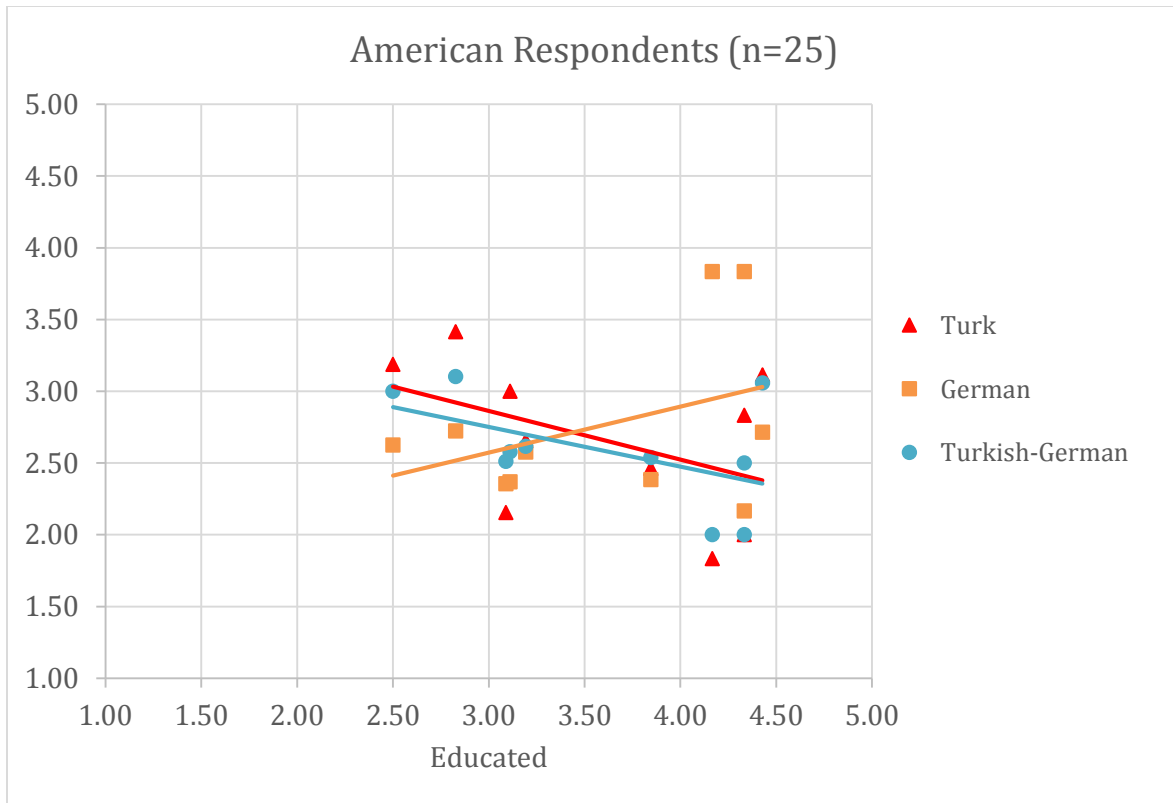


Figure 7.4 Scatterplot of American respondents for average ratings of “Turkishness”, “Germanness”, and “Turkish-Germanness” by average ratings for education for each character

Chi-squared tests for difference were performed on the distribution of scores for ‘educated’ and ‘Turk’ among participant group and for the distribution of scores among the two response categories of ‘educated’ and ‘Turk.’ The difference between ratings of ‘educated’ among participant group (Turk, German, Turkish-German, American, American 2) was significant: $\chi^2=(54.8, 16) p<.001$, as was the difference between ratings of ‘Turk’ among participant group: $\chi^2=(80.8, 16) p<.001$. The difference between the distribution among the variables of ‘educated’ and ‘Turk’ was also highly significant. $\chi^2= (66.6, 16) p<.001$.

7.2.2 Offensiveness

Figure 7.5 gives the average response to the statement, “This character is offensive.” Yilmaz stands out again in participants’ ratings. Yilmaz has the highest overall average rating for offensiveness: 2.90. This character also stands out in that the respondent groups rated him differently. While Turks rated Yilmaz as highly offensive (3.87), both Turkish-Germans (2.63) and Americans (2.89) rated him near the middle of the scale and Germans overwhelmingly gave him a low score (2.12).

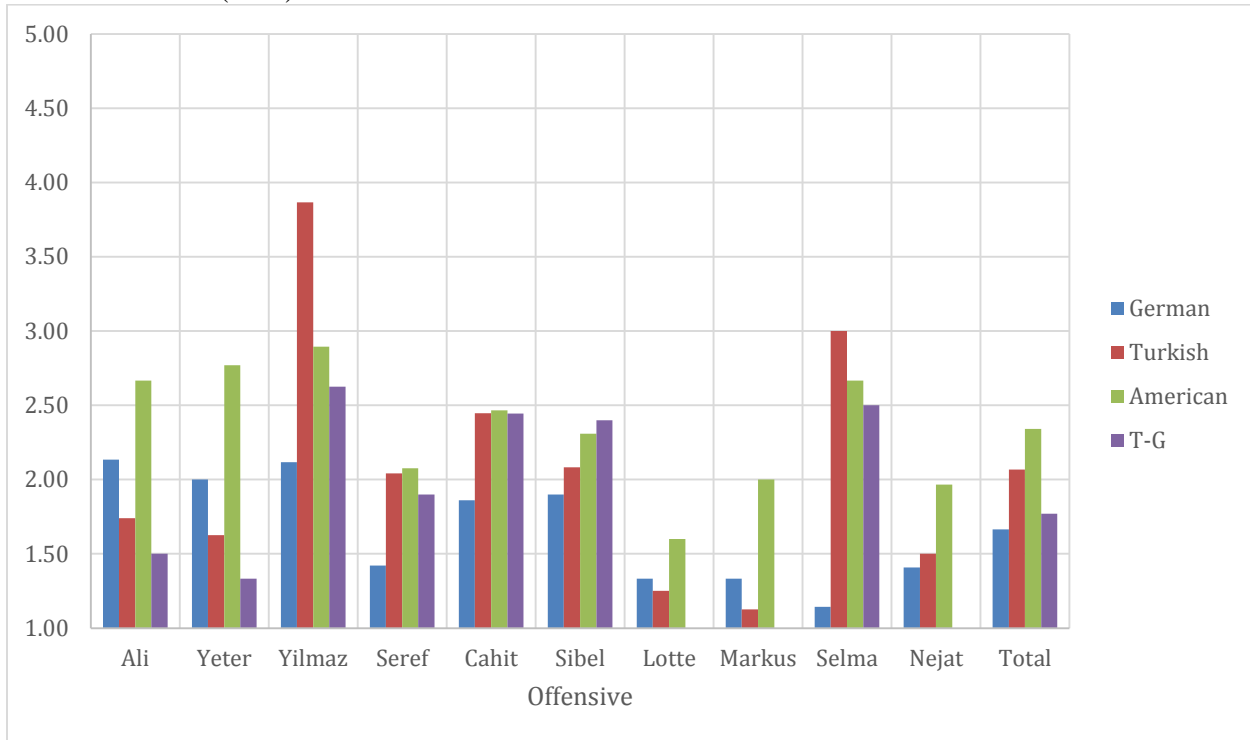


Figure 7.5 Offensiveness ratings for all characters, by participant group

The number of responses for the statement, “Yilmaz is offensive” for each level from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) are given below in Table 7.7. The difference in the distribution among participant groups is evident. The majority of German responses (nine out of 13) were a ‘1’ or a ‘2’, while no Turks or Turkish-Germans gave a ‘1’. On the other side of the scale, no Germans gave a ‘5’ and only two put down ‘4’, while 11 of the 14 Turkish responses were on the upper side of the scale. The Americans were very evenly spread across the top and bottom of the scale, with the most popular ratings being ‘2’ and ‘4’. The Turkish-German responses here are hard to categorize: five gave him a low score of ‘2’, two rated him in the middle of the scale at ‘3’, and one respondent gave him a ‘5’.

Table 7.7 The number of respondents with each rating for the statement, “Yilmaz is offensive”. Responses range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree)

Rating	American	German	Turkish	Turkish-German
1	2	6	0	0
2	6	5	1	5
3	4	4	3	2
4	6	2	8	0
5	1	0	3	1

Figure 7.6 shows the average offensiveness ratings for Yilmaz by participant group, with the Germans and Turks further divided into two subgroups. The group “Germans” here shows only those German native speakers with no knowledge of Turkish, and “Germans with some Turkish” includes the others. “Turkish” shows only the Turks with no knowledge of German, and “Turks with some German” includes the others. The “American” group still excludes participants with any knowledge of German or Turkish, and “American 2” is still all Americans with some knowledge of Turkish and/or German. The corresponding table gives the averages for each group, as well as the count of how many responses are included in each row.

The further division of respondent group brings out an interesting tendency in the responses to the character Yilmaz. While the German respondents with some knowledge of Turkish rate him even less offensive than do the German respondents with no knowledge of Turkish, the Turkish respondents with some knowledge of German rate him even more offensive than the Turks with no German knowledge. Americans who have studied German and/or Turkish do not respond very differently from monolingual Americans. Unfortunately, it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions from these tendencies due to the very small numbers. The four responses to this question from Germans with some Turkish knowledge came from three respondents, and the two responses from Turks with German knowledge were both from the same respondent.

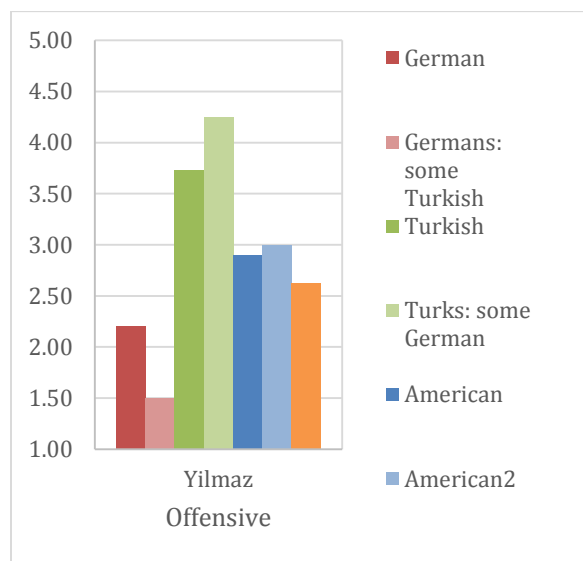


Figure 7.6 Yilmaz offensiveness by group

Table 7.8 Yilmaz offensiveness by group

Participant	Offensiveness	Count
German	2.20	16
Germans with some Turkish	1.50	2
Turkish	3.73	11
Turks with some German	4.25	4
American	2.89	19
American2	3.00	13
Turkish-German	2.63	8

Yilmaz is featured in two clips: in HO 1 he is shown insulting Cahit’s ability to speak Turkish. In HO 2 he and his friends talk about frequenting brothels and invite Cahit to join them. There are certainly opportunities to take offense with the character in both clips, but for very different reasons. In HO 1 the offense is due to his disrespect, or perhaps his challenge of Cahit’s authenticity as a Turk. In HO 2 the offense is due to the content of the discussion and to the obscenities used. Figure 7.7 breaks down the responses from Figure 7.8 into the two clips, HO 1 and HO 2, in order to examine whether different groups of participants rated him differently according to the clip they saw.

