

HERITAGE LANGUAGES:
THE CASE OF GERMAN IN KITCHENER-WATERLOO

by

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the assimilation and/or integration of German families in Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario into Anglo-Canadian culture. By administering questionnaires to and interviewing members in three three-generational families (n=29), different factors involved in an effort to ascertain what factors, if any, determine one's decision to pass on or continue learning German. The thesis proposes that if participants have a positive attitude towards German, i.e., they see some use or value in it, then they will pass it on to the following generation.

The first chapter outlines the aims of the study, methodology, and important terms. The second chapter describes previous research on the topic of immigrant integration in more detail, explaining the influences of external agents such as the government, school system, and media, and more internal agents such as one's circle of friends and other social contacts as well as the family. The third chapter describes the three families and summarizes the main characteristics of each generation. Chapter four reports the results of the questionnaires and interviews. Chapter five, the conclusion, suggests which individual factors need to be studied further.

The findings in this study suggest that there is no single factor which decides if those of German heritage decide to pass on their language or continue learning/using it themselves, or if they prefer to assimilate into Anglo-Canadian culture. Two factors did prove to be very important, namely the practicality of learning German, and how important one's heritage was to a participant. However, not even the presence of these two variables guaranteed a desire to continue learning German, demonstrating that numerous variables are

taken into consideration when deciding whether to continue learning German and/or to pass it on to the next generation.

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could use within the scope of this study but also helped me appreciate my own heritage and where my roots are and give me numerous ideas for further projects. The participants also showed me that I am not the only one who is still unsure if she should consider German as her native tongue or English.

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Heritage Languages: The Case of German in Kitchener-Waterloo

I. Introduction

When moving to a new country, immigrants are often faced with the challenge of keeping their own language alive in the face of a new one. Most try to learn the new one quickly in order to function in the new society while at the same time not losing their native tongue. Some immigrants manage to keep their native language by living in communities with people of the same culture. Although they will hear the language of the new country through the media, and may sometimes be forced to use it to carry out certain transactions, they can, for the most part, live in the new country just as they did in the old one and therefore require only a rudimentary knowledge of the majority language. Others may opt to do everything possible to master the new language including using it in the home, all the while neglecting their mother tongue. This in turn means that their children will most likely learn and become fluent in the majority language and, if they learn any amount of their heritage language, will not be very strong in it.

However, immigrants often notice that their children prefer to speak the majority language rather than their heritage language. Children may see their heritage language as less useful and thus of little worth and find much more value in the mainstream language. They also often have very few venues where they can speak their heritage language. Many grow up speaking their heritage language only in the family and using the majority language in all other aspects of life. When they have children, they often raise them in the majority language.

But why this change in language? Is it just because the heritage language is viewed

as useless? Is it more a matter of fitting in? Of helping the children do well in school? Of not identifying with one's heritage anymore?

This study will look at these factors and many others through case studies of three families from Waterloo Region, Ontario, Canada, who experienced a linguistic transition from German to English over three generations, i.e., from the immigrant generation, who spoke German well and English not as well, to their children, who are often bilingual (though English is the dominant language), to their grandchildren, who speak English well and their heritage language not as well or perhaps even not at all. It is the hypothesis of this study that if a language is viewed as useful and as having some value, i.e., a positive attitude is developed towards it, then it will be passed on. If, however, a negative attitude towards the language is developed, then it will not be passed on.

I.A. Aims of the Study

This study deals with the German language community of Waterloo Region. Halliday defines a language community as a group of people who regard themselves as using the same language (140). The focus here is on people who consider themselves to be speakers of German (whatever their definition of that language may be) and whether they pass it on to their descendants.

The case studies investigate what factors affected each respondent's decision to prefer German or English, if German language lessons had any bearing on these decisions, and what role identity plays. The data collected will also serve as the start of an archive of taped interviews with speakers in the region.

There are many different processes at work in language maintenance and loss. The

German spoken in Waterloo Region is unique in that many of the local German-speakers are not originally from Germany or another German-speaking country. Their ancestors left their German-speaking country one or two centuries ago but managed to continue passing on their culture and language to the next generation while living in other European countries (e.g., Hungary, Romania, former Yugoslavia). The argument here is not that the culture and language are dying out; German is still a living language in Europe spoken by around 120 million people with its own culture. However, most German speakers in Waterloo Region speak the dialect spoken in their home towns and practice a very dated form of German culture, including still wearing dirndls and lederhosen to festivities, practicing folk dances, and playing folk music. It is only now in Kitchener-Waterloo that they seem to be assimilating into the mainstream language and culture.

