

linguistic interaction such as greeting, narrating, explaining, protesting, etc. On each of these levels, different solutions to the problem of intercultural writing are demonstrated and analysed. The result is a systematic inventory of stylistic solutions to the problem of intercultural writing which is generalizable beyond the corpus investigated. The type of results gained in the exercise, according to Hoffmann's theoretical position, can only be arrived at through a type of discourse analysis which sees language primarily as a way of acting socially and culturally.

7.1 Writing

According to general opinion, writing is secondary to speaking. Chronologically, this holds true. However, for many societies writing becomes the primary medium for the preservation of knowledge and tradition, which can then be passed on with the possibility of objective validation. Historically this usually leads to a corresponding decline of oral traditions in those societies. In this respect the recent rediscovery of oral tradition characteristically coincides with the changing position of the written word in the presence of the new media. At the same time we find attempts to secure a broader base for literature in everyday life, so that it may be used for the production and reproduction of experiences.

The distinguished feature of a 'text' is its detachment from the original context of its formation (see Ehlich, 1982). It requires its own form of language (e.g. another kind of deixis, different syntactic structures, etc.) which ensures understanding independent of the situation. In order to succeed in this, however, the author must explicitly provide points of reference in the text, which are immediately available in oral communication. The author is relieved, however, from the immediate pressure of action in everyday communication; he can plan and develop his product in complex stages. Consequently, it is to be expected that structural principles in the construction of the text are easily recognizable and that it is a self-contained entity. The linguistic devices employed should be chosen with respect to criteria such as suitability, variation and precision. The higher degree of control over the writing process increases the author's responsibility for the outcome. The characteristics of writing are therefore to be gained from the process of action. The enormous potential of textual meaning is a direct result of the dissociation of writing from (repeatable) reading.

7

Intercultural writing

A pragmatic analysis of style

Ludger Hoffmann

The conflicts involved in writing of which the previous chapter spoke are perhaps nowhere as powerful as in the case of intercultural writing. This is the name Ludger Hoffmann gives to a situation in which writer and reader belong to different cultures, involving different languages or different varieties of a language. Apart from requirements on the level of lexis and grammar, such intercultural writing also demands the command of stylistic skills. As with Enkvist's approach, Hoffmann proposes to look beyond what are traditionally-regarded stylistic 'devices', and to concentrate both on the specific actions such devices might fulfil and on the patterns of action which develop socially and historically to realize such aims.

A literary competition organized for Turkish immigrant workers in Germany provided the material for the present analysis; what Hoffmann attempts is a description and analysis of the various potential conflicts which arise out of this situation. In essence, the situation presents itself as a problem to a writer. This problem calls for a solution, and hence for a particular action. The resulting text, being grounded in two cultures simultaneously, bears witness to the unavoidable conflicts involved in the process.

A distinction is made between processes which bear on the level of expression only, i.e. the local surface form of the text, and on the level of action patterns, i.e. organized and prestructured forms of

7.2 Learning to write

Normally, a considerable amount of teaching effort is required in order to create a basic ability to write. But even then a final success is not at all secured. The reasons for this are traditionally looked for in the methods of teaching. This is obviously not the whole truth. After all, since the rules of writing differ considerably from those of speech, the command of a relevant part of standard speech is an actual prerequisite. The transfer into the medium of writing lends the speech action the character of a definite result. This fixation is only possible on the basis of an analytical relationship to the spoken language (cf. Coulmas, 1981, p. 25), such as to the phoneme and morpheme structure. On the other hand, the functionality of writing in linguistic action must be tangibly experienced. In the institution of the school, which has more a cognitive than a practical orientation, this will be taught only in a very restricted sense, e.g. through typically educational texts like the essay. Indeed, we come across the following:

- 1 illiteracy in the technical sense (to which more attention has been paid recently by public opinion and education);
- 2 illiteracy in the literary and functional sense (the lack of command of relevant types of text).

Access to writing is therefore always at risk on the grounds of institutional conditions:

- 1 Individual learning processes cannot be optimally accommodated. Teaching and learning often work against each other.
- 2 Learning and practice of communication are dissociated.
- 3 Teaching procedures for creating an analytical relationship to language are lacking.
- 4 To a great extent there is a lack of attempts to teach in detail a broad spectrum of everyday and literary types of text and their forms of realization. Instead of this, specific school types of text (of a surrogate nature) are passed on.

7.3 Writing in a second language

The teaching of foreign languages is based largely on working with texts. Often it is organized around literary models. Some types of text are introduced in this manner, at least *en passant*. But generally more attention is paid to matters of grammar than to text type or

linguistic action-patterns. Basic requirements, in the sense of technical literacy, are regularly attained in the foreign language, but it is largely up to the learner him/herself to acquire a literacy in the functional sense. The acquisition of the foreign tongue thus remains controlled by the mother-tongue for a long time. The learning process thereby tends to be completed at a fairly low level, which is reduced even more through non-use – the typical fate of school learning. Only a continuing need for communication can counteract this process.

