Queera intersektioner
Queerseminariet vid Uppsala universitet 2008–2010

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Delred: Malin Ekström & Maria Margareta Österholm

Att tänka rätt är stort,
attna queert är större
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Vi vill tacka …

… våra duktiga skribenter!
… alla inbjudna talare som har rest från när och fjärran för att medverka i Queerseminariet
… alla seminariedeltagare
… Jämställdhetskommittén, Uppsala universitet
… alla institutioner och enheter som har möjliggjort verksamheten genom att samarbeta med oss
"The gay paradox" as seen in contemporary Turkish crime fiction
A queer analysis of Mehmet Murat Somer's novel Ajda'nın Elmasları

GUNVALD IMS

Ajda'nın Elmasları ("Ajda's Diamonds," 2006) is an accessible and entertaining novel introducing the global genre of contemporary gay crime fiction into Turkish literature. It was the sixth novel to be published in Mehmet Murat Somer's Hop Çeki-Yaya series, which started off with Buse Cınayetli ("The Kiss Murder") in 2001.

The main characters in Ajda'nın Elmasları are Ponpon, drag queen and owner of a gay club in Nişantaşı, Istanbul, and Gönül, one of the young 'girls' at the club. Neither of these names are regular Turkish male names. They are feminine names attributed to the characters, and they help designate the characters not only as gay (Tr. gay), but also as transgender (Tr. travesti). The author has in an interview pointed out that one of his intentions behind this novel is to depict transgender people in a positive way, in opposition to the widely seen negative depictions of transgender people as "slapstick, half-brained characters to be laughed at, or people with no moral values." Mehmet Murat Somer's self-proclaimed aim is to "turn the negatives into positives."
The positive intention "to make gay life visible" has according to Judith Markowitz been one of the driving forces behind the gay crime novel as it developed in English over the last forty years.

Even if Mehmet Murat Somer wants to place himself in opposition to the negative depictions of transgender people, his words also points to a typical dilemma for gay culture: As a subculture fighting for their right to be free, the gay community embraces some of the mainstream notions of their otherness. This "gay dilemma" shows how gay and transgender are inherently linked to what Judith Butler calls the heteronormative matrix. At a fundamental level, this matrix, which produces the discrete and asymmetrical oppositions between feminine and masculine, can be seen as playing a formative role also in...
gay novels. Even if it is easy to see this genre as critical to influential mainstream attitudes towards gender and sexuality, one can also analyze how this genre situates itself within the cultural matrix that constructs gendered characters. Regarding the wide scope of queer theory it would be wrong to assume that there are straight books that require queering in opposition to gay or queer books of which queer readings are superficious.

With a queer eye on the genre, it should not be difficult to see how both "the gay part" and "the crime part" of the genre are constituents that root the genre deeply in a heteronormative matrix, just as much as they open up for crucial critique against this matrix. The intertwining connections between 'gay' and 'crime' in these novels hold for an understanding of this subgenre as something slightly more different from the main genre than a simple addition of gay characters and mystery plot. One way to scrutinize gay crime fiction's relation to the mainstream heteronormative discourse is by focusing on one gay novel in relation to its genre. In The Law of Genre (1980), Jacques Derrida says: "I would speak of a sort of participation without belonging - a taking part in without being a part of, without having membership in a set." In Derrida's understanding, the relationship between any given text and the genre that defines our understanding of it is a dynamic relationship. The dynamics of "participation without belonging" are certainly not relevant only for our understanding of the texts in relation to their literary genres, but also for texts in their relationship with other categories, such as gender and sexuality, which also define our readings.

According to Derrida's theory, the following two observations are both true. On the one hand, texts come to us in genres just as much as characters come to us in genders. Genre and gender are the generic categories to which the heteronormative matrix makes us expectantly yield certain understandings of sexuality and directions of desire. On the other hand, the texts can never be fully delimited to their genre, just as a character can never be delimited to being gendered.

The mystery and the mock mystery in Ajda'nın Elmasları
Compared to the traditional crime novel of a male protagonist tracking down a murderer, it is striking how far Ajda'nın Elmasları goes in its critique. To underline the difference in between a traditional hard-boiled murder mystery and the gay crime story of this novel, the main story is interwoven with a story of a man committing altogether three murders. Although the murderer soon becomes friends with the main characters Ponpon and Günlü and keep telling them about how he "put people away", these murders never become the real mysteries of the novel. They fail to be mysteries because there are simply too much information about both the murders and the murderer. The name of the murderer is Ismet Gürkan, he is sick and on the verge of dying. His doctor has told him how many days he has left to live. The problem is that Ismet Gürkan is living more than 217 days overdue, but since he has prepared for dying, he is broke. He blames the doctor for his miserable situation and goes off to kill him.