This study uses the following definitions when referring to the German language and its dialects (where necessary). *Variety* will be used to refer to any form of German as a single entity, whether it be standardized German or a dialect. *Standardized German* (often referred to as *high German* or *Hochdeutsch* by German-speakers) refers to the German variety codified in reference books such as the Duden and Langenscheidt dictionaries, grammar books, etc., and which has a strong, positive reputation within the German culture. The term *dialect* will be used in this study strictly to mean varieties of German which differ grammatically, phonologically, and lexically from standardized German (Chambers and Trudgill 5). *German* will be used as an all-encompassing term to include dialects of German as well as standardized German.

Some of the questions I am interested in are: In what situations and with whom do

they speak German? What attitude do German heritage-speakers and their families have towards the continuing use of German? Is it still worthwhile to a descendant of these immigrants to learn German in an English-speaking environment?

The study examines the answers given by the informants and suggests further avenues of research which may later be used for larger samples.

I.B. Important Terms and Studies

A study on language and society cannot properly begin without an introduction to the major studies undertaken over the past forty years. The studies introduced different terms which are now commonplace in the fields concerning language loss (see page 6) and language death. Though language death - when a language becomes extinct - is not the main focus of this study, some research relating to language death will be used throughout the thesis since some of the processes involved in language death are similar to language loss. The research has been organized into the following topics: The first section of this review will focus on the speaker's environment, which can be broken down into the following factors: contact with other speakers of the same language, diglossia, isolation from outside languages, cultural and personal identity, and institutional support. The second section, the review on attitude, will include the perceptions a speaker has about his/her minority language and cultural identity, as well as the effects of the speaker's attitudes towards their minority language and towards how much they use this language in the environment (in this case, English-speaking cities).

Another project similar to the present study was carried out in the late 1970s by Marion Lois Huffines: She investigated the dying out of Pennsylvania German (commonly

known as Pennsylvania Dutch). She concluded that contact with other speakers of Pennsylvania German was necessary if the language was to survive. So necessary, in fact, that she attributes the roughly 200-year life span of this German variety in the U.S.A. to the isolation from English speakers in which the Pennsylvania Germans have continuously lived (43). By remaining in communities with others who speak and use the same variety in daily living, they have been able to use their common language in all *domains* of life. A domain is an area of life, e.g., religion, family, employment, or education (Fishman 428). In the case of societies and communities where more than one language is used, usually only one language will be used in any given domain.

Manfred Prokop also came to a similar finding in his book *The German Language in Alberta: Maintenance and Teaching*. German speakers living in rural areas in Alberta showed a much higher tendency to continue using their language than did those in urban areas (112). One can therefore assume that these rural Germans use their language in many more domains than the city dwellers do. If the use of the language community's variety and the use of the majority language have set boundaries, i.e., set domains, then a stable situation for the minority language is created, helping maintain it. This refers to Ferguson's term *diglossia*, i.e., the allocation of one language or dialect to a special domain (325). A domain may also be governed by the standard (often superposed) language of a region (e.g., standardized German when dealing with government officials), or by the dialect (e.g., speaking to neighbours).

The roles that bilingualism and diglossia play are important. Fishman stated in a 1972 study that diglossia is a necessity if both languages are to survive (*Sociology* 92). If

all speakers used both languages in all situations, one language would eventually become superfluous and would eventually no longer be used by the community. This seems to be the case with the Old Order and non-Old Order Pennsylvania Germans Huffines studied. The Old Order, aside from a few introductory words of English spoken to the children to help them in their schooling, restrict English for the most part to a reading and writing language. It is only spoken in school, as the language of instruction, when dealing with outsiders (which are mostly business transactions), and when something is said in front of the children which they are not to understand (47). In other words, the Old Order Pennsylvania Germans have a diglossic environment.

The non-Old Order Pennsylvania Germans on the other hand have very few set domains, i.e., very little diglossia, for German. Their daily transactions are carried out in English, their family life is conducted in English except for telling secrets in front of the children and speaking with members of the older generation, in which case they use Pennsylvania German (49). The respondents in this group who still spoke Pennsylvania German also reported code-switching (changing between languages) within one conversation without being able to give a reason why. Some were even unaware of the switch (49). Sub-groups in multilingual societies who consider themselves ethnically different from the other groups will contribute to language decay or a language shift through constant code-switching in their daily lives (Gumperz 49).