The bridge to writing can hardly be crossed if a second language is acquired 'naturally' – as under conditions of migration. One may indeed notice that, on the whole, migrants of the first generation remain restricted to linguistic means which are strongly contextually bound. Often this is just enough for what is required to get by for work and consumption. In this way, their writing skills are of a rudimentary character (filling out forms, etc.). Their literary presence is attested only by means of reports and translations, usually provided by non-members of the culture. For second-generation migrants, however, writing is indispensable in order to fulfil their need for literary self-expression. They have not been brought into the country to work. They are there, unwanted, and counted as a burden on the schools and the employment market. They have to struggle for a place in society. Those who do not lose their courage over this, and do not succumb to the culture-shock, often have to realize that successful language acquisition is no guarantee of climbing the social ladder. However, many acquire near-native knowledge of the second language and thus master the prerequisites for more sophisticated attempts at writing.

On the whole, it can be shown that all those who can write in the second language have had an appropriate school education, which lays the foundations for a literary socialization. Members of the second generation are now represented in growing numbers. They often begin with literary writing while still at school. Therefore, an orientation towards the types of texts used in schools is to be expected.

7.4 Style

The starting point of almost all theories of style is the variability of linguistic forms of expression. What is to be said seems to be expressible in different ways. Some of these ways are seen as particularly effective (rhetorical tradition), appropriate to a norm

(prescriptive stylistics), fitting to situational requirements (functional stylistics), expressive in regard to social factors (sociolinguistic concept of register), or producing the individual aesthetic quality of a text (literary studies). Stylistic analyses are generally restricted to the registration of the various manners of occurrence of linguistic devices as constituents of style, mainly by simple quantification, comparison (characteristic/non-characteristic in relation to the norm) and abstraction to a structure (e.g. 'nominal style'). This repertoire of stylistic devices can then – as in rhetoric – be passed on with normative claims or be used for the further examination of types of text or discourse. Thus structuralist conceptions do not go beyond the establishment of a system of linguistic styles and its internal relations (syntagmatic-paradigmatic). A particular repertoire will be seen at best as a variety which is characteristic for a distinct domain of language-use or an expression of social relationships.

A pragmatic view, however, does not stop at the system of linguistic devices, but develops the system from the quality of action connected with linguistic forms. Sandig (1978), for instance, concerns herself with stylistic rules such as 'repetition', 'variation', 'deviation' as patterns of action; in relation to higher-level 'text illocution' this involves the simultaneous or additional performance of action-patterns. Rehbein (1983) applies the concept of style even more strongly to linguistic devices relating to patterns of action.² Such patterns are developed within society in order to come to terms with the needs of individuals in specific social constellations. Depending on the respective constellation in which the patterns are used, specific devices for their realization are formed. Hence they are associated with particular groups of speakers/hearers. Rehbein describes this as 'style' (1983, p. 23). Thus the collective element inherent in most concepts of style acquires a pragmatic precision. It is then possible to ascertain how large the scope for individual variation is. The constraints to such variation, however, are formed by the action-patterns, and – since we are dealing with texts – by text-types.

7.5 The corpus

The following analysis is based on a corpus of texts written in a second language. In 1982 the Institute of German as a Foreign Language (University of Munich) organized a literary competition. Foreigners were invited to write in German on the theme *Living in*

Two Languages. Publication was offered to the authors. The appeal was very successful. About 340 texts – fifty written by authors younger than eighteen – were submitted to the jury who awarded ten prizes. The literary quality, moreover, exceeded all expectations. Many texts were published in editorial form (Ackermann, 1983, 1984). I had access to the original manuscripts of Turkish authors for the purpose of the present analysis.

It was possible to approach this corpus in a number of different ways; for instance by regarding the results as different types of text – as an essay, as a report of personal experiences, as a story or as a poem. The addressee was primarily the jury, but in a sense it was also the reading public. Whether or not migrants themselves should be considered as addressees as well is not always clear. In any case, it may be clear that whoever writes interculturally in the situation described above, faces serious problems:

- 1 The writer cannot fall back on familiar patterns of action and types of text.
- 2 The writer can only presuppose that which is common to both cultures.
- 3 The text must stylistically comply with the requirements of a literary context.
- 4 The text must be intelligible to a general audience, on which, however, information is lacking.

In addition, normal writing abilities and a general command of the necessary patterns of action are prerequisites. Note, moreover, that the demands of 1, 2 and 4 may come into conflict with 3. The main question therefore to be addressed in this paper is: How are the intercultural problems of communication treated on the level of style? Underlying this question is the very possibility of intercultural writing as such. In the following, different types of solution to this problem will be demonstrated. It will be shown that it is possible to differentiate between processes which operate solely on the level of expression (section 7.6) and those relating to the level of linguistic patterns of action and text types (section 7.7).