As an effect of all these details, this crime story becomes a parody. The tone of this parody is set as Ismet Gürkan goes off to do it away with his doctor, walking down the stairs as he whistles the theme song from Kill Bill, the Quentin Tarantino movie that can be seen as a parody on violent movies. At this point of the story, another subverting aspect of this movie is highlighted in Ajda'nın Elmasları, namely the aspect of the protagonist being a woman. By making Ismet Gürkan think: "What a superb killer that woman was, oh, to be like her," the narrator makes an early introduction to the recurring theme of transgender issues and depictions of gay or homosexual characters that are going to fit well into Edward Carpenter's hundred-year-old definition of homosexuals as "the intermediate sex."

Juxtaposed to Ismet Gürkan's murders, the main crime of the story seems soft. Introduced only in part by the book's title, chapter 6 is where we first hear the news that Ajda's diamonds are stolen. The story about this theft bears striking signs of a traditional mystery plot with ingredients as initial shock followed by a thriller-like chase for both the criminal and the diamonds. Günlü is the first to hear about the theft, as she listens to the morning news on the radio. Ponpon's immediate response is that of surprise when asking which Ajda, and which diamonds. It turns out the Ajda in question is Turkey's pop-diva and former film actress Ajda Pekkan. With Ponpon's consent, she will take it upon herself to find them.

What follows is Günlü's trajectory from the classy suburb that Ponpon has recently moved into, to Altunmer, the low-class urban district she comes from. This is an area where crimes are abundant, and naturally it is the right place to look for clues. Günlü believes her friend Sustah Bilal ('Bilal with the switchblade') might help her on the right track. But their meeting might be even more interesting in that it reveals the lower class' way of dealing with homosexuality, an issue I will return to.

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While Gönül’s chase throughout Istanbul seems driven by her move to move and transgress societal boundaries within the city, the hints that she is on the right track are presented to the readers in untraditional and surprising ways. The first hint is given when Gönül visits one of her transgender friends, Benli Irene (‘Freckled Irene’), to have her fortune read the Turkish way, in a coffee cup. Indeed, Irene sees Aşk’a’s diamonds in the cup. Gönül is going to find them “in front of her.” This cryptic answer makes Gönül angry, because it is of no help to her at a point where she stands without any clue regarding the diamonds’ whereabouts. However, for all readers who affirm of Turkish fortunetelling as a convincing plot guideline, this information is an important clue that Gönül is going to succeed. This clue is much needed, for obstacles keep haunting Gönül; she is deceived by friends and attacked by strangers who try to rape her. The next clue comes in form of a dream, where Ponpon sees herself standing next to Aşk’a Pekkan, who is very grateful for some indeterminate reason.

When Gönül finally discovers where Aşk’a’s diamonds are, it is at a point where everything seems hopeless. However, the thief is careless enough to have a picture of her wearing the diamonds published in the newspaper as part of an advertisement for her upcoming show. The artist at the picture is one of Gönül’s transgender acquaintances from the club, Semiramishan. As soon as Gönül sees the picture she is convinced that the diamonds on the picture are Aşk’a’s diamonds. Irene’s prediction has come through. In another breathtaking chase where Gönül and Ponpon track down Semiramishan after she leaves the club, they manage to haul the diamonds from Semiramishan. By chance, it turns out there is an Aşk’a Pekkan party coming up in Beyoğlu the next day, so the excitement is rising when Ponpon, Gönül and their friends dress up for the party where they hope to meet the superstar in person and hand the diamonds back to her.

As a preliminary conclusion, the transgender protagonist’s way to success is very different from the traditional male detectives’ strategy of solving mysteries by their individual skills. The hints that lead Gönül to the diamonds may seem coincidental, but they all appear within the gay community that she is a part of. According to Lee Horsley the crucial role of the community is one of the factors that distinguishes “female-authored other from crime fiction.” In female-authored crime fiction, Horsley says: “community is not just a sustaining presence for the protagonist but the linchpin both of plot and of the protagonist’s own sense of self-definition.” Whereas Aşk’a’nın Elmasları confirms the notion that feminine self-definition goes together with a stronger emphasis on the community than on the individual within the plot, it problematizes the notion that this has to do with the author’s gender. Rather, the protagonists’ self-definition as feminine seems to affect the plot in a certain communal way regardless of the author’s gender.