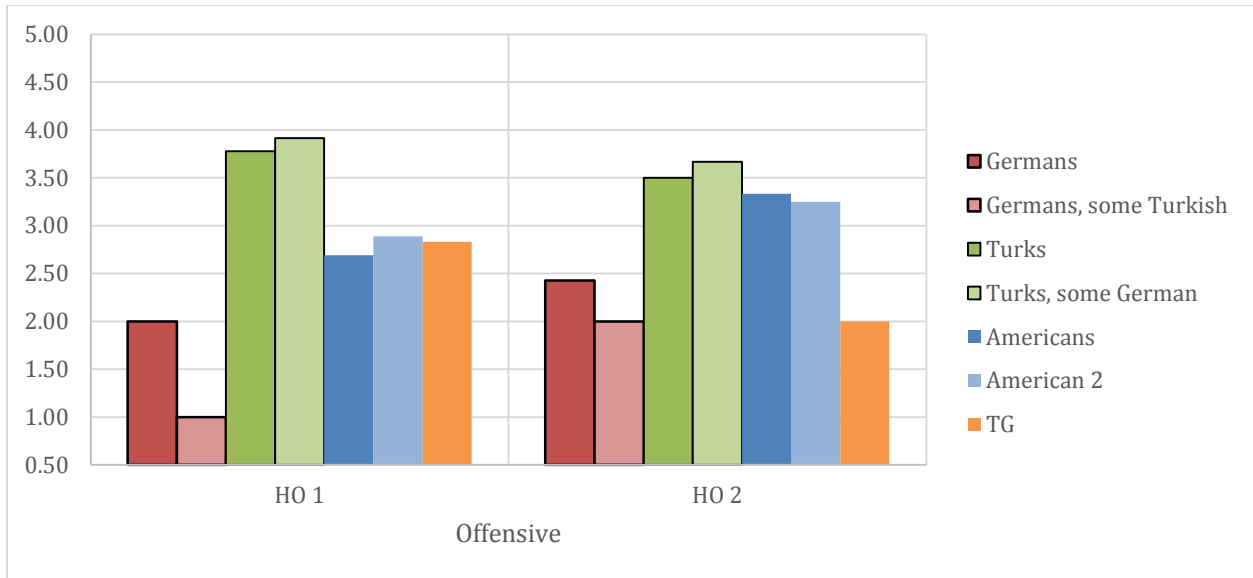


Figure 7.7 Yilmaz offensiveness by clip

Table 7.9 Yilmaz offensiveness by clip

All respondents who were given survey versions 3 and 4 saw clip HO 1, but only version 4 contained HO 2 and it came after HO 1. For this reason, the counts for HO 2 are smaller.

Respondents	HO 1	Count	HO 2	Count
Germans	2.00	9	2.43	7
Germans, some Turkish	1.00	1	2.00	1
Turks	3.78	9	3.50	2
Turks, some German	3.92	3	3.67	1
Americans	2.69	13	3.33	6
American 2	2.89	9	3.25	4
TG	2.83	6	2.00	2

Interestingly, the rating pattern seems to hold regardless of the clip the question followed. Germans consistently gave Yilmaz a lower rating for offensiveness and Turks gave him a high rating, regardless of the clip they were shown. Therefore, there is no evidence that the difference between groups in their ratings of Yilmaz is due to the clip that they saw. Only Americans and Turkish-Germans seem to be greatly affected by the second clip, and in opposite directions. Americans gave him a higher rating for offensiveness after seeing HO 2, suggesting that Americans found his use of obscenities more offensive than his attack on Cahit's language ability. Turkish-Germans, on the other hand, gave him a higher rating in HO 1, suggesting that they were more offended by his critique of Cahit's use of Turkish than his swearing. A Chi-squared test on the distribution of ratings for 'offensive' and participant group in the data for the character Yilmaz was significant. $\chi^2 = (42.8, 16), p < .001$.

7.2.3 Turkish-German respondents

There were 12 participants who fit the description of native Turkish-German bilinguals. While their answers on the demographic section of the questionnaire varied widely, they all reported something in their background that indicated that they were born in Germany of Turkish heritage, moved from Turkey to Germany at a young age, or grew up in both countries and with both languages. Five of these subjects were born in Turkey, six were born in Germany and one declined to list a birthplace. Two currently live in Turkey, six live in Germany, one in the United States, one in England, one in Belgium, and one in the Netherlands. Eleven report having spoken Turkish since birth, two learned it before age seven, and one learned it as a teenager. Five report having spoken German since birth, six learned it before age seven, one learned it between the ages of eight and twelve, and two after the age of twenty. Eight reported that they consider themselves German and Turkish as well as Turkish-German. Four consider themselves Turkish, but not German or Turkish-German and two answered 'no' to all three questions of identity: German, Turkish, and Turkish-German.

Table 7.10 shows a ranking of all of the characters in the survey in order of the average ratings that Turkish-German respondents gave for the statement, "This character is a Typical Turk." A '1' here represents the most typical, and a '10' is the least. As in Table 7.3 for all survey respondents, the last two characters are Lotte and Markus, the only two non-minority Germans (tied for ninth place with the lowest score possible). The last columns in the table show the character rankings for the statements, "This character is a typical Turkish-German" and "This character is a typical German." For the Turkish-German rating Lotte and Markus are, again, at the bottom of the scale. For 'Germanness', Markus is ranked at the top of the list. In Table 7.3, Lotte was ranked the second-highest for 'Germanness'. Here, however, she is number 4. Turkish-German respondents gave Cahit and Sibel, two second generation Turkish-German characters, higher ratings for 'Germanness' than Lotte.

In contrast to the ranking by all participants in the survey, Turkish-Germans rated Selma, the only non-German Turk, the highest rating for 'Turkishness'. In fact, the ordering of the 'Turkish' column in Table 7.10 neatly follows the ethnic category of the characters: the only Turk is number 1, followed by the three first-generation Turkish-Germans, then the four second-generation Turkish-Germans and, finally, the two Germans tied for last place.

It is interesting that the Turkish-German respondents rated Nejat the highest for 'Turkish-Germanness' and in the middle of the scale for 'Germanness.' This character was a professor of German literature and, although bilingual, spoke German more fluently than Turkish. It is interesting that the Turkish-German respondents rated him the most 'typical' Turkish-German character and rated Sibel and Cahit as more typically 'German.'

Table 7.10 Character ratings for “Turkishness”, “Turkish-Germanness”, and “Germanness” by Turkish-German respondents

Character	Ethnicity	Turkish	Turkish-German	German
Selma	Turk	1	5	8
Seref	Gen1 T-G	2	7	9
Yeter	Gen1 T-G	3	5	7
Ali	Gen1 T-G	4	8	10
Yilmaz	Gen2 T-G	5	2	5
Sibel	Gen2 T-G	6	3	2
Nejat	Gen2 T-G	7	1	6
Cahit	Gen2 T-G	8	4	3
Markus	German	9	9	1
Lotte	German	9	9	4

Figure 7.8 shows the scatterplot for ratings of “Turkishness” and “educated” by Turkish-German respondents. The trendline for ‘Turk’ is even steeper here than in Figures 7.4 and 7.5 for the native German and Turkish respondents, respectively, and the one for German is a little less steep. These respondents seem to be correlating ‘Turkishness’ with a lack of education even more strongly than are the Germans and Turks. As in the previous plots, the line for ‘Turkish-Germanness’ is closer to the one for ‘Turkishness’ than the one for ‘Germanness’.

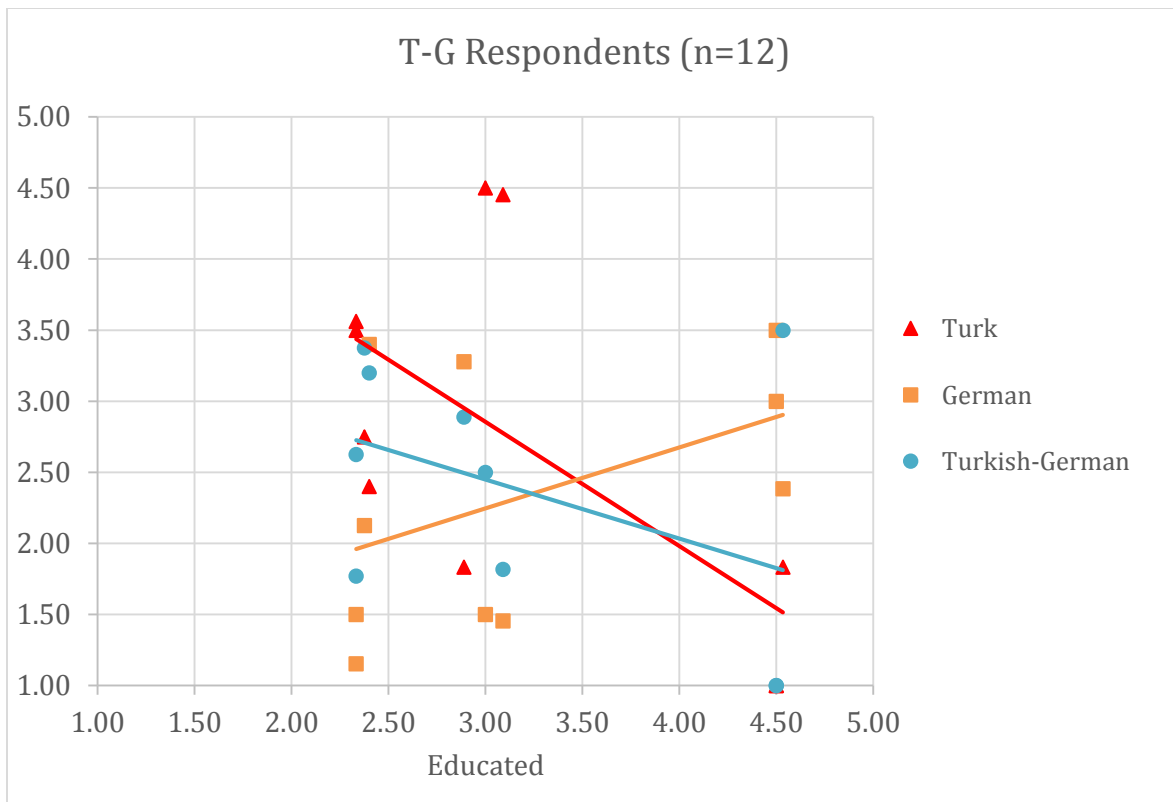


Figure 7.8 ‘Turk’ by ‘educated’ for Turkish-German respondents

Table 7.11 ‘Turk’ by ‘educated’ for Turkish-German respondents

Character	Ali	Yilmaz	Yeter	Selma	Seref	Cahit	Sibel	Nejat	Lotte	Markus
Educated	2.33	2.38	2.33	3.00	3.09	2.89	2.40	4.53	4.50	4.50
Turk	3.56	2.75	3.50	4.50	4.45	1.83	2.40	1.83	1.00	1.00
Turkish-German	1.77	3.38	2.63	2.50	1.82	2.89	3.20	3.50	1.00	1.00
German	1.15	2.13	1.50	1.50	1.45	3.28	3.40	2.38	3.00	3.50

7.2.4 Age

Respondents were grouped into three age groups, described above in Chapter 4, section 2. The following analysis refers to participants who were 45 or older at the time of the survey as “Generation 1”, 29- to 44-year-olds as “Generation 2” and 18- to 28-year-olds as “Generation 3.”