7.6 Intercultural writing and the level of expression

Considering the linguistic level of expression, i.e. the local surface forms of the text, four different stylistic possibilities present themselves to an author writing in a foreign language. These will be called *transfer*, *mixture*, *integration* and *installation*.

7.6.1 *Transfer of stylistic devices*

Transfer³ is to be understood here as a reproduction or 'imitation' in the second language of an expression belonging to the first language by means of the linguistic repertoire of this second language (see Figure 7.1). The psychological basis of this is a generalization of conditions in the first language. Of course, sometimes a suitable expression simply may be lacking in the second language. In order for such a transfer to be successful, the same text must be produced by the substitution of similar devices of style, so that there is an equivalent on the level of meaning. Indeed there are many cases of transferability that are so obvious that they have not been noticed by any contrastive analysis. One obvious illustration of this principle of transfer may be seen in the following.⁴

Oral Yilmaz: The bilingual world

I was in town, wanted to buy something,
I met a father, right among the crowd.
He looked as though he wanted to tear at his hair,
somehow I had an oppressive feeling ...
I have a son, he said, around about fifteen.
Here he was born, here on the Saar.
He speaks very good German, one must see it,
but his knowledge of Turkish is very scarce.

(p.44)

The text-type 'poem' is signalled by the graphic layout and the characteristic amateur rhyme (in the German original). The poem

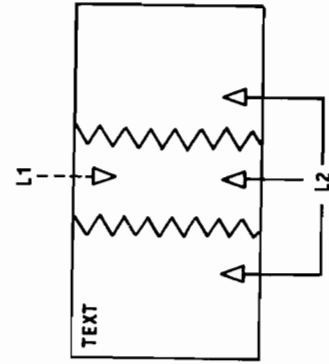


Figure 7.1 Transfer.

consists of three parts. The form is determined by the fact that in each part the 'lyrical I' meets 'a father' who describes the language problems of his son. In the first verse of each part, the father is introduced as someone who has problems, drinks, is ill, etc. This introduction of a person who can then be referred to, however, is not grammatically correct. In German, as in English, the noun 'father' demands that the corresponding relation (father of X, my father, etc.) be expressed. Therefore an introduction with an indefinite article is not acceptable. The Turkish expression 'baba' (combined with an indefinite article in complex noun phrases only), however, can be used in a much wider sense, for example in the sense of 'an elderly man'. It is possible to construct a coherent Turkish version of the text without difficulty, in which the opposition of father and son remains the central stylistic device of the poem and no deviation on semantic grounds occurs. A Western reader, unfamiliar with this, may interpret the deviation as a shortcoming due to lack of competence. It may be different for Turkish readers, though.

In the following examples the process of transfer is consciously used as a stylistic device:

Melek Baklan: Un-fairytale

We'll now let Ahmet travel from MOTHERLAND to FATHERLAND.

(p. 136)

The Turkish expressions 'anayurt' or 'anavatan' ('ana' = mother, 'yurt' and 'vatan' = home or country of origin) are brought into opposition with the German word 'Vaterland' (Fatherland). In this context the opposition has the function of irony, alluding to an intercultural contrast. Although this opposition is typographically marked, it remains incomprehensible for readers without any knowledge of Turkish; the publisher of the book therefore added a footnote with reference to 'anavatan' (Ackermann, 1984, p. 136).

In general then, the process of transfer proves to be a highly problematic one and this may also apply to those cases where fluency in the second language is not lacking.

7.6.2 *Mixture of stylistic devices*

Cases where isolated expressions from the first language are taken on into the second language must also be considered. The consequence of this is a mixture on the basis of the second

language (see Figure 7.2). There may be several reasons for this:

- 1 the expression is not translatable (e.g. specific terms);
- 2 the writer does not know the appropriate expression in L2;
- 3 the writer considers the expression from L1 to be particularly effective (e.g. in order to pass on a particular atmosphere).

It is often difficult to identify the exact reason, as may become clear from the following example.

Kemalettin Yildirim: Our deal hostel (student in Istanbul)

A big sign. It says, in large letters 'Atatürk Öğrenci Sitesi'. If you want to go in, you must attach your Yurt-card to your jacket, then you can go into the modern prison, as we call it amongst ourselves.