Suspended gendering

As mentioned above, gay fiction rests on a dilemma of both accepting mainstream notions of gay and transgender as different, and turning them into something positive. As a result, two partly contradictory features come together in the contemporary gay crime novel, and both are apparent in Aşk’a’nın Elmasları. On one hand, the gay crime novel serves to confirm the average middle-class readers’ presumptions that there are certain features that constitute gay and transgender characters, and that there is a gay culture where many things are different from the dominant culture. On the other hand, when depicting gay characters and gay culture within the mainstream culture, the otherness of these characters and this culture is also brought into discussion.

The broader Istanbul scene of the novel can be further divided into three main scenes where different class dynamics come into play: Firstly, there is the classy Istanbul suburb where the Hop-Çiki-Yaya series’ main character Ponpon has bought her new villa and moves in accompanied by her assistant, Gönül. Secondly, there is the night club downtown, of which Ponpon is the owner and Gönül one of the young hired-in dancers. Thirdly, there is the poor urban district from which Gönül hails. Even if the night club is not the central scene in the sense that this is where most of the story takes place, it is central both in that it reoccurs in all the Hop-Çiki-Yaya novels, and in that it serves as the micro-cosmos where the gay characters are defined in relation to each other and to characters outside of the club scene. The other scenes serve partly to broaden the whole of society’s perspective on the nightclub, and partly to juxtapose it.

What we see at the club is a stratified gay culture on three levels. At the bottom there are the young girls, like Gönül, who come from a poor social background and are hired in to dance at the club. In the middle, there are the established ladies, such as Ponpon, who is a self-proclaimed, well-known drag-queen diva and the owner of the club. On top, there are the macho types who stay in good relations with the bar’s owner and help the gay community stay on good terms with the rest of the Istanbul society. One example of this type of character in Aşk’a’nın Elmasları is Burçak, Ponpon’s boyfriend. He appears in chapter two, on the phone, because he is in Brazil. Ponpon has seen his ab-

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sence as her chance to buy the new villa, with both a Bosphorus view and a swimming pool. Through their conversation, it becomes clear that Burçak is the responsible type. He is normally the one in charge of their finances, and Ponpon feels obliged to argue for why she has bought the new house. Another example is Hasan, who normally works for the club, but has returned to his family in Germany. The result of both Burçak and Hasan being away is that the club is left in a devastating condition and is losing customers.14

I have so far used the words “gay” and “transgender” quite frequently when referring to the novel, and both terms are used infrequently about the main characters in the actual text. However, these words are not used very often. In fact, there is a certain suspension when it comes to categorizing the main characters with the use of clear-cut designations of gender and sexuality such as “man,” “woman,” “gay,” and “transgender.” This is clearly a part of the strategy applied in order to build up an excitement, so that the characters may appear as mysteries for the readers to explore. Typically, the categorizing words are used when other characters reflect upon the main protagonists. One example of this is seen after Ponpon and Gönül have sat down with their new neighbor, İsmet Gürkan, and he reflects that he likes to be with these “homosexuals” (şayeseller), who are so easy-going and open-minded.15 After having thought so, he even starts a small discussion in his head about what word to use. Should he, instead of “homosexual,” say “gay” (gay)? At this point the narrator even comments: ‘Inler diye düşünemediği niyeti [He was kind not to think ‘fags’].’16 What this comment serves as is not only an evaluation of İsmet Gürkan’s character, but also an evaluation of the different words available to categorize the other characters, whose gender identities might seem confusing for many readers.