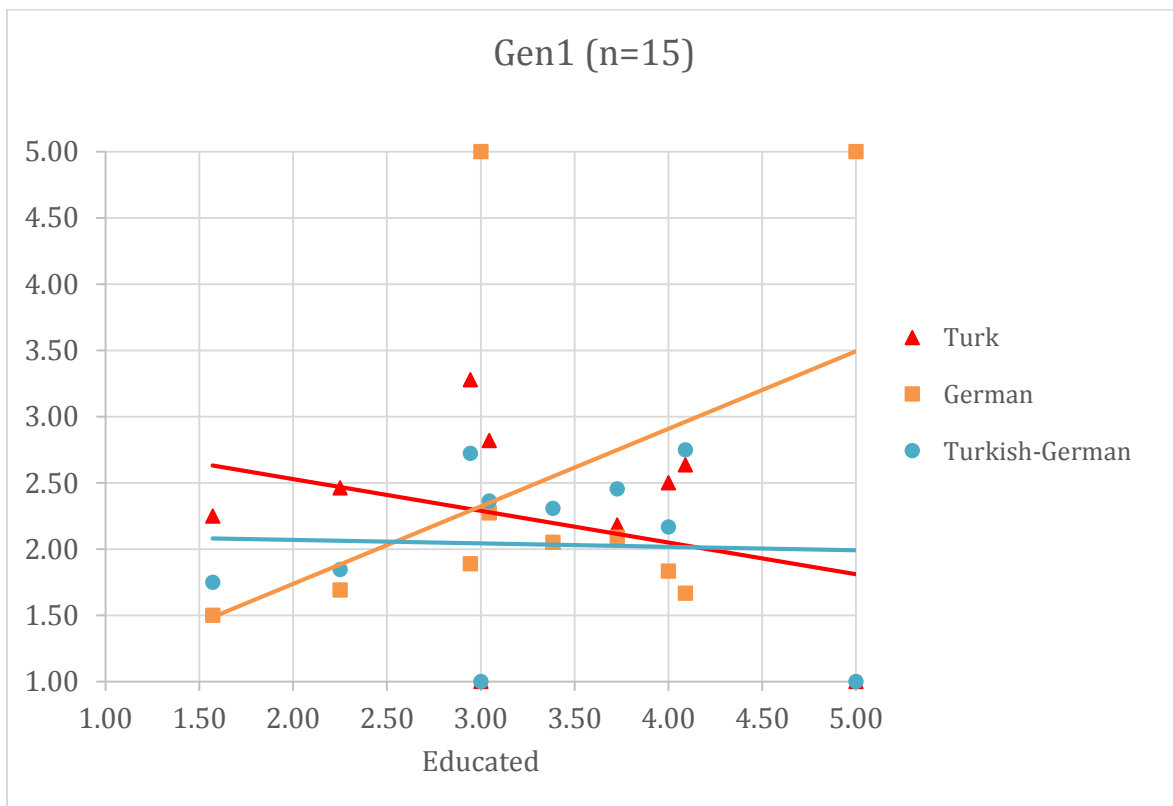


Figure 7.9 ‘Turk’ by ‘educated’ for respondents born before 1970

Table 7.12 ‘Turk’ by ‘educated’ for respondents born before 1970

Character	Markus	Lotte	Seref	Cahit	Yeter	Ali	Selma	Sibel	Yilmaz	Nejat
Educated	5.00	3.00	3.05	3.38	1.57	2.25	4.00	3.73	2.94	4.09
Turk	1.00	1.00	2.82	2.05	2.25	2.46	2.50	2.18	3.28	2.64
Turkish-German	1.00	1.00	2.36	2.31	1.75	1.85	2.17	2.45	2.72	2.75
German	5.00	5.00	2.27	2.05	1.50	1.69	1.83	2.09	1.89	1.67

Figure 7.9 gives the scatterplot the ratings of ‘Turk’, ‘German’, ‘Turkish-German’, and ‘educated’ by all respondents born before 1970 (Gen1), and Table 7.12 shows the corresponding numbers. Figure 7.10 and Table 7.13 show the averages for all respondents born between 1970 and 1984 (Gen2) and Figure 7.11 and Table 7.14 contain the responses from respondents born after 1984 (Gen3). It is evident that the same general patterns shown in Figures 7.1 through 7.4 are visible here, with some important exceptions.

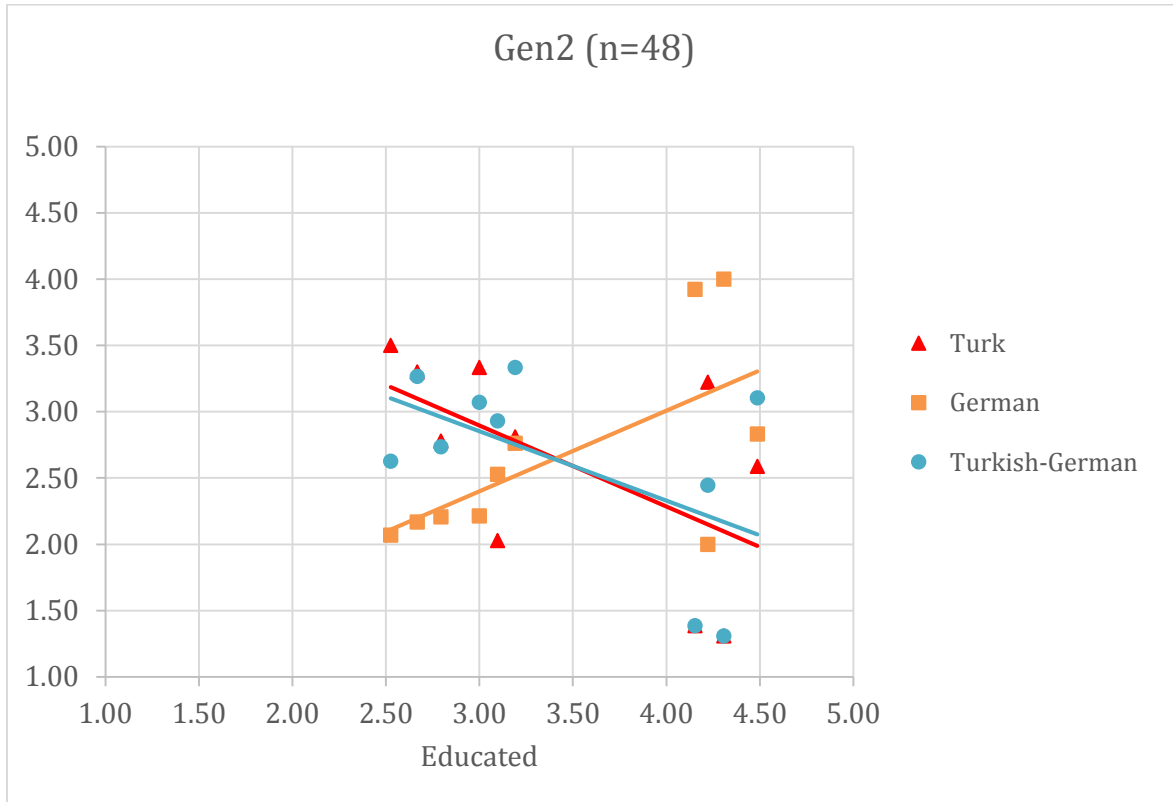


Figure 7.10 ‘Turk’ by ‘educated’ for respondents born between 1970 and 1984

Table 7.13 ‘Turk’ by ‘educated’ for respondents born between 1970 and 1984

Character	Markus	Lotte	Seref	Cahit	Yeter	Ali	Selma	Sibel	Yilmaz	Nejat
Educated	4.31	4.15	3.00	3.10	2.79	2.53	4.22	3.19	2.67	4.49
Turk	1.31	1.38	3.33	2.03	2.78	3.50	3.22	2.81	3.30	2.59
Turkish - German	1.31	1.38	3.07	2.93	2.74	2.63	2.44	3.33	3.27	3.11
German	4.00	3.92	2.21	2.53	2.21	2.07	2.00	2.76	2.17	2.83

The youngest and oldest respondents seem to use less of a range for their ratings of Turkish-Germanness: no character scored very high or very low on that scale. The average Turkish-German ratings by Gen3 respondents range from 2.00 (Markus) to 3.30 (Nejat), and the average ratings for Gen1 are all very low, ranging from 1.00 (Markus and Lotte) to 2.72 (Yilmaz). In contrast, the middle age group used a wider range of scores for this variable: the lowest score for a character was 1.31 (Markus) and the highest was 3.33 (Sibel).

The scores for Turkish-Germanness given by the middle age group are almost identical to the scores for Turkishness: in other words the characters who are very "Turkish" are also very "Turkish-German", and both characteristics correlate negatively with perceived level of education. In contrast, the blue lines in Figures 7.9 and 7.11 representing the scores for 'Turkish-Germanness' by 'educated' given by younger and older participants are almost flat. This means that for younger and older respondents, a character who is rated highly for 'Turkish-Germanness' is almost equally as likely to be given a high rating for education as one who rates low for the bilingual identity.

Another difference between the generations can be seen in their treatment of the character Selma. The middle age group rated Selma, the only monolingual Turk, the lowest for "Germanness". While this rating seems completely predictable, it stands out as they were the only age group to do so. The younger generation rated Seref, and Ali less German than Selma and gave Yilmaz the same score as her. Generation 1 rated Yeter, Ali, and even Nejat as less German than Selma.

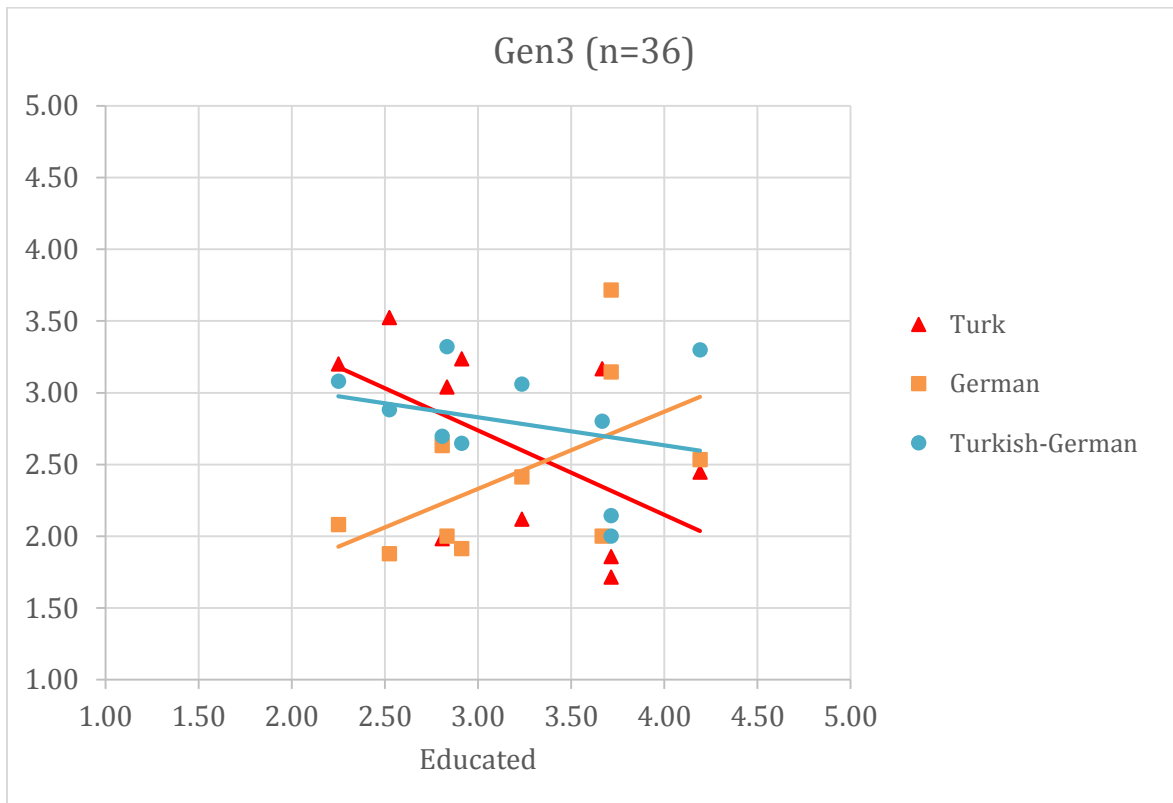


Figure 7.11 'Turk' by 'educated' for respondents born after 1984

Table 7.14 'Turk' by 'educated' for respondents born after 1984

Character	Markus	Lotte	Seref	Cahit	Yeter	Ali	Selma	Sibel	Yilmaz	Nejat
Educated	3.71	3.71	2.91	2.81	2.25	2.52	3.67	3.24	2.83	4.19
Turk	1.71	1.86	3.24	1.98	3.20	3.52	3.17	2.12	3.04	2.45
Turkish-German	2.00	2.14	2.65	2.70	3.08	2.88	2.80	3.06	3.32	3.30
German	3.71	3.14	1.91	2.63	2.08	1.88	2.00	2.41	2.00	2.53

7.3 Conclusion

The research questions and hypotheses are reproduced below:

RQ 1) How does the language a *character* speaks affect the perception of the character?