(p. 31)

In this text, we are dealing with a description. The qualities of an object are to be described exactly to the extent necessary, the minimum requirement being that the reader is able to identify the object and to form a picture of it for himself. Here the reader is partly enabled to imagine the physical conditions of the student hostel, and also to see it from the point of view of a resident. The name of the hostel, however, remains unintelligible to the reader. Names are normally taken over into second-language texts unchanged, but here we are confronted with translatable terms: 'öğrenci' (st/dents), 'site' (closed town quarter); 'si' is the third person possessive suffix. The 'yurt-pass' (hostel card) represents another problem. The expression involves a mixture of language

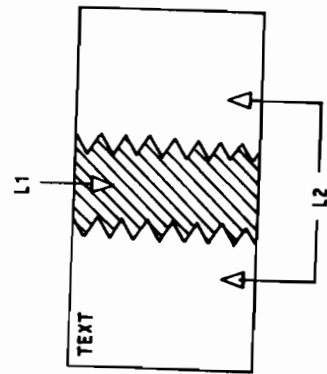


Figure 7.2 Mixture.

that is not transparent for the reader and may therefore be said to be the opposite of an integrated expression (see below). The reader interprets such an expression ('Yurt') to be an untranslatable name. At best, he can make uncertain presumptions on the grounds of his knowledge of the world (about credit cards, etc.). In any case, the expression contradicts the general requirements of a description, which demands precision.

7.6.3 Integration as a stylistic device

The device of integration (see Figure 7.3) largely corresponds to that of transfer, with one difference; precautions are taken so as to assure comprehension. This demands a broadly-based competence in the second language; the writer must:

- 1 reproduce the forms of realization from L1 in L2 (as in transfer);
- 2 realize that reproduction in L2 is liable to produce problems of understanding;
- 3 analyse the kind of comprehension problem which may thus arise and find adequate means of solving it.

The writer may adopt various strategies in order to cope with these tasks, e.g.:

- 1 mark the integrated expression graphically, although, as we have seen (in section 7.6.1), this is by itself not enough to allow a full understanding of the expression;
- 2 use a paraphrase or explanation of the integrated expression;

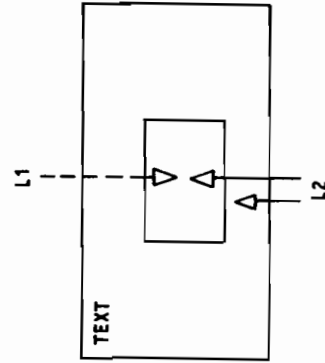


Figure 7.3 Integration.

- 3 insert the expression in a context which may help the reader in grasping its meaning (see further under 7.6.4).

An example:

Servet Aksakal: From the diary of a migrant worker

Among them are some that who were often abroad. They often tell stories of which one can only dream of here. They also tell me that I to find some possibility and go as worker abroad. They always say: that one here in mine profession 'will not get shorter but also not get long'. That is: on it you die will not but can't live on it either.

Here a Turkish idiom ('kütü layemut geçinmek'; literally, too short to live eternally) is integrated with a similar non-Turkish idiom (not enough to live on, but too much to die from). The integration is achieved linguistically by using the 'repair' formula 'that is'. The writer believes that the second expression in combination with the first will help the reader to comprehend what the author had in mind. This process is not only used to make comprehension easier; its purpose is, in effect, to pass on the first expression inter-culturally. Integration is thus made simpler. In spite of all the linguistic problems which the author faces, the reproduction of the non-Turkish idiom can make the idea behind the Turkish idiom comprehensible. The context does the rest.

(p.95)

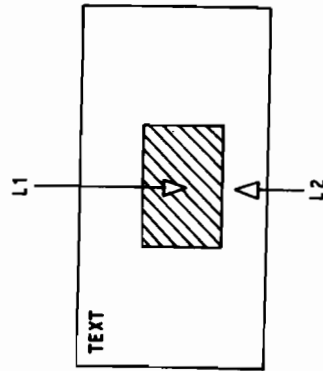


Figure 7.4 Installation.

7.6.4 Installation as a stylistic device

The complex process of installation consists of combining expressions from both languages within a text, so that they remain comprehensible in the complete context without translation (see Figure 7.4). An expression from the first language is inserted into a complex expression in the second language. The linguistic pattern of action remains the same; the forms of realization from the other language do not involve any unbearable illocution. It is nevertheless a foreign body in the second language if it cannot be integrated through specific processes which make it comprehensible.

Birol Denizeri: Dead feelings

After all the formalities had been carried out, I went excitedly into the waiting room. My parents were already there. I went to them and kissed their hands. 'Hoş geldin, my son. How are you?' my mother said. 'Hoş bulduk. I am well.'

(p.176)

The Turkish expressions here are placed in exactly those positions where greetings are to be expected. In each case they are followed by a ritual non-Turkish greeting formula. In the first instance the Turkish expression is also combined with a non-Turkish form of address. No serious problems of understanding should arise here. The illocution can be reconstructed by taking up the knowledge of greeting patterns and translation of the Turkish formula is therefore unnecessary.