Since one requirement of language maintenance is contact with other speakers of the same or a mutually intelligible variety, a decrease in contact with these speakers is one factor which can lead to *language loss*. This may happen if speakers move or are forced out

of their culture and thus become separated from each other (Galloway 38, Prokop 114). But it can also include more exposure to people speaking a markedly different dialect or a different language altogether that slowly replaces the current language being spoken - this is called *language shift* (Dorian 44) - as may happen during instances of *language contact*, where one language community comes into contact with another (Halliday 141). Many of the German speakers in Waterloo Region fall under both categories: They left Europe mostly because of the situation at the time (i.e., post-War Europe), moved to Waterloo Region where there were other Germans, but they had to learn English in order to work and function in society: They came into contact with English which slowly infiltrated their home and social lives.

During a period of language shift, many individuals may become bilingual, but this period of bilingualism may be very short (Halliday 143). In Huffines' study on the Pennsylvania Germans, she notes that English is, of course, the majority language in mainstream America (50). It is also the non-Old Order Pennsylvania Germans' environment. These people own cars, have electricity and phone services, modern farming equipment and modern clothes (48), speak relatively little Pennsylvania German in contrast to the Old Order groups, and many do not even identify themselves as Pennsylvania German anymore (49). This can be explained by the fact that their lifestyles rely more on the mainstream culture, of which English is the language in use. In other words, somewhere in the history of their families, someone switched from the native Pennsylvania German to the non-native English and passed this new language down to their children, something which the majority of bilinguals (which this change generation must have been in order to raise their children

in English) do not normally do, i.e., they do not switch from the language they are accustomed to living in (German) to the foreign language (English) unless they move away as an individual from the language community (Halliday 142).

In order to maintain a language, it should also be supported by institutions, e.g., schools and the government, as well as the media, work, etc., which may also serve as domains. The amount of institutional support for a language is a good index of the language's *vitality* (Ryan *et al.* 5). Vitality refers to interaction networks that actually employ it [the language] natively for one or more essential functions (4). A good example of a vital language with institutional support is French. The French government regulates the language, and has numerous programs which support it and the learning of French (e.g., the international TV channel TV5). In Canada, it is the second official language and is supported by the government, which runs French schools both inside and outside of Quebec. Outside of Quebec Canadians still have access to French language channels and radio.

Another factor relevant to language maintenance and loss is how open a language community is to outsiders. The Old Order Mennonite and Amish groups in Huffines' study will most likely be able to maintain their German dialect partly because they are still a fairly closed society which has little contact with the English-speaking majority (Huffines 55). Andersen defines a certain type of attitude in terms of a community's acceptance or refusal of an encroaching new language or dialect: A community with very strong ties among its members who do not welcome new languages or dialects (i.e., the speakers of these new languages or dialects) is said to be *endocentric* (72). The opposite term, i.e., a community which tends to embrace a new language or dialect, is said to be *exocentric*. In Andersen's

terms, the Old Order Pennsylvania Germans are endocentric.

Also of paramount importance to language loss is the attitude towards the variety in question. Members of a language community usually have no difficulties in ranking the two languages they speak in terms of prestige (Dorian 45): In order to have a positive attitude about the language or dialect, a speaker must perceive it as useful (Huffines Pennsylvania German 45, Dorian Language Loss 46). Speakers must place high value on a variety in order for it to stay alive (Schilling-Estes & Wolfram 517): Once immigrants notice that their mother tongue is not as useful to them as it was in their home country, they may allow the more pragmatic language of the new environment to take over and slowly replace their first language (Dorian Language Loss 47).

Huffines introduces Lambert's term from a 1974 study, *sub-tractive bilingualism*, which refers to speakers' use of the majority language to the point where they use their own language less and less, eventually coming to see it as inferior to the majority language. One cause of this may be pragmatism, i.e., how useful a language is considered to be (Dorian Language Loss 46), but sub-tractive bilingualism may also occur through education. In one study, it was found that young Inuit children being taught in a second dominant language showed lower ability in their heritage language (Inuttitut) compared to children taught in Inuttitut who consequently showed a much higher proficiency in their language (Wright *et al.* 82). The results of the first group are an example of sub-tractive bilingualism: Although they speak their heritage language, their abilities to function in that language diminish since they use the second language more often.

Not only must a language be deemed useful, speakers must also perceive themselves

as being able to function in that language (Huffines 46). Huffines does not mention any direct correlations in her study, but one can assume that this is a factor in the refusal by the non-Old Order people to pass the language on: Many cannot speak it. Of the 119 Pennsylvania Germans she had interviewed, only 31 claimed to be fluent in Pennsylvania German while 25 could not speak it at all (45).