H1) German-speaking characters will be rated more “German”, Turkish-speaking characters will be rated more “Turkish”, and code-mixing characters will be rated more “Turkish-German.”

H2) Characters who combine languages will be evaluated negatively in terms of overt prestige.

As predicted, the German-speaking characters were rated highly for “Germanness” and all monolingual characters were rated low for “Turkish-Germanness.” However, the Turkish-speaker (Selma) was not rated highly for “Turkishness”. While the hypotheses were framed based on literature about attitudes towards the Turkish-German community (Depperman, 2007) and literature demonstrating the stigmatization of language mixing in other communities (Zentella, 1982; Gibbons, 1983), it appears that the category of “Turkish-German” indexes attributes similar to those of the category “Turkish”, at least for participants in this survey. Specifically, the negative correlations of “Turkishness” and “Turkish-Germanness” with “educated” for German, Turkish, and Turkish-German respondents are very similar, while “Germanness” displays a positive correlation with “educated.”

It appears that the concepts of “Turkishness” and “Turkish-Germanness” are complicated and interrelated. The equal treatment of Turks and Turkish-Germans by monolingual German participants is not very surprising, given that immigrants to Germany are often considered “Turkish” even after 2 or 3 generations. It is more surprising that monolingual Turkish participants display the same patterns of responses. The Turkish-German community is also stigmatized in Turkey, but they are not viewed as part of the Turkish community. It may be that, especially in the case of Selma, participants are accessing ideas of “Westernness” and “modernity”, which are held in opposition to the category of “Turkishness.” As found in Gibbon’s (1983) study in Hong Kong, speaking English can index an orientation towards Western culture. While Turkey is a very different location than Hong Kong, the category of “Westernness” is also a very salient one in Istanbul, being even more in the forefront of national dialogue in recent years due to debates about Turkey’s attempts to enter the European Union (see, for example, Diraor, 2009). Selma’s use of English in the survey clip, paired with her very Western style of dress, might be the reason that Turks did not respond very highly on the scale of 1 to 5 when asked if they agree with the statement “Selma is a typical Turk,” even though she was the only non-migrant Turk among the selection of characters.

RQ 2) How does the native language of a *viewer* affect their perception of a character?

H1) Turkish and German speakers will evaluate switchers negatively in terms of overt prestige.

H2) Bilingual Turkish-German speakers will:

A. evaluate switchers negatively in terms of status.

B. evaluate switchers positively in terms of solidarity.

H3) American English speakers will be unaffected by a character’s language choice.

In responses to attitudinal questions Germans and Turks were shown to have an association between Turkishness and low education, while Americans do not, or do to a lesser extent. In addition, all participant groups responded very differently to the character Yilmaz on the scale of “offensiveness.” Germans consistently rated him low on this scale while Turks rated him highly offensive. Turkish-German and American respondents rated him differently based on the clip. Americans rated him more offensive in the clip where he uses foul language and talks about going to brothels, while Turkish-Germans found him more offensive in the clip where he insults Cahit’s ability to speak Turkish.

Due to the small number of responses in each category once dividing them by participant group and film clip (see Table 7.9), it is impossible to make a strong statement about the causes of the patterns of responses. However, it is possible to speculate that the Turkish-Germans may have responded to Yilmaz the way they did due to the closeness they felt to the situation. In response to the survey questions, “Do you consider yourself German?” “Do you consider yourself Turkish?” and “Do you consider yourself Turkish-German?”, many of the bilingual participants indicated that this subject has been a source of contention for them. While they generally did not answer the questions of identity with an affirmative, several of these participants left interesting comments in the following comment boxes. A selection of these are included here, in Table 7.15. The responses show that the question of identity is a difficult one for these participants. In the first three rows subject 39 says, in answer to German identity, “I was always the Turk,” and in answer to Turkish identity, “I was always the German.” She shows here the sense that she belongs in neither place. However, in answer to Turkish-German identity, she replies, “I can count myself lucky to be able to experience both cultures. I gained a lot from it.” Comments in the following rows show similar struggles from other participants in defining who they are: subject 81 in row 5 was “raised with German culture, but... a Turk.” Subject 82 in row 8 describes being more “German” than her German friends because she wasn’t accepted as a German, and considers herself “German and Turkish” rather than “German-Turkish” (row 10). In answer to the question of Turkish identity subject 86 in row 13 says, “one should never forget their roots.” These subjects all indicate that they have had their identity questioned, whether as a German, as a Turk, or as a Turkish-German. When being presented with the character Yilmaz who judges his sister’s fiancé and says that his Turkish is not good enough, this accusation might hit close to home for bilingual and bi-cultural participants who have faced similar judgments in their own past. Thus their ratings of Yilmaz’ offensiveness in clip HO1 were especially high.

Table 7.15: Turkish-German participants' responses to questions of identity

	Subj	Gen	Birth year:	Occupation	Question	Comment
1	39	f	1975	hotel professional	German identity	I was always the Turk
2	39	f	1975	hotel professional	Turkish identity	I was always the German
3	39	f	1975	hotel professional	TG identity	I can count myself lucky to be able to experience both cultures. I gained a lot from it
4	76	f	1970	Childcare professional	German identity	I'm a Turkish German
5	81	f	1972	teacher	German identity	I consider myself raised with German culture, but I'm a Turk
6	81	f	1972	teacher	Turkish identity	I grew up with many cultures, nationalism is not for me
7	81	f	1972	teacher	TG identity	difficult question my ties with Germany and the German language still continue
8	82	f	1985	Doctoral student	German identity	This question has occupied me for a long time. Since I have a migration background, I was never accepted as a German in Germany, despite my German citizenship. That led to the fact that, by now, I am a lot more "German" than my ethnically German friends. It's things like hard work, punctuality, efficiency. That has nothing to do with typical German virtues, but rather with the fact that I wanted to be recognized as German in Germany. Now I see it a little more loosely. (see below)
9	82	f	1985	Doctoral student	Turkish identity	Yes, there are situations where I'm stereotypically Turkish, for example in the car I behave like typical Turks: loud Turkish music, I drive a big car, etc. I have developed a taste for gold and since that is related to my dissertation topic, I speak often, gladly, and alot about Atatürk, the Ottoman Empire, etc.
10	82	f	1985	Doctoral student	TG identity	I don't consider myself German-Turkish, but rather German and Turkish. It depends on the situation. Thus, I can be very Turkish, but also very German. While I used to try to be more German, I see it more loosely now. I switch back and forth between different identities. Sometimes that confuses people a little, but I don't care :-D
11	86	f	1979	employee	Turkish identity	One should never forget their roots..
12	97	f	1991	Student	German identity	I am a Turk who grew up in Germany and is partially marked by German culture

8 Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the survey results in light of the results of the discourse analysis and linguistic analysis of the film dialogue. Connections will be drawn between the analysis of the language choices of characters in the clips and the ways that survey participants respond to the characters. The discussion will relate the responses of survey participants and the analysis of the film dialogue to literature regarding Akin's films, their use of language, and their reception by the public.

8.2 Conclusions from content analysis

8.2.1 Attitudes towards Turkish and German languages

As described in section 6.3.4, the differences between the responses regarding the German language and those about Turkish show that, even before the questions about language-mixing or about the dialogue in the specific film excerpts, the two languages are evaluated differently by some participants. Firstly, more respondents could think of places where Turkish is inappropriate as compared to German. Secondly, no Germans responded that there is no place where Turkish is inappropriate, while three of them submitted comments in that category for German. This suggests that German and Turkish are evaluated differently by the survey participants. There are more respondents who give situations where Turkish is inappropriate and there is a broader range of situations in which it is said to be inappropriate. German, in contrast, appears to be perceived as acceptable in almost any context.

In addition to rating German above Turkish in terms of acceptability, responses to the clips from *The Edge of Heaven* indicate the values that each language holds for participants. While Nejat's command of German and English causes him to be viewed as more educated and successful than his father Ali, his use of German in the home is seen as disrespectful and immodest by some participants (see Table 6.2). Comments from respondents to these clips also associated German with power and business, while Turkish was "warmer" and associated with family values (Table 6.1).

In contrast to the responses from German respondents and Turkish respondents, there were very few responses to the questions of language (in)appropriateness from native Turkish-German bilinguals. This suggests that, before bringing up issues of language-mixing, bilinguals see the languages German and Turkish as equally appropriate in all situations. They value each language separately, but as discussed in the next section, bilinguals have more to say about Turkish-German mixing.

8.2.2 Attitudes towards Turkish-German mixing

As described in section 6.3.5, members of the monolingual German and monolingual Turkish participant groups gave very few negative evaluations of Turkish-German language-mixing. Proportionately, members of the bilingual Turkish-German group gave many more negative evaluations of language-mixing. Thus, bilingual respondents to the survey displayed a strong tendency to evaluate language mixing negatively. These respondents, while self-identifying as part of the Turkish-German community, are exhibiting linguistic insecurity about their community's language.

The responses in this category are very similar to the communicative practices of the "European Turks" as described by Keim (2002). This group of second-generation Turks in Germany valued speaking both German and Turkish separately, but negatively evaluated

Turkish-German mixing (p. 288). However, similarly to the Turkish-German participants in the present study, these same subjects were found to mix languages themselves in informal contexts.

8.3 Conclusions from survey: quantitative analysis

In responses to the Likert-scale attitudinal questions about characters in the films as discussed in Chapter 7, monolingual German and monolingual Turkish participants were shown to have an association between Turkishness and low education. The downward slope of the trendline for average ratings of ‘Turk’ by ‘educated’ was even steeper in the graph of responses from bilinguals than in those for the native German and Turkish respondents, and the upward slope of the one for ‘German’ by ‘educated’ was a little less steep. The Turkish-German respondents seem to be correlating ‘Turkishness’ with a lack of education even more strongly than are the Germans and Turks.

Participants in the Turkish-German subject group displayed a different pattern of responses to attitudinal questions about the performed ethnic identity of the film characters than did the monolingual German and Turkish groups. In contrast to the overall ranking by all participants in the survey, Turkish-Germans rated Selma, the only non-German Turk, the highest rating for ‘Turkishness’. In fact, the ordering of the average ratings for ‘Turkishness’ as given by Turkish-German respondents neatly follows the ethnic category of the characters: the only Turkish character is number 1, followed by the three first-generation Turkish-Germans, then the four second-generation Turkish-Germans and, finally, the two Germans tied for last place. As opposed to the German and Turkish groups of respondents, the Turkish-German participants did not treat “Turkishness” and “Turkish-Germanness” as indexing the same attributes. Respondents in this group evidently have more experience interacting with individuals from each of these linguistic groups and are possibly accustomed to placing interlocutors somewhere along a continuum of this type.

The responses by generation were primarily differentiated by their ratings of “Turkish-Germanness”. The scores for Turkish-Germanness given by the middle age group, shown in section 7.2.4, were almost identical to the scores for Turkishness: in other words the characters who are very "Turkish" are also very "Turkish-German", and both characteristics correlate negatively with perceived level of education. In contrast, the trendline representing average scores for ‘Turkish-Germanness’ by ‘educated’ given by younger and older participants were almost flat. This means that for younger and older respondents, a character who is rated highly for ‘Turkish-Germanness’ is almost equally as likely to be given a high rating for education as one who rates low for the bilingual identity.