An interesting occurrence of suspended gendering is seen in Fräulein Frühstück, or Füfü, who accompanies Hasan when he returns from Germany. When Fräulein Frühstück first appears, there is little save the parallels between her and Ponpon, such as their funny names and their relationships with each of the macho guys at the club, that lead us to think that Füfü is anything but an eccentric, middle-aged German woman. However, there is a moment when Hasan slips and passes out in the bathroom. The worries Füfü has after this trivial accident have to do with Füfü and Hasan’s being part of the categories of transgender and homosexuals:

Here, we see how the words which directly refer to transgender people and homosexuals only occur as an insider of the gay community reflects on how they will be treated by outsiders. The difference between mainstream society and the gay community triggers the use of these words, and thus make the readers assume that Füfü is not only a woman, but also a transgender person. Later in the novel, there are explicit references to Füfü’s boobs, but the indeterminacy of her gender is still seen in Ponpon’s assertions that she is “gerçek bir kadın [a real woman].”17 The indeterminacy of Füfü’s gender also transmits over to Hasan, whose sexuality comes into question. There are references to rumors that Hasan is gay. After all, it is possible for him to work at a gay club, dress in tight t-shirts and even date a person who looks like Ponpon and not be gay?18 Confronted with such questions, the readers are forced to rethink both gender and sexuality categories.

Apart from that, the bathroom accident passage is one of the dark moments in the novel in that it contains an explicit critique of systemized prejudices against transgender and gay people in the society. The reference to the American movie Midnight Express (1978) also serves as a link to Turkish debates on Orientalism. In Turkey, this movie was broadly dismissed as Orientalist, as a film portraying Turkey in a prejudiced way. The way the text builds up Füfü’s concern might first seem to be based on such ill-informed misrepresentations of Turkey. But with the reference to Hasan’s own experiences from Istanbul’s gay culture, Füfü’s concern is given support by a more trustworthy voice (without dismissing the perception of Midnight Express as Orientalist).

The suspension in gendering is assisted by the Turkish language’s lack of gender as a grammatical category. Whereas translators must choose from the pronouns “he,” “she,” and “it,” the Turkish text refers to its characters by the general third person pronoun o. This has great consequences for the text, because a genderless third person pronoun opens up for more smooth transitions between the different gendered qualities attributed to the same person. In most cases, though, we must remember that Turkish uses tools, such as names,

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references to cultural attributes such as clothes and language use, and words such as kız ("the girl") and erkek ("the guy"), in order to specify whether the person being discussed is male or female. Aşka nam Elması is also full of such gendering words, but they are used within a setting that for many readers is unfamiliar, and figuring out how the main characters define themselves and each other by such epithets is part of the excitement that is created through the reading.

For instance, in Ponpon's world, Gönül is always Gönül, and her dressing is one of the features focused upon as part of her femininity. But even when Gönül is depicted within Ponpon's social context, she is portrayed in a way that makes the contextual gendering a subject of reflection, and a source of humor. When Gönül follows Ponpon to her new house, she dresses in traditional, rural baggy-pants when she wants to clean the house. Even if Gönül is introduced as one of the girls from the club, her femininity is not quite the kind of femininity the reader expects a transvestite character to attribute to herself. But it is also true that the baggy-pants do not come out of nowhere for Ponpon. When seeing Gönül in her baggy-pants, she begins to think about how Gönül would bring traditional Turkish homemade food such as börek and dolma to the club, whereas most of the girls would spend their time on make-up, hairdressers, manicures, and their most flashy show dresses. What is emphasized in the text is Gönül's amenable attitude towards domestic affairs. This underlines her feminine character, but also makes her stick out from the other girls at the club. If some readers at this point should think that Gönül is just as feminine as a regular cleaning maid, the author takes care to let a very big and unflattering toe stick out beneath her outfit in a way that makes Ponpon think of them as scruffy man's feet. One thing that these examples show is how the text applies gendered descriptions in an often playful and surprising way, a feature that may also engage readers in reflections about the dynamics of gendering. However dynamic, it is important to note that the feminizing process under display is that of the characters whom we could refer to as gay or transgender, so there is no danger for the average middle-class readers to be disturbed in their heteronormative worldview.

One feature that clearly marks the gay culture on display as recognizably different is the main characters' use of language. Firstly, there is the heavy use of epithets used to feminize one other. For instance, Gönül addresses Ponpon with ablam ("my older sister"), abaş ( slang for "older sister"), ayolcuğum ("my dear lady"), kız ("girl") and Ponpon able ("sister Ponpon"). Whereas the first of these, ablam, is the common word used for addressing a female friend with respect, the second word, ayolcuğum, sticks out as an epithet used within a feminized sub-culture. Ayolcuğum is also an epithet Ponpon uses to address her boyfriend Burçak, which is a man's name. A parallel irony is created when Ponpon meets her new neighbor Ismet for the first time. Ismet is also a man's name, but when he says "Thank you!" for the drink she has just given him, it makes her think: "Pek hanımden bir adam" ("Quite a ladylike man"), which to most people would seem like a contradiction, since a person is usually a beyefendi bir adam ("a gentleman of a man"), or a hanımden bir kadın ("a ladylike woman").