It may be clear that this type of intercultural stylistic device carries its own risks. The writer must *construct* the context in such a way that the reader is not led astray. Easy recognition of the discourse pattern (and of the precise position of the expression within the pattern) must be attained. Especially risky are transitional points in the discourse, where different continuations are possible or new patterns may be initiated. Particularly suited are pattern positions which hardly allow any decisions, e.g. the third position in 'request - grant - thank'. A further requirement is that the pattern, or in particular the positions, must not be specific to one culture. The author must therefore have some knowledge of patterns in both languages. Moreover, hypotheses on the understanding of the recipient are essential. If problems are anticipated, additional strategies are required, e.g. the parallel postposition of an L2-expression bearing the same illocution, as 'How are you' and 'I am well' in the example. In this framework it is possible for the

Western reader to categorize the culture-specific form of greeting for respectable persons, i.e. the kissing of hands in Turkey. In the following example we also find an installation by a postponed characterization.

Alev Tekinay: The homecoming, or Aunt Helga and Uncle Hans

'Another piece of Baklava, please', the hostess says and fills my plate with the sweet flaky pastry pie, 'it certainly tastes better than your apple pie in Germany'.

(p.40)

By the description the properties of taste (sweet), the material (flaky pastry) and the type (pie) of Turkish 'Baklava', which has no direct translation, are given. It is worth noticing that the parallel description is not redundant, but has a syntactic function (prepositional object of 'fill') and varies the text stylistically. Hence, this may be said to be a very good example of the device of installation.

It has become clear that the process of installation requires a great deal of competence in the second language. Yet on the whole, processes of installation form an important linguistic resource for intercultural mediation.

7.7 Intercultural writing and linguistic patterns of action

Linguistic patterns of action are socially developed for the realization of specific purposes. Speakers with sufficient linguistic competence can systematically use the knowledge of these patterns to achieve special effects. To this end, linguistic devices typical for certain patterns can be brought together in different ways; the originally initiated pattern can be used throughout or be temporarily abandoned, and a new unity can be formed out of a combination of patterns. In this section we will first deal with the combination of patterns in the second language (sections 7.7.1-7.7.3); then we will look at *pattern integration* (7.7.4) and *mixing of patterns* (7.7.5). In principle, we could expect to find something like 'pattern-transfer' and 'pattern-installation' here, but these types are not represented in the corpus under investigation. However, they do occur in oral communication and in aesthetic forms, such as in bilingual theatre as described by Müller (1985). Starting, then, with the combination of patterns, one may discern three different types; *pattern-synthesis*, *pattern-implementation* and *pattern-import*. These

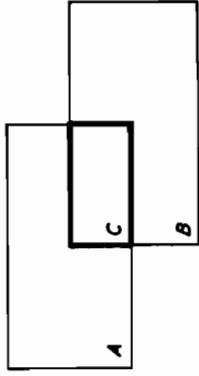


Figure 7.5 Pattern-synthesis.

present themselves as chances or difficulties for writers in their native language too, although of course the difficulties are far greater when writing in a foreign language.

7.7.1 Pattern-synthesis

By pattern-synthesis we mean the combination of different patterns of action (in one language) in such a way that they serve a certain purpose (see Figure 7.5).⁵ The combination of two patterns A and B for a common purpose can result in a complex pattern C. The development of such new patterns depends on whether the social conditions call for it. On the level of linguistic devices, a process of association with which a new unity can be formed or an already-initiated unity can be expanded is required. Juxtaposition seems to be a very simple process, although the recipient must be able mentally to sense the common purpose connecting them, so that relevant knowledge can be built up. Another device is that of the occupation of positions of pattern A by those of pattern B, with similar functional requirements. Extensive pattern knowledge, however, is required in order to succeed in such a pattern-synthesis. An example for such a process may be found in the following text.

Kadriye Güler: A foreigner abroad

There once lived an eleven year old girl, in a small village, at the Black Sea. She was happy and content, just like the other children. But there was a difference between the others and herself: She had polio and could only walk with the help of two crutches. Although she had been told quite clearly that she would never be able to walk like the other children, she firmly believed in a miracle. Although she was always told by the adults that this was her fate, and she must come to terms with

it, she did not think of this, but dreamed of the day when she would run, jump, dance just like her friends. One day she heard news of her father who lived in a foreign country, in two languages . . .

(p.171)
[Her hopes are then raised that she might be cured in the foreign country where her father lives. The story ends sadly, however. The girl eventually learns that her illness is not curable in the foreign country. This symbolizes that migration cannot fulfil the hopes of the migrants. He who remains behind will at least not be disappointed.]