8.4 Overall contributions:

8.4.1 Understanding of the community

One of the primary contributions of this dissertation is to the understanding of language attitudes within the Turkish-German community in Germany and attitudes towards that community from monolingual Germans in Germany and monolingual Turkish-speakers in Turkey. Due to the demographic distribution of the survey respondents, it is not possible to claim representativeness. Respondents to the survey were on average highly educated and a higher percentage were women and from the younger two age groups. However, these distributions were the same across all language groups (German, Turkish, Turkish-German, and American English) so they can at least be considered controlled for. Keeping the limitations

imposed by the demographic makeup of the participants in mind, the results of this study give evidence that bilinguals do evaluate languages and language-mixing differently than monolinguals.

The results of this study showed that bilingual Turkish-Germans evaluate Turkish-German language mixing negatively. In his study on language attitudes within a Dutch high school, Ağirdag (2010) similarly found that Dutch-Turkish bilingual students expressed negative evaluations of their own bilingualism. He explained this as *doxa of monolingualism*, which is that the hegemonic view of using only the majority language is imposed onto speakers of another language. This is a type of *standard language ideology*, as defined by Lippi-Green (2004): “a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, non-varying *spoken* language that is imposed and maintained by dominant institutions (p. 292).”

8.4.2 Representation of Turkish-German in the media

A stated goal of Akin’s in becoming a director was the desire to create more diverse roles for Turkish-German immigrants, in contrast to the stereotypical roles that he encountered when starting out as an actor (Burns, 2006). He is widely regarded to have been successful in this aim, as he does portray Turkish-German characters in a variety of roles. However, characters like Yilmaz, who are perceived negatively and are shown acting belligerent and offensive, still have a place in his films. The data in this study suggest that the characters with perceived negative attributes are still seen as more representative of “Turkish-Germanness” and even “Turkishness”. In order to create films that would be well-received by a wide audience, it can be argued that it was necessary for Akin to include representations of the Turkish-German community that would resonate with the roles that people are accustomed to seeing. However, as Lippi-Green (1997) argues in her analysis of the roles given minority voices in Disney films, continuing to assign minority characters roles with negative attributes creates and reinforces stereotypes in the minds of the viewers.

Whittier’s (2010) claim that, in Akin’s films, “Germans are portrayed as the minority on screen, while Turkish-Germans are depicted as the majority” is not supported by the responses to the survey. His statement that Turkish-Germans are considered “German” by non-minority Germans is also not supported. In responses to the survey, the ratings of characters on the scale of “Turkish-Germanness” most closely parallel those for the scale of “Turkishness”, and are in opposition to those for “Germanness”. This suggests that, for both Germans and Turks, the Turkish-German characters are still seen as “Turks” rather than “Germans.”

8.4.3 Contributions to Sociolinguistics

In addition to the contributions towards understanding of the Turkish-German immigrant community, this dissertation contributes to the field of Sociolinguistics and language attitudes studies. As found in Zentella (1982), Gibbons (1983), Keim (2002) and Ağirdag (2010), bilinguals in this study openly evaluate language mixing negatively, but they admit to mixing languages themselves in information conversations. The study also adds to the so far small number of Sociolinguistic studies done using popular media (Androtsopoulos, 2001; Auer, 2003; Lippi-Green, 2007; Bilaniuk, 2010; Sifianou & Bayraktaroglu, 2012) and offers argument in favor of using clips from popular media as stimuli for research on language attitudes.

Several aspects of the methodology described in this dissertation will be useful for future Sociolinguistic research on language attitudes. The design of the survey that was distributed and collected completely online had several benefits. One was in the ability to reach respondent

pools from various locations in multiple countries without necessitating expensive and time-consuming field work. Another advantage to basing the survey online was the ability to embed online media in order to expose participants to film clips immediately before answering questions about the characters within the clips.

The methodology of presenting survey participants with film clips in controlled orderings aided in attempting to pull apart reactions to language and to other parts of the story. This came out most strikingly in reactions to Yilmaz, where different groups rated him differently on the scale of offensiveness depending on the clip they saw (section 7.2.2). Because of the different content of the two clips featuring this character, it was possible to see which character attributes the different groups of respondents were responding to. Germans consistently gave Yilmaz a low rating and Turks gave him a high rating for offensiveness, regardless of the clip they were shown. Only Americans and Turkish-Germans seemed to be greatly affected by the clip, and they patterned in opposite directions. Americans gave him a higher rating for offensiveness after seeing clip HO 2, suggesting that Americans found his use of obscenities more offensive than his attack on Cahit's language ability. Turkish-Germans, on the other hand, gave him a higher rating in HO 1, suggesting that they were more offended by his critique of Cahit's use of Turkish than his swearing. As discussed in section 7.3, it is possible to speculate that the Turkish-Germans may have responded to Yilmaz the way they did due to the closeness they felt to the situation. Bilingual Turkish-Germans have often had their identity questioned, and Yilmaz' accusations that Cahit's Turkish is not good enough might hit close to home for bilingual and bi-cultural participants who have faced similar judgments in their own past.

A functional framework for code-mixing such as Auer's (1995) model is necessary for the analysis of attitudes towards bilingual speech. The conversational approach to analyzing language mixing (Section 6.2) allows for concentration on the social and pragmatic reasons behind switches and how the choice of one language over another is perceived by members of the community and of the surrounding communities. This analysis aided in the interpretation of responses to the survey, both in the content analysis of open-ended responses and in interpretation of the patterns of responses to the Likert-scale questions.

Finally, the results of this dissertation highlight the importance of contextualizing the community of interest in an analysis of language attitudes, specifically in a bilingual setting. It might be expected that bilingual speakers would hold the same attitudes expressed by each group of monolingual speakers of the speech communities they are surrounded by. However, as seen in the results discussed in Chapters 7 and 8, bilingual views are not "the sum of the parts" of monolingual views towards language. Specifically, monolinguals of both German- and Turkish-speaking communities evaluated German more highly, while bilinguals did not display a preference towards one language or another. On the other hand, monolinguals did not express many negative evaluations of language-mixing, while bilinguals did. In addition, bilinguals were more sensitive to the different contexts in which the character Yilmaz was portrayed, while monolingual Turks and German evaluated him the same across contexts.

Future research on language attitudes in bilingual communities will need to take these issues into consideration. Research on language attitudes in immigrant communities around the globe would benefit from the inclusion of participants from respondent pools representing the monolingual speech communities surrounding the bilingual one and from a control group of respondents who are unfamiliar with both of the languages involved.

Appendices

Appendix A: Questionnaire

Note: This survey makes use of skip logic, so that participants were not all presented all questions.

To be eligible to complete this survey, you must be a **native speaker of English** who is at least **18 years old**. Speaking a language **natively** means that you **spoke** that language **regularly in your home growing up** and that you learned the language **before reaching adolescence**. If you are bilingual or multilingual, you are eligible to complete this survey provided that English is one of the languages you speak natively.

If you leave this survey without submitting your answers, your answers will not be recorded. You should complete the survey in one sitting. **The entire survey will take about 45 minutes.**

If you have any questions, you can contact the researcher, Wendy Kempzell Jacinto, at kempzell@u.washington.edu. Please note that I cannot guarantee the confidentiality of information sent via email.

This survey involves viewing video clips. The survey must be completed in one sitting. Please take the survey in a location where that will not be a problem (i.e. not a public space) and on a computer or other device that enables videos.

Clicking "Next" will take you to the online consent form for this study.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON INFORMATION STATEMENT German-Turkish movies

Researcher: Wendy Jacinto, Graduate Student, Dept. of Linguistics, University of Washington

Researcher Email*: kempsell@uw.edu Researcher Phone: 971-222-8390

*Please note that I cannot guarantee the confidentiality of information sent by email.

Researcher's Statement

I am asking you to be in a research study. The purpose of this consent form is to give you the information you will need to help you decide whether or not to be in the study. Please read the form carefully. You may ask questions about the purpose of the research, what I would ask you to do, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a volunteer, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear by emailing kempsell@u.washington.edu. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called “informed consent.” You can print a copy of this form for your records.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This is a study on language attitudes. The purpose of this study is to learn about viewers' opinions about the characters in popular films in which German, Turkish, and bilingual German-Turkish are spoken.

STUDY PROCEDURES

If you choose to take part in this study, you will be asked to fill out a survey asking about your perceptions of the German, Turkish, and bilingual German-Turkish spoken in popular films. **The entire survey will take about 45 minutes.**

Part 1: This part of the survey will ask you some questions about yourself, including questions about your age, ethnicity, and sex. You will also be asked about your education, occupation, residence history, and language experience. These questions are the most sensitive questions you will be asked in this survey.

Part 2: In this part of the survey, you will be asked to watch a selection of short clips from German-Turkish movies and answer a series of questions about your opinions about the clips and the characters portrayed in the films. For example, you will be asked to rate the characters on scales of friendliness and level of education.

RISKS, STRESS, OR DISCOMFORT

Some people feel that providing information for research is an invasion of privacy. Some of the clips contain obscenities and sexually explicit language. Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may leave the study at any time by exiting the survey.

BENEFITS OF THE STUDY

You may not directly benefit from taking part in this study. However, I hope the results of the study will allow me to learn more about perceptions of the German, Turkish, and bilingual German-Turkish spoken in popular films.

OTHER INFORMATION

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You can refuse to participate or stop participating at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Information about you is confidential. I will not ask you for your name, address, or any other identifying information.

Subject's Statement

This study has been explained to me. I volunteer to take part in this research. I have had a chance to ask questions. If I have questions later on about the research I can contact the investigator listed above. If I have questions about my rights as a research subject, I can call the University of Washington Human Subjects Division at (206) 543-0098. I can print a copy of this form for my records.

Question 1.

- | | | Logic destinations |
|-----------------------|---|----------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> | I agree to participate in this survey. | ➔ Don't skip (default) |
| <input type="radio"/> | I do not agree to participate in this survey. | ➔ Thank-you for your time. |
| | <i>No response</i> | ➔ Thank-you for your time. |

The following questions are intended to provide background information regarding the individuals who take the survey. This will enable me to more easily compare the responses in the study. Any information you provide is voluntary. You may choose to not answer any question, but your responses will be most helpful if you answer the questions as fully as possible. Some of the questions may seem odd, but I do need this information.

Question 2.

Gender:

- Male
 Female

Question 3.