Secondly there is the striking e-ing, of which the epithet able ("elder sister") is an example. It might be that the alteration of back vowels into front vowels (as seen in able for abla) in Gönül's speech is applied in order to underline her feminine character. Another example is: 'Sen sahneden anırsen, benim de uzmanlığım ev işleri! [If you know anything of the scene, I happen to be an expert on domestic work]' where standard Turkish would write: 'Sen sahneden anırsan, benim de uzmanlığım ev işleri!' This peculiar vowel fronting may serve to create a sense of a "Turkish gayolec", but the fact that Gönül is the only one using it, triggers a search for other explanations. In Turkish television comedies, excessive vowel fronting is often found in mocking renderings of the speech of lower middle-class members of Istanbul society who grasp the vowel fronting as a means of "hyper-correction." Whereas Ponpon is situated in the upper middle-class, Gönül hail from a poor neighborhood in Istanbul, and her excessive vowel fronting might be seen as a feature of her social climbing, which indeed her volunteer work for Ponpon may be part of as well.

The legacy of Oscar Wilde

In sum the suspended gendering of the main characters and discussions about their sexualities make up much of the excitement that is build up as an integral part of Aşka nam Elması as a crime novel. This observation trigs a deeper search into the intertwined connections of gay and crime in the gay crime novel.

Let us recall the parallel story of İsmet Gürkan's murders. While this mock crime story fails to be a mystery, the murderer's blunt confession to Ponpon and Gönül make us curious about how they will react. As such, the mock crime points in the direction of the agents as the central mysteries. Obviously, Ponpon and Gönül are taken by surprise. But partly because of the situation of meeting with their neighbor for the first time, where the aim is to build a good relationship, and partly because of the smile Ismet has when confessing his

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crime, they continue the friendly talk, laughing while they share the last drops of wine.

Ismet is surprised that his new neighbors do not seem to care about his murder, and interestingly, when reflecting upon their lack of repulsion upon his confession, he links their attitude with their being homosexual: Could it be that the troubles they experienced in their own lives, in a setting of crime and prostitution, have caused it to be that killing someone was regarded as normal? At this point, there is a crucial irony at play, made visible by the differences between Ponpon and Gönül's real reactions when they hear about the murder (they are taken aback), and what Ismet makes out of it. Ismet's expression of the close connection between gay life and crime is thus juxtaposed within the narrative, and this can be seen as an ironic meta-comment about the genre of gay crime. For what would that genre be without intending, as Ismet does, that there is a certain connection between gay and crime? The irony shows in how Ismet expresses this connection, underlining the presence of such a link within the genre; this, in turn, is juxtaposed by other depictions of the situation, underlining the opposite and telling the reader that there is no such link.

And yet, despite this ironic comment, or maybe rather because of the irony thus made clear, the narrative allows itself to indulge in the most basic clichés in which homosexuality is constructed as a metonymy to crime — and a synonym to art. The synonymy with art is seen most clearly when Ponpon introduces herself to Ismet by saying she is a show-star, one who performs in drag shows and in the old days even used to appear on TV. When introducing herself in this way, it becomes clear that Ponpon reveals her true desires, which also includes her attraction to Ismet Gürkan.

These curious connotations of "crime" and "art" to the concept of homosexuality go even further back in history than the gay crime novel. According to the queer scholar Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, there appeared a time in England, at the beginning of the 20th century, when homosexual and homopobic style became a single household word: the name of Oscar Wilde. Wilde, she explains, is the stereotype of a connoisseur, an interpreter of aristocratic culture to the middle class, and in conformity with the former aristocratic style, the homosexual is a feminized figure. So, when Ponpon makes her own references to art and culture, it might just be the legacy of Wilde that we are witnessing.