The initial pattern introduced is that of the fairy tale, where an unhappy situation may be brought to a happy end by supernatural intervention. Most Turkish and European fairy tales correspond to this type. Thus the introduction of this text-type awakens in the reader the expectations of such a conclusion. However, this expectation of a happy end is not borne out by the story. Instead, it takes on a different turn altogether and develops into a different type of story, i.e. one in which the protagonist gradually emancipates herself from the false illusions she initially had. Thus two different linguistic patterns merge.

Pattern-synthesis has thus a calculated stylistic effect. However, it requires extensive competence in the second language, i.e. knowledge and command of the synthesized patterns, including their respective stylistic devices, as well as insight into their compatibility in relation to a specific propositional content.

An additional characteristic of pattern-synthesis is that patterns A and B are not completely realized. Instead, it is necessary to break down the text into those elements which can be synthesized in view of a stylistic purpose. Within the framework of a comprehensive plan, which may include aesthetic aspects, the elements are then to be linked together so that a new unity is formed.

7.7.2 Pattern-implementation

A 'pattern-implementation' (cf. Rehbein, 1983, p. 83) is produced when a speaker changes within a linguistic pattern A for another pattern B, whereby it becomes possible to achieve aims which were not attainable by the sole use of A (see Figure 7.6). This type is often to be found in second-language texts, because it is sometimes the only way to ensure that the recipient is able to understand. The following example illustrates this.

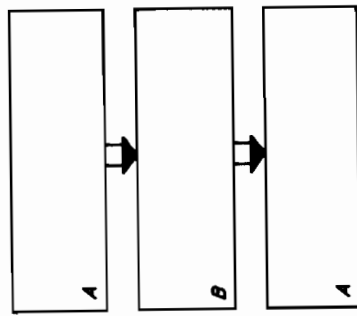


Figure 7.6 Pattern-implementation.

Özgür Savaşçı: On a Friday evening

I like Friday evenings, because although Friday is a holy day for muslims, it is the only day for me - and also for many of my countrymen here - on which one gets together and can be a little cheerful in the evening. Saturday is yet merely shopping day for many and on Saturday evenings one makes obligatory visits, so that one cannot really be as free as on Fridays. On the holy German Sunday one is very well-behaved, i.e. one does nothing much, because the next working day is coming up.

Well, it was a normal Friday evening and we - three good friends - had decided to go to a Greek pub this time . . . (p.92)

The narration of a story requires what Labov and Waletzky (1967) have called 'orientation'. In the above example this part begins only with 'Well, it was a normal Friday evening and . . .'. What comes before does not really belong to the story. The narrator expresses his view of Friday evenings and bases it on a cultural background. This clearly is not yet the pattern of 'narrating'. Its purpose is to provide some information to the non-Turkish reader, who might otherwise encounter problems of understanding. The usage of a 'supportive pattern' is a characteristic solution to problems of understanding which arise or are expected to arise in intercultural communication. One drawback of such supportive patterns, however, is that they take up valuable story-time. Therefore it can lead to hampering the flow of communication and the processing of the core of the text. Indeed, in this example the information given

in the implemented pattern plays no role in the events to follow. At the same time it is difficult to decide whether it is redundant in an intercultural context. In any case, texts such as these appear more as cultural documents and for that reason may sometimes not be taken seriously in a literary sense. Particular functions – here didactic – can open up or close down the text's potential.

7.7.3 Pattern-import

A 'pattern-import' (see Figure 7.7) is produced when the stylistic repertoire of a linguistic pattern *A* is realized in the framework of another pattern *B* (cf. Rehbein, 1983, p. 38). Pattern *A* is then partially superimposed on to pattern *B*. Hence *A* is not fully realized but brought to attention by characteristic devices. In this case, *A* and *B* serve completely different purposes. The stylistic devices must be specific for *A* and *B* respectively and are therefore incompatible, so that a conflict of style arises. This may be witnessed in the following text.

Alı Çıracı: Hopeless?

In the year 1960, a boy comes on to the world, in an Anatolian town. At the Black Sea, Sinop/Ayancik. When was 3 Years old, his mother deceased. The boy had had three other brothers and sisters. That was very difficult for them father as the brothers and sisters. The father married so many times until he had found the right mum to his children, when he was 6 Year old he was sent to his step-uncle to karabük there his uncle sent him to a religion school. After one year he comes home to the locality ...

(p. 93)

The author tries to tell a life-story with the help of rather limited

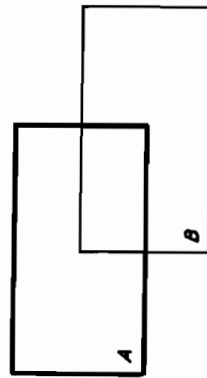


Figure 7.7 Pattern-import.

linguistic resources. As a result, conflicts of style arise repeatedly. The pattern of literary narration is broken by stylistic elements belonging to:

- 1 bureaucratic institutions – 'deceased', 'Sinop/Ayancik' (=postal address of birth place), 'locality';
- 2 family communication – 'mum'.