Birth year:

<input checked="" type="radio"/>	Select	<input type="radio"/>	1938	<input type="radio"/>	1967
<input type="radio"/>	one...	<input type="radio"/>	1939	<input type="radio"/>	1968
<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>	1940	<input type="radio"/>	1969
<input type="radio"/>	1912	<input type="radio"/>	1941	<input type="radio"/>	1970
<input type="radio"/>	1913	<input type="radio"/>	1942	<input type="radio"/>	1971
<input type="radio"/>	1914	<input type="radio"/>	1943	<input type="radio"/>	1972
<input type="radio"/>	1915	<input type="radio"/>	1944	<input type="radio"/>	1973
<input type="radio"/>	1916	<input type="radio"/>	1945	<input type="radio"/>	1974
<input type="radio"/>	1917	<input type="radio"/>	1946	<input type="radio"/>	1975
<input type="radio"/>	1918	<input type="radio"/>	1947	<input type="radio"/>	1976
<input type="radio"/>	1919	<input type="radio"/>	1948	<input type="radio"/>	1977
<input type="radio"/>	1920	<input type="radio"/>	1949	<input type="radio"/>	1978
<input type="radio"/>	1921	<input type="radio"/>	1950	<input type="radio"/>	1979
<input type="radio"/>	1922	<input type="radio"/>	1951	<input type="radio"/>	1980
<input type="radio"/>	1923	<input type="radio"/>	1952	<input type="radio"/>	1981
<input type="radio"/>	1924	<input type="radio"/>	1953	<input type="radio"/>	1982
<input type="radio"/>	1925	<input type="radio"/>	1954	<input type="radio"/>	1983
<input type="radio"/>	1926	<input type="radio"/>	1955	<input type="radio"/>	1984
<input type="radio"/>	1927	<input type="radio"/>	1956	<input type="radio"/>	1985
<input type="radio"/>	1928	<input type="radio"/>	1957	<input type="radio"/>	1986
<input type="radio"/>	1929	<input type="radio"/>	1958	<input type="radio"/>	1987
<input type="radio"/>	1930	<input type="radio"/>	1959	<input type="radio"/>	1988
<input type="radio"/>	1931	<input type="radio"/>	1960	<input type="radio"/>	1989
<input type="radio"/>	1932	<input type="radio"/>	1961	<input type="radio"/>	1990
<input type="radio"/>	1933	<input type="radio"/>	1962	<input type="radio"/>	1991
<input type="radio"/>	1934	<input type="radio"/>	1963	<input type="radio"/>	1992
<input type="radio"/>	1935	<input type="radio"/>	1964	<input type="radio"/>	1993
<input type="radio"/>	1936	<input type="radio"/>	1965	<input type="radio"/>	1994
<input type="radio"/>	1937	<input type="radio"/>	1966	<input type="radio"/>	1995

Question 4.

What is your Occupation? (For example, teacher, waiter/waitress, lawyer, student.)

If you are retired, please include your former occupation.

Question 5.

What is your ethnicity?

Question 6.

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Elementary School
- Junior High or Middle School
- Some High School
- High School Diploma
- Trade School
- College Degree
- Some Graduate School
- Graduate Degree
- Other:

Question 7.

Where were you born? (Please list the city and country.)

Question 8.

Please describe the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood where you were born or grew up.

Question 9.

Which languages are spoken in the city or neighborhood where you were born?

Question 10.

Where do you live now (If different from where you were born)? (Please list the city and country.)

Question 11.

How long have you lived here?

Question 12.

Please describe the ethnic makeup of your city or neighborhood.

Question 13.

Which languages are spoken in your city or neighborhood?

Question 14.

Please list all the cities in which you have lived and your age while living there.

The following questions are regarding your use of **English**.

Question 15.

At which age did you start hearing English?

- Select one...
- Birth
- 1-7
- 8-12
- 13-19
- 20+


Question 16.

For how many years have you regularly used English?

- Select one...
- 0-1 years
- 2-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11+ years
- Lifetime

Question 17.

In which context(s) do you hear and/or speak English? (Please select all that apply.)

- Classroom
 - Study abroad
 - Spoken with friends
 - Used for work
 - Spoken with family
 - Other: 
-

Question 18.

Do you speak **German**?

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Yes | ➔ | Logic destinations |
| <input type="radio"/> No | ➔ | Don't skip (default) |
| <i>No response</i> | ➔ | Question 25: Do you speak Turkish? |
| | | Question 25: Do you speak Turkish? |
-

The following questions are regarding your use of **German**.

Question 19.

At which age did you start hearing German?

- Select one...
- Birth
- 1-7
- 8-12
- 13-19
- 20+

Question 20.

For how many years have you regularly used German?

- Select one...
- 0-1 years
- 2-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11+ years
- Lifetime

Please answer the following questions according to the scale below:

1= not at all

2= not well

3= well

4= very well

Question 21.

How well do you speak German?

How well can you read in German?

How well can you write in German?

- 1 (not at all)
- 2
- 3
- 4 (very well)

Question 22.

In what contexts do you **speak** German? (i.e. at home, at school, at place of worship, with friends)

Question 23.

In what contexts do you **hear** German? (i.e. at home, at school, at place of worship, while watching TV)

Question 24.

In what contexts, if any, is it **not** appropriate to use German?

Logic destination

Question 32: Do you speak Turkish?

Question 25.

Do you speak **Turkish**?

- | | | Logic destinations | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--|
| <input type="radio"/> | Yes | ➔ | Don't skip (default) |
| <input type="radio"/> | No | ➔ | Question 46: Do you speak any other languages? |
| | <i>No response</i> | ➔ | Question 46: Do you speak any other languages? |
-

The following questions are in regards to your use of **Turkish**.

Question 26.

At which age did you start hearing Turkish?

- Select one...
- Birth
- 1-7
- 8-12
- 13-19
- 20+

Question 27.

For how many years have you regularly used Turkish?

- Select one...
- 0-1 years
- 2-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11+ years
- Lifetime

Question 28.

Please answer the following questions according to the scale below:

1= not at all

2= not well

3= well

4= very well

How well do you speak Turkish?

How well can you read in Turkish?

How well can you write in Turkish?

- 1 (not at all)
- 2
- 3
- 4 (very well)

Question 29.

In what contexts do you **speak** Turkish? (i.e. at home, at school, at place of worship)

Question 30.

In what contexts do you **hear** Turkish?

Question 31.

In what contexts, if any, is it **not** appropriate to use Turkish?

Logic destination

Question 46: Do you speak any other languages?

Question 32.

Do you speak **Turkish**?

- | | | Logic destinations | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--|
| <input type="radio"/> | Yes | ➔ | Don't skip (default) |
| <input type="radio"/> | No | ➔ | Question 46: Do you speak any other languages? |
| | <i>No response</i> | ➔ | Question 46: Do you speak any other languages? |
-

The following questions are in regards to your use of **Turkish**.

Question 33.

At which age did you start hearing Turkish?

- Select one...
- Birth
- 1-7
- 8-12
- 13-19
- 20+

Question 34.

For how many years have you regularly used Turkish?

- Select one...
- 0-1 years
- 2-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11+ years
- Lifetime

Question 35.

Please answer the following questions according to the scale below:

1= not at all

2= not well

3= well

4= very well

How well do you speak Turkish?

How well can you read in Turkish?

How well can you write in Turkish?

- 1 (not at all)
- 2
- 3
- 4 (very well)

Question 36.

In what contexts do you **speak** Turkish? (i.e. at home, at school, at place of worship)

Question 37.

In what contexts do you **hear** Turkish?

Question 38.

In what contexts, if any, is it **not** appropriate to use Turkish?

Question 39.

Overall, in which language can you express yourself better?

- Turkish
- German
- I feel I can express myself equally well in both languages.

Question 40.

How comfortable are you using a mixture of German and Turkish? Please explain.

Question 41.

How do you feel about **other people** using a mixture of German and Turkish?

Question 42.

Were any of your years in school taught only in German?

- Logic destinations**
- Yes ➔ Don't skip (default)
- No ➔ Question 44: Were any of your years in s...
- No response* ➔ Question 44: Were any of your years in s...
-

Question 43.

Please check all the grade levels that were taught only in German (this questionnaire is being used in multiple countries: not all responses will apply to your school system):

K
1
2
3
4

5
6
7
8
9

10
11
12
13
Other:

Question 44.

Were any of your years in school taught only in Turkish?

- Logic destinations**
- Yes ➔ Don't skip (default)
- No ➔ Question 46: Do you speak any other languages?
- No response* ➔ Question 46: Do you speak any other languages?
-

Question 45.

Please check all the grade levels that were taught only in Turkish (this questionnaire is being used in multiple countries: not all responses will apply to your school system):

K
1
2
3
4

5
6
7
8
9

10
11
12
13
Other:

Question 46.

Do you speak any other languages?

- Logic destinations**
- No ➔ Question 60: Consider the people you spe...
- Yes, I speak one other language. ➔ Don't skip (default)
- Yes, I speak two or more other languages. ➔ Please provide details abou...
- No response* ➔ Question 60: Consider the people you spe...

Please provide details about the other language you speak.

Question 47.

Language:

Question 48.

At which age did you start hearing this language?

- Select one...
- Birth
- 1-7
- 8-12
- 13-19
- 20+


Question 49.

For how many years have you regularly used this language?

- Select one...
- 0-1 years
- 2-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11+ years
- Lifetime

Question 50.

In which context(s) do you hear and/or speak this language? (Please select all that apply.)

- Classroom
 - Study abroad
 - Spoken with friends
 - Used for work
 - Spoken with family
 - Other:
-  Logic destination

Question 60: Consider the people you spe...

Please provide details about the other languages you speak.

Question 51.

Language:

Question 52.

At which age did you start hearing this language?

- Select one...
- Birth
- 1-7
- 8-12
- 13-19
- 20+


Question 53.

For how many years have you regularly used this language?

- Select one...
- 0-1 years
- 2-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11+ years
- Lifetime

Question 54.

In which context(s) do you hear and/or speak this language? (Please select all that apply.)

- Classroom
 - Study abroad
 - Spoken with friends
 - Used for work
 - Spoken with family
 - Other:
- 

Question 55.

Language:

Question 56.

At which age did you start hearing this language?

- Select one...
- Birth
- 1-7
- 8-12
- 13-19
- 20+


Question 57.

For how many years have you regularly used this language?

- Select one...
- 0-1 years
- 2-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11+ years
- Lifetime

Question 58.

In which context(s) do you hear and/or speak this language? (Please select all that apply.)

- Classroom
- Study abroad
- Spoken with friends
- Used for work
- Spoken with family
- Other: 

Question 59.

If you speak any other languages, please list those here as well as your age of exposure to the language, length of experience with the language, and the context in which you use the language.

Question 60.

Consider the people you spent time with growing up:

List the people you had the most contact with (for example: mother, father, grandmother, uncle, friend, family friend, etc.). For each person indicate their place of birth, language(s) they spoke with you, and how often you saw them. Please list up to 5 people you saw at least once a week.

Example:

Mother, Seattle, US, English, every day

Father, Bogota, Columbia, Spanish, every day

Grandmother, Hamburg, Germany, German and English, twice a week

Question 61.

Consider the people you spend the most time with now:

List the people you have the most contact with (for example: father, grandmother, friend, neighbor, coworker, etc.). For each person, indicate their place of birth, language(s) they speak with you, and how often you see them.

Question 62.

Do you consider yourself 'German'? If so, how important is being German to your identity?

- I don't consider myself German.
- Not at all important
- Not very important
- Somewhat important
- Very important

Question 63.

Comments:

Question 64.

Do you consider yourself 'Turkish'? If so, how important is being Turkish to your identity?

- I don't consider myself Turkish.
- Not at all important
- Not very important
- Somewhat important
- Very important

Question 65.

Comments:

Question 66.

Do you consider yourself 'German-Turkish'? If so, how important is being German-Turkish to your identity?

- I don't consider myself German-Turkish.
- Not at all important
- Not very important
- Somewhat important
- Very important

Question 67.

Comments:

Question 68.

Do you have any experience with the study of Linguistics?

- Yes
- No

Question 69.

If yes, please describe (for example; took college courses, participated in research, earned a degree):

Please click below to watch a clip from the film, "The Edge of Heaven."

Nejat and Ali

Nejat, the younger man, comes to visit his father, Ali.

Question 70.

Please rate the following statements from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

- I like this clip.
- This movie has an interesting plot.
- I would choose to watch this movie on my own.
- The storyline is realistic.
- Nejat is a good person.
- Nejat is educated.
- Nejat is a typical Turk.
- Nejat is a typical Turkish/German.
- Nejat is a typical German.
- Nejat is old-fashioned.
- Nejat is friendly.
- Nejat is intelligent.
- Nejat is attractive.
- Nejat is offensive.
- Nejat is funny.
- I could be friends with Nejat.
- The character 'Nejat' is believable/realistic.
- Ali is a good person.
- Ali is educated.
- Ali is a typical Turk.
- Ali is a typical Turkish/German.
- Ali is a typical German.
- Ali is old-fashioned.
- Ali is friendly.
- Ali is intelligent.
- Ali is attractive.
- Ali is offensive.
- Ali is funny.
- I could be friends with Ali.
- The character 'Ali' is believable/realistic.