The next important point is the parents' perceptions of what a language should be. Huffines found out that parents think: 1. A language should be useful for something (51); 2. It should promote learning (because of the previous farming history of the community and its refusal to send children to school past grade eight, the dialect was perceived by outsiders as something someone of little education spoke, and was as such seen as a hindrance to learning by the Pennsylvania Germans) (52); 3. A language should be accent free (by teaching their children Pennsylvania German the parents feared their children would have accents in their English) (52). This last point is very important: The dislike of this accented English should not be underestimated as a major reason for not teaching children Pennsylvania German (53). Of those who could speak this variety, their perceptions of the ideal language led them to exclude it.

Cultural identity is another aspect that affects a speaker's perceptions of the minority language: The extinction of a language is in fact a distressing matter, since the cultural tradition connected to it and the socio-cultural or even ethnic independence of the group that speaks it very often perish together with it (Sasse 7). Dorian explains that a resurgence in a language's popularity among its speakers is often accompanied by a resurgence in nationalism (which includes the culture of those who speak the language) citing examples

such as the Finnish, who successfully put their own language at the top ahead of Swedish, which was threatening to displace Finnish (49). It could be that the third generation of the present study's sample no longer view themselves as being German. If a person has little or no use for German in his daily activities, sees little worth in learning German, and does not even consider himself to be German, but rather Canadian (which carries with it the language identity of French and/or English), then he most likely does not even feel an obligation or desire to learn German.

Ryan *et al.* explain that speakers of a minority language are often faced with two choices: Either they can adopt the majority language and the cultural identity that goes along with it in order to move around in that culture more easily, or they can keep their own language and cultural identity, thereby hindering their social mobility in the dominant culture (1). They explain why language has a bearing on this:

In general, speech cues can be used by listeners to make inferences regarding an individual's personal characteristics (e.g. age, sex, intelligence), social group memberships (e.g. regional, ethnic, class, occupational), and psychological states (e.g. need for social approval, interest in continuing an interaction, anxiety, depression). (2)

Thus, one can appreciate the Pennsylvania Germans who feared that their children might acquire an accent in their English which could lead people to believe that these children fall into the negative stereotype still held by many about their culture. This may have led the children to no longer desire to be Pennsylvania German, but rather to be a part of and belong to American society.

Once speakers of a variety have acquired their perceptions of their mother tongue and have developed a certain cultural identity, attitudes towards the language in question develop. These attitudes are often the decisive factor in the struggle of language maintenance and language death (Ryan *et al.* 4) or in the case of this study, language loss. Gardner showed that the attitude one has towards a certain language is very important in determining if that person learns it (134).

In her own experiences with the Pennsylvania Germans, Huffines noticed that the children did not show their parents any interest in learning this variety. When asked if they would have liked their children to learn it, the parents responded either by saying it would have been nice because learning any language is useful, or they had decided to leave it up to the children (Pennsylvania Germans 51). These views are the results of the perceptions of what a language should be like, which were described above. Huffines also suspects that outsiders' negative attitudes towards Pennsylvania Germans already started the ball rolling by decreasing the perceived value of speaking Pennsylvania German (55). Parents who wanted their children to learn German did not give very clear reasons why. Many felt German was useful and very few felt the need to teach their children German for purely traditional or cultural reasons (Language Contact 112).

The decision to pass a language down to the next generation is never based on one factor: Numerous factors play a role, the most important of which is attitude towards a language. If the parents perceive the language as being useful in some way, which would be considered as having a positive attitude towards the heritage language, chances are much greater that they will teach it to their children. If, however, the parents perceive the language

as having negative values associated with it, or feel that teaching it to their children would confuse them more than help them, for example, speaking with friends using both languages without diglossia or not doing well in school because of a perceived language deficit in the dominant language, or they see no use in teaching it to their children, they are considered to have negative attitudes towards the language, which will most likely ensure that they will not pass it on to their children. The children, however, also develop their own perceptions of and attitudes towards a language, which in turn affect their decision to actively pursue learning it or to reject it. The interplay of these perceptions and attitudes within three generations of a family are examined in this thesis, using the methodology outlined next.

I.C. Methodology

A combination of questionnaire and interview was used to collect the data which were then analyzed for potential causes of language loss in these families over three generations. A qualitative approach was chosen to allow the researcher to highlight the heterogeneity of responses in each family instead of trying to measure the results of numerous families using scores and scales (Usita and Blieszner 270). This assumes that, although there may be many similarities between these immigrant families and those presented in other studies, there may also be differences which cannot easily be explained by quantitative measures.