These stylistic devices remain isolated in the text. They do not prevent comprehension of the text, but make it clumsy and show the author not to be aware of the stylistically harmful effects of pattern-import.

7.7.4 Pattern-integration

By the term 'pattern-integration' (see Figure 7.8) we mean the complete or partial reproduction of an L1-pattern in the second language. In this case, particular arrangements must be made in order to make the integration understandable. If the L1-pattern has a great deal in common with that of the second language, a more or less 'organic' insertion is possible. The context and surrounding patterns must then be considered as aids to understanding. Where L1- and L2-patterns do *not* match easily, however, the task of integrating them demands considerable skill on the part of the author. Of course the pattern knowledge to be passed on to the recipient can also be directly brought in by an explanation or comment. Stylistically, this is not a particularly elegant solution, but at least it indicates that the problem has been recognized. Knowledge of patterns in both languages is thus necessary, to allow for a comparison of the patterns. In order to bridge the gap

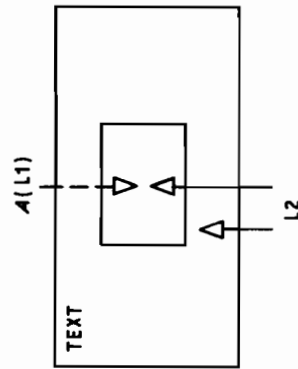


Figure 7.8 Pattern-integration.

between them, the integration requires detecting the differences between L1 and L2 resources which go beyond straightforward translation.

Melek Baklan: Un-fairy tale

But now back to the girl Ayşe, who grew up in this village ... We'll now let Ahmet travel from MOTHERLAND to FATHERLAND and see what is going on in the village in the mean time, we will see what Ayşe is doing ... Let us now leave Ayşe alone with her worries and watch the new life of Ahmet for a while ...

Let us now go back to the village with Sadik's letter and have a look at what has happened since Ahmet's departure ... (p. 136)

This narration shows the experiences of migration from the viewpoint of Ayşe, who remains at home while her husband works in West Germany. The story is at the same time defamiliarized and generalized through the use of the oriental fairy-tale type of text. In the passages reproduced here, the narrator addresses himself directly to the reader and orientates him towards a different space of imagination, in which further scenes can be developed, accessible through deictic expressions.⁶ In this way, chronologically parallel story-lines are tied up with each other. The point of transition can be chosen such as to increase the tension (e.g. 'we will see what Ayşe is doing'). This produces an elaborate narrative structure. At the same time the narrator is made explicit, whereas in Western fairy tales the narrator remains mostly concealed.

This narrative procedure of explicit reorientation is characteristic of the oriental (including the Turkish) fairy tale,⁷ that lies at the basis of this text; Persian and Arabic literary fairy tales have had a strong influence on oral tradition in Turkey. A procedure such as reorientation may thus not be new to readers who are familiar with oriental fairy tales. It puts no great demands on understanding, and - coming from oral tradition - actually makes reception simpler.

The critical question here is whether or not the patterns are compatible (*integration versus transfer*). The intercultural common ground of the fairy tale makes understanding easier. Integration is therefore achieved by such linguistic means of the fairy tale, which are also common in the second language and thus clarify the connection of the patterns. The elements of the fairy tale enable the text to achieve a particular stylistic effect; the inherent contrast between wishes and reality is ironically increased.

7.7.5 Mixing patterns

In this type (see Figure 7.9) a complete pattern A, realized in the first language, is inserted into a second language framework. No precautions to ensure comprehension are taken here. Thus the part in the first language is isolated in relation to the whole; in some cases it is supposed to have a phonetic effect and to create a desired feeling of 'foreignness'. No example of this type was found in the corpus. But this type can be illustrated by a verse from a song by Metin Oz (from Anhegger, 1982, p. 15):

Metin Oz: Chiefo

I work at Ford'ta. (I work at Ford Company)
 We fall asleep yurtta. (We sleep in a hostel)
 Hayatim mantar oldu, (My life (or, my firm) has become mindless for me)
 Bir kil var bu yoğurtta. (There is a hair in this yoghurt)

On the one hand, the text contains mixtures on the level of expression ('ta' as Turkish locative suffix); on the other hand, realizations of assertions in L1 (final lines). The context in which the song was written must be considered for an explanation; the song developed on the occasion of a strike at Ford in Cologne and was addressed to Turkish and German colleagues as well as to the company management, which was attacked in later verses. All in all the song is full of breaks between passages from the first and the second language and also contains imitations of 'immigrant-worker German' (like 'chiefo'). More aggressive passages are expressed in Turkish, thus possibly offering Turkish

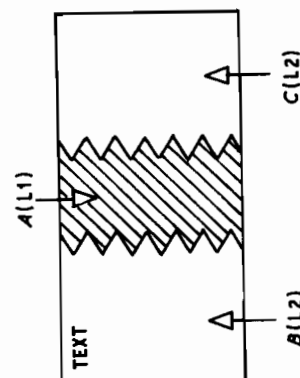


Figure 7.9 Mixing patterns.

colleagues a certain protection against the management. In this respect, the mixture can be completely functional. Such direct functionality might not apply to literary contexts, although similar cases of pattern-mixing may be found in the works of Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, Thomas Mann and others.