- 1 (strongly disagree)
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 (strongly agree)

Ali is a typical Turk.
 Ali is a typical Turkish/German.
 Ali is a typical German.
 Ali is old-fashioned.
 Ali is friendly.
 Ali is intelligent.
 Ali is attractive.
 Ali is offensive.
 Ali is funny.
 I could be friends with Ali.
 The character 'Ali' is believable/realistic.
 Yeter is a good person.
 Yeter is educated.
 Yeter is a typical Turk.
 Yeter is a typical Turkish/German.
 Yeter is a typical German.
 Yeter is old-fashioned.
 Yeter is friendly.
 Yeter is intelligent.
 Yeter is attractive.
 Yeter is offensive.
 Yeter is funny.
 I could be friends with Yeter.
 The character 'Yeter' is believable/realistic.

- 1 (strongly disagree)
 2
 3
 4
 5 (strongly agree)

Question 74.

How did you feel during the following dialogue?

YETER Hat er dir nichts erzählt? Ben bir hayat kadınıyım.
 [Hasn't he told you? I'm a lady of easy virtue.]

NEJAT Hayat kadını... ne demek?
 [What does that mean?]

YETER Hure. Bildiğin, orospu işte. Gute Nacht.
 [A whore. A hooker, if you like. Good night.]

Question 75.

Did you notice anything interesting about language use in this clip?

Please click below to watch a clip from the film, "The Edge of Heaven."

Nejat at German bookstore as customer

Nejat, in Istanbul with his cousin, stops to look at a German bookstore and talks to the owner, Markus.

Question 76.

Please rate the following statements from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Some of the statements will seem repetitive but every response is helpful.

- I like this clip.
 - Nejat is a good person.
 - Nejat is educated.
 - Nejat is a typical Turk.
 - Nejat is a typical Turkish/German.
 - Nejat is a typical German.
 - Nejat is old-fashioned.
 - Nejat is friendly.
 - Nejat is intelligent.
 - Nejat is attractive.
 - Nejat is offensive.
 - Nejat is funny.
 - I could be friends with Nejat.
 - The character 'Nejat' is believable/realistic.
 - Markus is a good person.
 - Markus is educated.
 - Markus is a typical Turk.
 - Markus is a typical Turkish/German.
 - Markus is a typical German.
 - Markus is old-fashioned.
 - Markus is friendly.
 - Markus is intelligent.
 - Markus is attractive.
 - Markus is offensive.
 - Markus is funny.
 - I could be friends with Markus.
 - The character 'Markus' is believable/realistic.
- 1 (strongly disagree)
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 (strongly agree)

Question 77.

How did you feel when the Markus asked Nejat, "Möchten Sie einen çay?"
[Would you like a çay?]

Question 78.

Did you notice anything interesting about language use in this clip?

Please click below to watch a clip from the film, "The Edge of Heaven."

Nejat at bookstore as owner

Nejat, now the owner of the German bookstore in Istanbul, helps out Lotte, a visitor from Germany.

Question 79.

Please rate the following statements from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Some of the statements will seem repetitive but every response is helpful.

- I like this clip.
- Nejat is a good person.
- Nejat is educated.
- Nejat is a typical Turk.
- Nejat is a typical Turkish/German.
- Nejat is a typical German.
- Nejat is old-fashioned.
- Nejat is friendly.
- Nejat is intelligent.
- Nejat is attractive.
- Nejat is offensive.
- Nejat is funny.
- I could be friends with Nejat.
- The character 'Nejat' is believable/realistic.
- Lotte is a good person.
- Lotte is educated.
- Lotte is a typical Turk.
- Lotte is a typical Turkish/German.
- Lotte is a typical German.
- Lotte is old-fashioned.
- Lotte is friendly.
- Lotte is intelligent.
- Lotte is attractive.
- Lotte is offensive.
- Lotte is funny.

I could be friends with Lotte.
The character 'Lotte' is believable/realistic.

- 1 (strongly disagree)
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 (strongly agree)

Question 80.

How did you feel when Nejat asked Lotte, "Möchten Sie einen Tee?"
[Would you like a glass of tea?]

Question 81.

Did you notice anything interesting about language use in this clip?

Question 82.

This movie was directed by Fatih Akin. Before taking this survey, did you know of Akin?

- | Logic destinations | | |
|---------------------------|-------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> | Yes | → Don't skip (default) |
| <input type="radio"/> | No | → Question 85: Before taking this survey, ... |
| <input type="radio"/> | No response | → Question 85: Before taking this survey, ... |

Question 83.

Do you like his work?

- Yes
- No

Question 84.

Why or why not?


Question 85.

Before taking this survey, were you aware of the movie, "The Edge of Heaven?"

- | Logic destinations | | |
|---------------------------|-------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> | Yes | → Don't skip (default) |
| <input type="radio"/> | No | → Question 89: Did you recognize any of th... |
| <input type="radio"/> | No response | → Question 89: Did you recognize any of th... |
-

Question 86.

Before taking this survey, had you seen the movie, "The Edge of Heaven?"

- | | | Logic destinations | |
|---|-------------|---------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> | Yes | ➔ | Don't skip (default) |
| <input type="radio"/> | No | ➔ | Question 89: Did you recognize any of th... |
|  | No response | ➔ | Question 89: Did you recognize any of th... |
-

Question 87.

Did you like the movie?

- | | |
|---|--------|
| <input type="radio"/> | Yes |
| <input type="radio"/> | No |
|  | Other: |

Question 88.

Why or why not?

Question 89.

Did you recognize any of the actors in the clips? If so, which actor(s) did you recognize? Do you like or dislike the actor(s)? Why?

- | | |
|---|------|
| <input type="radio"/> | No |
|  | Yes: |

Logic destination

Thank you for taking this s...

Thank-you for your time.

Logic destination

End of Survey

Thank you for taking this survey. If you have any additional comments, please feel free to provide them in the box below. You can also contact the researcher, Wendy Jacinto, at kempsell@u.washington.edu.

Please be sure to click "Submit responses" at the bottom of this page so that your answers will be recorded.

Question 90.

Comments:

Appendix B: *The Edge of Heaven* transcript.

All text for the clips is a reproduction of the subtitles in the English-language release of the film. The text in italics indicates that German was spoken, and underline indicates Turkish. The actual subtitles contained no indication.

Clip EH 1: Yeter meets Ali

Clip intro:

Ali is the man walking at the beginning of the clip. Yeter is the woman he meets.

English subtitles	<i>German Turkish</i>
-------------------	-----------------------

YETER

Hello.

ALI

Hello.

YETER

It's 50 euros for half an hour.

ALI

What's your name?

YETER

Jessy.

ALI

Jessy, do you do French?

YETER

French, Italian, Greek. I'll do it international for you.

ALI

Bravo. Bravo.

YETER

Is music all right?

ALI

Yes, why not?

YETER

Have you got the 50 euros?

ALI

Yes.

YETER

Take your clothes off.

ALI

Yes.

Are you Turkish?

YETER

Could be...

ALI

Now I'm ashamed.

What's your name, girl?

YETER

I told you: Jessy.

ALI

And your real name?

YETER

Yeter. That's enough.

ALI

What's enough?

YETER

"Yeter" means "that's enough", right?

I'm the youngest of seven sisters. The baby of the family.

What will you have to drink?

ALI

Water. Water.

Clip EH 2: Nejat and Ali

Clip intro:

Nejat, the younger man, comes to visit his father, Ali.

English Subtitles *German* Turkish

NEJAT

Hello, Papa!

ALI
Hello, Nejat. Sit yourself down, I'm still frying the fish.

NEJAT
How are you?

ALI
Good.
And how are you?

NEJAT
Fine.
I've brought you a book.

ALI
What's it about?

NEJAT
Just read it.

ALI
Are you having some raki?

NEJAT
Sure, and you?

ALI
Of course.
I've got this Iranian friend, Mahmut.
He's given me a tip for the fourth race.

NEJAT
Which horse?

ALI
"Ofliff Sunsine."

NEJAT
"Ofliff Sunsine"?

ALI
The fifth horse in the fourth race.

NEJAT
Do you mean "Sunshine of Life"?

ALI
What does that mean?

NEJAT (First German, then Turkish)
The sun of life.

ALI
It would be nice if the sun of life would shine for us some day.

NEJAT
It's an outsider, Papa.

ALI
We'll see, shall we?

Clip EH 3: Nejat, Yeter and Ali

Clip intro: Ali has invited Yeter to live with him and introduces her to his son, Nejat, over dinner.
--

English Subtitles <i>German</i> <u>Turkish</u>
--

(The soup is delicious.)

ALI
Enjoy!

YETER
Where did you learn to cook so well?

ALI
I taught myself.
I was both mother and father to the boy. I raised him.

NEJAT / YETER
I'll do that.

YETER
You've brought him up well.

ALI
Like a girl.

NEJAT

Here you are.

ALI

It's fish cakes. You'll love them. Tuck in!

YETER

How old were you when your mother died?

ALI

He was six months.

YETER

Didn't you ever remarry?

ALI

I did. A widow with a daughter.

It didn't work out. They're long gone.

YETER

I'm a widow, too. My husband was shot in Maras in '78.

ALI

You're from Maras?

YETER

Yes.

NEJAT

More coke?

YETER

I'll get it.

ALI

Sit yourself down.

I'll fetch it!

YETER

Are you really a professor?

NEJAT

Yes.

I'll fetch the dessert.

YETER

I'll go.

ALI
No, you're a guest.

YETER
If I'm to live here, I'll have to.

NEJAT
Don't drink so much, Papa.

ALI
I'm not drinking so much.
You got me drunk deliberately!
Keep your hands off her!

NEJAT
Are you okay?

ALI
Piss off!
Yeter! Where are you, Yeter?

NEJAT
How did you two meet?

YETER
He came to me.

NEJAT
How?

YETER
Hasn't he told you?
I'm a lady of easy virtue.

NEJAT
What does that mean?

YETER
A whore. A hooker, if you like.
Good night.

Clip EH 4: Nejat at German bookstore as customer

Clip intro:

Nejat, in Istanbul with his cousin, stops to look at a German bookstore.

English Subtitles

NEJAT

Shall we have a look inside?

COUSIN

I don't understand books. Especially not in German.

I'm off to my workshop. If you need me, give me a call.

I'll take the things with me.

See you soon!

NEJAT

Good afternoon.

MARKUS

Good afternoon.

NEJAT

Is this your bookshop?

MARKUS

Yes.

Do you like it?

NEJAT

Yes,

a lot.

MARKUS

I'm glad.

My name's Markus Obermüller.

NEJAT

I'm Nejat Aksu.

MARKUS

Would you like a çay?

NEJAT

Thanks.

MARKUS

Or rather a mocha?

NEJAT
çay is fine.

MARKUS
Cengiz, can you bring us two teas, please?
Please have a seat.

NEJAT
Why do you want to sell such a lovely shop?

MARKUS
*You know...
I've been here for about ten years. And all of a sudden...
I find myself missing Germany, and the language as well,
even though I'm surrounded by it here, with all this literature.
But it's...
like a museum here. Extinct. Like Latin.
And I've been feeling...
homesick.*

NEJAT
*I understand.
How much would it cost?*

MARKUS
What was your name again?

NEJAT
Nejat Aksu.

MARKUS
What's your occupation?

NEJAT
I'm a professor of German in Germany.