What crime has to do with this legacy is not further discussed by Sedgwick. Rick Whitaker, who sees Oscar Wilde as a starting point for gay culture, points out that gay culture developed from this author’s notion that a person’s substance and his style be identical. And if we turn to Wilde’s novel The Picture of Dorian Gray (1891), we might get a clearer understanding of the relationship between the high-class connoisseur and crime, manifested in the main character Dorian Gray, who in a dispute with the artist Basil, says: "Crime belongs exclusively to the lower orders. I don’t blame them in the smallest degree. I should fancy that crime was to them what art is to us, simply a method of procuring extraordinary sensations." We should remember that this was written in a time when homosexual acts were classified as crimes according to British law.

Even if the cultural context of Turkish gay culture is different from British and American gay culture, Aşık'ın Elmasları let us observe some common aspects of how notions of gay and transgender come into being by means of embracing difference and emphasizing style. Instead of hostile laws, the gay and transgender characters in Aşık'ın Elmasları are surrounded by a sustaining threat of mistreatment and violence based on homophobia. The moment when Gönül’s difference fails to be stylish she finds her identity devastated. When she looks at her face after having been punched by an attacker the narrator asks rhetorically, “Yüzü buzkır bir travestiye kim düşüp bakardı ki? [Cause who would turn their faces to look at a transgender person with a smashed face?]” Behind the colorful depictions of the Istanbul gay community’s embrace of difference and the parody applied when displaying the inherent paradoxes of gay and transgender categories, Aşık'ın Elmasları reveals a dark background that threatens to sweep the protagonists into total social exclusion as soon as their fragile link to art is broken.

Conclusion
While this study confirms that many heteronormative traits are formative for Aşık'ın Elmasları, it also shows the inherent irony expressed in the text when explicitly revealing traits such as the connection between homosexuality and crime, and homosexuality and art. While confirming that a lot of the excitement of reading the book is drawn from the interest in dwelling over the attributes of gay and transgender characters, this reading also shows how dynamic and changeable such gendered characters are. These observations also confirm Bergman’s view that “homosexuality is more notable in the way it resists hierarchies than in the way it bends to them.” Aşık'ın Elmasları resists the traditional organization of a crime novel’s plot centered around one masculine
individual and shows similarities with female-authored fiction when paying
more attention to the dynamics of the community.

Seeing how central the discussions of gay and transgender characterization
are to the whole structure of Aşk'ın Elmasları, leads to questions about how
categories such as gay and transgender shape narratives. Rather than being fixed
categories that can be easily merged with crime fiction, this study suggests
that gay and transgender are ambiguous entities that raise questions about our
understanding of crime and sexuality and the relationship in between them.
By juxtaposing the mainstream society's negative attitudes against homosexu-
ality and femininity with the gay and transgender subculture's eager engage-
ment in shaping this difference in their own, creative way, Mehmet Murat
Somer has captured the main paradox of gay culture as the world has come to
know it since Oscar Wilde.

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Erdoğan, and one written by Zülfi Livaneli.

Endnotes
1 The term "transgender" is not a specific term, since it covers both "transsexual" and "transvestite.
2 The reason why it is used here is that it corresponds best to the way the Turkish Investi is used in
Aşk'ın Elmasları.
3 Chris Wiegand, "Different beats," at Guardian.co.uk, http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2006/
4 Chris Wiegand, "Different beats," at Guardian.co.uk, http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2006/
5 Judith A. Markowitz, The Gay Detective Novel: Lesbian and Gay Male Characters and Themes in
6 Rick Whitaker, The First Time I Met Frank O'Hara: Reading Gay American Writers, New York and
7 Judith Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (1990). New York: Routledge,
1999, pp. 13 f.
10 Edward Carpenter, The Intermediates Sex: A Study of Some Transitional Types of Men and Women
15 Ibid.
16 Somer, Aşk'ın Elmasları, 2006, p. 11.
17 Somer, Aşk'ın Elmasları, 2006, p. 16.
19 Ibid. Following the Turkish text, my English translations are given in brackets.
20 Somer, Aşk'ın Elmasları, 2006, p. 56. Maa'me, here translated "treatment," has the connotation of
'sexual intercourse' in slang language.
22 Somer, Aşk'ın Elmasları, 2006, p. 149.
25 Somer, Aşk'ın Elmasları, 2006, p. 27.
27 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire, New York:
Columbia University, 1990, pp. 226 f.
32 David Bergman, Gaiety Transfigured. Gay Self-Representation in American Literature, Madison: The