7.8 Conclusion: the possibilities of intercultural writing

The texts which have been analysed in the previous sections reveal the nature of intercultural writing as a specific type of problem. They are written by immigrants or their children in a situation of cultural conflict manifested by themselves. At the same time, to fulfil the conditions of the actual occasion (competition, prospect of publication), they must somehow bridge the gap to the second language and the culture of the country of immigration. This situation can be dealt with in different ways.

- 1 One solution lies in taking on completely the perspective of the second language. The long-term goal would be to form a *new type of literature*. The linguistic requirements of this goal are now met by some members of the second and third generations. Recent developments would seem to make this possibility realistic. This is apparent in complex stylistic processes, to which the synthesis of patterns belongs. The texts can be regarded as the success of individual learning processes; whoever is able to write in this way has overcome the barriers.
- 2 Another solution consists of taking the second language as an instrument of mediation. The situation between the cultures is taken up with the aim of broadening the perspective of the majority culture, of giving information and furthering understanding. Its starting point was a *literature of distress*, concerning itself little with literary standards. Overcoming speechlessness was crucial. The style of this type of literature is characterized by linguistic breaks, pattern-import, pattern-implementation, the mixing and transfer of stylistic devices. The texts give the impression of being patched together. The reader approaches these texts as documents of social experience of a specific quality that could not be attained through statistics or economic analysis. At best the texts are seen

as politically serious, while their literary quality remains in doubt.

The second language remains dominant even in a *literature which sets out to mediate between cultures*. It tries not only to express individual experiences, though, but also to make them transparent in the second language and to reproduce them by means of this second language. The stylistic devices of integration and installation are characteristic features of this. The cultural background of L1 is not renounced, but neither can one escape from the absorbing culture of L2. The barrier continually opposing foreign norms is already evident in the very concept of mediation. The main danger lies in the fact that the text is assigned to a cultural tradition, to which the author belongs, but which (s)he cannot continue without severe breaks when in exile or immigration. Consequently, allocation can serve as an exclusion; the text falls into the gap between the cultures.

- 3 Finally, a new form of literature, being an *authentic expression of minority cultures*, may be expected. This type of literature no longer devotes itself to the domestication of the strange nor to the integration into the majority culture. Instead, the function of mediation is rejected as restrictive. This literature can dispense with any mediator introducing, commenting or elucidating. The texts speak for themselves, and for those they have been written for. And they speak their own language (probably a specific variety of the second language). Something new arises; forms of knowledge and action which reflect exactly the situation *between* the cultures. What exactly these will look like will come to light.

NOTES

- 1 I wish to thank Irmgard Ackermann (University of Munich) for providing the majority of texts analysed in this chapter, Wolf Gewehr (University of Münster), who has made stylistic corrections and Willie van Peer for suggesting many valuable improvements on the final version of this paper.
- 2 This concept belongs to the theory of linguistic action developed by Ehlich and Rehbein (1979). An empirical analysis can be found in Rehbein (1984).

- 3 The term 'transfer' has become common in the field of research in second-language acquisition. In the method of 'contrastive analysis', which has recently been strongly criticized, this means the conversion of structures from a language L1 into a language L2. This can lead to errors in L2 ('negative transfer'). If one disregards the behaviouralistic basis (speech acquisition as habit formation) of this approach and considers new cognitive theories, the concept of transfer can be given a more precise sense. The starting point of this is the linguistic knowledge which speakers have acquired in the first language and which, in a complex way, determines later linguistic experiences and learning processes. Such knowledge refers to the kinds of linguistic devices, their action quality, etc. Recourse to such knowledge can lead to very complex strategies of learning and ways of usage in L2, which are not to be illuminated by means of a simple comparison of structures. At present too little is known about this.
- 4 The following analyses are based on the original manuscripts as they were submitted to the jury. The translations (also stylistically) are as near to the original as possible (provided by and under the responsibility of the editor only). The published versions, from Ackermann (1983), are identified by their page number at the end of the quotes.
- 5 Rehbein (1983, p. 42) describes this phenomenon as 'compatibility of styles'. The basis of this is the 'technique of synthesizing of different linguistic devices fitting the patterns'.
- 6 In reference to deictics in general and to the concept of 'deictic space', see Ehlich (1982).
- 7 This text type is analysed by Eberhard and Boratev (1953).

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