MARKUS
*That would be funny, if...
A Turkish professor of German from Germany
ends up in a German bookshop in Turkey.
That fits!*

NEJAT
Yes, maybe...

Appendix C: *Head-On* transcription

All text for the clips is a reproduction of the subtitles in the English-language release of the film. The text in italics indicates that German was spoken, and underline indicates Turkish. The actual subtitles contained no indication.

Clip HO 5 Cahit and Sibel in bar

Clip intro:

In the following clip, Cahit (the male character) is walking outside when Sibel jogs up to him.

English subtitles *German* Turkish

IN THE PARK

CAHIT

You got a beer, babe?

SIBEL

If you marry me.

CAHIT

I only fuck men.

SIBEL

Really?

Y'know what? I'll get you a beer.

Be outside the clinic at midnight.

OUTSIDE THE CLINIC

CAHIT

Where's my beer?

SIBEL

Come one.

IN THE BAR

SIBEL

Where do you come from in Turkey?

CAHIT

Mersin.

SIBEL

Mersin is supposed to be nice.

CAHIT

Yeah, I know. I was born there.

SIBEL

We come from Zonguldak. Do you know Zonguldak?

CAHIT

Why do you want to die?

I asked you a question.

SIBEL

D'you think my nose is nice?

Touch it.

My brother broke it 'cause he caught me holding hands.

Now touch my tits.

You ever seen such great tits?

I want to live, Cahit. To live and to dance and to fuck!

And not just with one guy. Get it?

CAHIT

I'm not deaf!

SIBEL

You don't understand shit!

Clip HO 6 Cahit and Seref

Clip Intro:

Cahit, the main character, is talking to his friend, Seref, in a bar.

English subtitles *German* Turkish

SEREF

Have you totally lost it? Do you think you're an actor? D'you want an Oscar?

CAHIT

You don't understand. The girl's up to her neck in trouble.

SEREF

What do you care?

CAHIT

She says she'll kill herself
if I don't do it.

SEREF

The fuck she will. And you believe her?

Women are like that.

They make up stories to trap you.

You know what getting married means?

CAHIT

No, I don't.

SEREF

Problems! Look at me. I never married.

I don't owe anyone anything. And I have my peace and quiet.

CAHIT

Liar! You did get married!

SEREF

That was different! That was so I could stay here.

CAHIT

Well, it's the same thing.

SEREF

So get married, for fuck's sake! God bless you!

I'll come and dance at your wedding.

HO 1 Cahit meets Sibel's parents

Clip Intro:

Cahit, the younger man at the beginning of the clip, is going to ask Sibel's family for her hand in marriage. He has convinced his friend, Seref, to come and pretend to be his uncle.

Other characters in the scene:

Yilmaz, Sibel's brother.

Yunus, Sibel's father.

Birsen, Sibel's mother.

Sibel.

English subtitles *German* Turkish

OUTSIDE SIBEL'S HOUSE

CAHIT

Is there alcohol in the chocolates?

SEREF

No.

CAHIT

Are you sure?

SEREF

Are you pulling my leg?

CAHIT

Are you sure?

SEREF

Damn it, there's no alcohol in them!

Fuck you and your alcohol! They're more expensive with alcohol.

CAHIT

You don't need to scream at me. I was only asking.

SEREF

You've already asked a hundred times!

Which house number?

CAHIT

Eight.

SEREF

What's with you hair?

CAHIT

It's modern.

SEREF

This is a marriage proposal and you look like a fag!

They'll never give her to you like that.

What was the name again?

CAHIT

Güner.

IN THE LIVING ROOM

YUNUS

So you are...

Cahit's uncle?

SEREF

Yes, I mean... I'm his youngest uncle.

YUNUS

How many siblings are you?

SEREF

Um... hold on... there are lots...

CAHIT

Seven.

SEREF

Yes, seven.

YUNUS

My respect.

BIRSEN

You and your nephew are so similar.

SEREF

Yes, maybe.

BIRSEN

Where do your parents live?

CAHIT

My parents...
are dead.

BIRSEN

My sympathies.

SEREF

Thank you.

BIRSEN

Do you have any brothers or sisters?

CAHIT

I have a sister in Frankfurt.

BIRSEN

Do you see each other?

CAHIT
Now and then...

YILMAZ
Your Turkish sucks. What did you do with it?

CAHIT
Threw it away.

SEREF
That was just a joke.

YUNUS
There's no alcohol in those, is there?

SEREF
No, of course not.

BIRSEN
Where are you from in Turkey?

SEREF
Malatya.

CAHIT
Mersin. Mersin.

SEREF
I mean part of the family is from Mersin and part is from Malatya.
They moved from Mersin to Malatya.

BIRSEN
A scattered family!

SEREF
Yes, exactly.

BIRSEN
Thank you.

SIBEL
I hope you liked it.

YILMAZ
Where did you meet my sister?

SEREF

Well, I work in the hospital.
Cahit visits me two or three times a week.
And when he was there, he saw Sibel.
And then we decided to buy chocolates.

Yilmaz

And you're the manager of a factory?

CAHIT

Yes.
No, I'm the manager of "The Factory."
It's a venue for concerts and culture.
I'm the boss there.

YILMAZ

I'll visit sometime.

CAHIT

My pleasure.

SEREF

Thank you for your hospitality.

YUNUS

My pleasure.

SEREF

Let's get down to our reason for coming.
We have come,
God be willing,
For my nephew Cahit
to ask for the hand of your daughter Sibel.

YUNUS

Sibel!

SIBEL

Yes, Father?

YUNUS

Is your mind made up?

SIBEL

Yes, Father.

YUNUS

What can one do? When two young people have come together,
and are in love with one another,
what is left for us to say?
God bless you both.

SEREF

Thank you.
Cahit, kiss your father's hand.

YUNUS

Thank you.

HO 2 Cahit with Sibel's brother

Clip Intro:

Sibel and Cahit are on the way to visit Sibel's brother, Yilmaz. The other men in the scene are Yilmaz' friends, Sly (the bald man) and Shane.

English subtitles *German* Turkish

IN SIBEL'S CAR

CAHIT

How many heads did you wash to pay for this thing?

SIBEL

Yilmaz got it cheaper through his connections at the workshop.

CAHIT

Do I really have to come?

SIBEL

We've been married 6 months and haven't been there yet!

CAHIT

I hate all this Turkish crap!

SIBEL

Oh, please, Cahit!

CAHIT

Fuck your „*Oh, please!*“

SIBEL

Your Turkish is really improving!

AT YILMAZ' HOUSE

SHANE

Whose turn is it? Come on!

Play one or draw one, man!

How could you give your little sister to this guy?

YILMAZ

Don't interfere in our family affairs.

SLY

Hey, guys!

I was in "Pascha" last week.

There were lots of new chicks there.

Scandinavian, African...

SHANE

Any Turkish ones?

SLY

I got enough of them at home.

SHANE

Play! Your turn, man.

Hey, brother-in-law, you should come with us some time.

CAHIT

Where to?

SHANE

The brothel.

CAHIT

What would I want there?

SLY

What a question!

SHANE

What's Michael Jackson's brother called?

Siki Ceksin! (I'm gonna fuck!)

SLY

Good one!

CAHIT

Why don't you fuck your own wives?

SHANE

What did you say?

CAHIT

Why don't you fuck your own wives? It's your turn.

SHANE

*Don't ever use the word "fuck" in connection with our wives!
You understand me?*

CAHIT

What?

SHANE

Do you understand me?

SLY or YILMAZ

Calm down.

SHANE

My chair fell over.

YILMAZ

Galatasaray will win.

SLY

They're gonna lose, you know?

SHANE

*Four top players gone. No way.
What did you say before? I'll fucking smack your face in!
I'll smash your face in!*

SLY

Sit down!

HO 3 Cahit with Seref

Clip Intro:

Seref picks up Cahit who is being released from prison. Cahit wants to follow Sibel, who has moved back to Istanbul following his arrest.

English subtitles

SEREF

Do you like it?

CAHIT

It's good. Very good.

SEREF

Isn't it?

They have good kebabs here. That's why I always come here.

Cheers!

CAHIT

Cheers, Seref!

SEREF

What are you planning on doing?

CAHIT

I'm going to Istanbul.

SEREF

To Sibel?

CAHIT

Yes.

SEREF

Didn't you learn anything?

Didn't Sibel do you enough harm?

CAHIT

Without her

I'd never have made it.

SEREF

Made what?

CAHIT

I'd never have made it through.

SEREF

Alright.

Take this.

CAHIT

What is it?

SEREF

Take it.

I saved it up for you. Take it and fly to Turkey.

CAHIT

I can't.

SEREF

Go on! Take it!

CAHIT

No, I can't. I'm sorry.

SEREF

For fuck's sake! I am your uncle after all.

Or have you forgotten?

Come one. Take it and fly to Turkey.

CAHIT

Thanks.

HO 4 Cahit with Sibel's Cousin Selma

Clip Intro:

Cahit is in Istanbul looking for Sibel. He has come to ask Sibel's cousin, Selma, for help.

English subtitles Turkish unsubtitled dialogue in gray

SELMA

I like how they use the logo.

They had it at the top and large.

But in this mock-up, it's too small.

I'd like to have it big.

I don't like this font.

We have to choose one of these.

Do you have any other samples?

EMPLOYEE

There's someone here to see you.

SELMA

Who?

Could we continue this later?

DIRECTOR

Certainly.

CAHIT

Hello, Selma.

SELMA

Welcome.

CAHIT

Thank you.

SELMA

Have a seat.

CAHIT

Thank you.

SELMA

I hope you made it through alright.

CAHIT

Thanks.

SELMA

How are you?

CAHIT

Fine.

And yourself?

SELMA

As you can see...

I'm still single...

CAHIT

Could I have a glass of water?

SELMA

I apologize.

Bring the gentleman a glass of water, and a red wine for me, please.

CAHIT

This is for you.

SELMA

You shouldn't have.

CAHIT

Don't mention it.

SELMA

Thank you. Where are you staying?

CAHIT

At the "Grand Hotel London."

SELMA

A nice hotel.

CAHIT

It's not bad.

SELMA

Thank you.

CAHIT

Where is Sibel?

SELMA

She's here in Istanbul.

CAHIT

Take me to her, please.

SELMA

I can't.

CAHIT

Why not?

SELMA

She has a new life. She's happy.

She has a boyfriend. She has a daughter. She doesn't need you.

CAHIT

How do you know that? When I met Sibel first time, I was dead. I was dead even long time before I met her.

I'd lost myself.

Then she come and drop in my life. She gives me love. And she gives me power.

Do you understand that?

Do you understand that? Do you?! How strong you are, Selma? Are you strong enough to stand between me and her?

SELMA

Are you strong enough to destroy her life?

CAHIT

No.

I'm not.

Clip EH 5: Nejat at bookstore as owner

Clip intro:

Nejat, now the owner of the German bookstore in Istanbul, helps out Lotte, a visitor from Germany.

English Subtitles

LOTTE

Hello.

NEJAT

Good afternoon.

LOTTE

Do you have a notice board for people looking for accommodation?

NEJAT

Yes, up by the door.

LOTTE

Thanks.

NEJAT

You're welcome.

LOTTE

Do you have any books on the Turkish legal system?

NEJAT

Let me have a look. I'm not sure.

Amnesty International, "Turkey 2005", including political cases.

LOTTE

Can I take a look?

NEJAT

Here, feel free.

Would you like a glass of tea?

LOTTE

Yes, please.

NEJAT

Cengiz, tea for the lady and for me, please.

Are you studying law?

LOTTE

No. I studied Spanish and English.

NEJAT

See you.

I'm about to close.

LOTTE

Can I borrow this?

NEJAT

This isn't a library.

LOTTE (unsubtitled)

Okay.

NEJAT

Is this your card?

I've got a room for rent.

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