The study included three families with three generations to help determine where the passing on of this heritage language stopped or has at least slowed down considerably, and to document the differences in each generation's attitudes towards the heritage language based on their perceptions of how often they still use it. These families were chosen by the

researcher and not recruited via posters or other more anonymous procedures.

Labov states: The strongest constraints that prevent linguists from utilizing the wealth of linguistic data with which they are surrounded are the barriers against interaction with strangers in one's own culture (110). As such, the participants were chosen based on Milroy's friend-of-a-friend method (66). This involves selecting participants based on social connections through the researcher with the belief that the participants will be more willing than complete strangers to open up to the researcher when answering questions.

The questionnaire (see Appendix A) was administered first and used to acquire some demographic information, personal history, as well as information on how much the respondent uses German in his or her daily life. Respondents were asked to give some personal history through simple questions (e.g., Where else have you lived since you were born? and What other languages do you speak?) and rate their level of German using Likert scales and through checking off or circling answers such as the ones found under the question, With whom do you speak German on a regular basis?

Following the questionnaire, in the same sitting, was an initial, open-ended interview. In some cases, short follow-up interviews were conducted via phone or e-mail to clarify some points from the initial interviews. Except for the follow-up interviews, all were recorded.

The interviews were designed according to how much German the interviewee spoke, i.e., there were two sets of questions - one for non-German speakers, and one for German speakers. However, since one of the aims of the interview was to uncover feelings about German and the passing on of it in the family, participants were encouraged to speak

openly and were not limited to one language or the other by the interviewer.

After the data were collected, they were analyzed for any emerging patterns of language use and attitudes towards the speakers' heritage language which could potentially be related to language loss in Waterloo Region. These analyses were both inter-group and intra-group analyses to trace the transmission of German through the generations of one family (intra-group) and to compare the results of one family with the other two (inter-group). Some examples of some factors which were looked for are: signs of language shift, different opinions about the value of learning German, and effects of the surrounding culture. Inferential statistics, which require random sampling and are used to make inferences about the target population as a whole, are not the goal of this study and therefore were not used.

I.D. Outline of the Following Chapters

The second chapter will explain the theory surrounding the topic of the present study and has been organized in such a way as to investigate the macro effects of an individual's surroundings first and slowly narrow the focus to the individual. The first topic to be discussed is the social surroundings of the individual (starting with the institutions of the government and school system, then the community, and finally the family), followed by the effects of identity. The third chapter introduces each of the families used in this study under pseudonyms and then defines each generation. The fourth chapter focuses on the results, and the concluding chapter brings together the data with previous research. It is hoped that a detailed picture of three families and the role German plays (or does not play, for that matter) in their lives will lead on to further research about specific facets of the continuation of language use in a family in the future.

II. Previous Research

When people decide to leave their home country and move to a new one, many differences are often noticeable the moment they step off the plane or ship: the landscape, the architecture, dress...mostly superficial observations at first. But these are minor in comparison to the new social environment immigrants soon find themselves in: The laws and regulations of the new country are different. The school system might differ radically from the one at home. The immigrants must also learn the customs followed by the people in their new community, as well as the language spoken there, especially if they want to make acquaintances quickly with members of their new surroundings. All of these opportunities at communication will eventually help form a diglossic system (Jaspaert and Kroon 78). As mentioned in the introduction, diglossia refers to the different situations (called domains) in which a specified language is used. These situations, whether they be a church service, school, shopping, family get-togethers, social undertakings with friends, or some other domain, occur within the social surroundings of the new immigrant family. That is to say, the new social surroundings will eventually dictate to the family which language to use in which situation if the family wishes to survive in their new environment and socialize with the locals. It can also happen that if a family stays in a new environment long enough, its members may even begin to use the new language with each other.

This chapter begins with the macro situation of language in the immigrant's new environment, namely with institutions and the support they show for a given language (or languages). The focus here is on the government and the education system, since all immigrants eventually come into contact with both of these institutions, giving them a great

amount of influence over the immigrants. The second section covers the effects the media have on the immigrant s choice of language, and is followed by a discussion in the third section on the role social contacts play when a person chooses in which language to communicate. This will include the community, friends and family.

The research presented here will be multicultural and not focus solely on Germans immigrating to Canada. It is felt that immigrants in general show more similarities because of their common experiences than differences based on their various cultures and languages. Although minor differences do exist, they are only speculated upon when it is believed that the differences in results from the various studies are important to the conclusions made.

II.A. Institutions - The Government and Education System

As noted in the introduction to this thesis, institutional support for a language is a strong sign that a language is still vital, i.e., still in use by part of the population. A change involving an institution like the government, for example, can therefore have an important effect on the language(s) spoken by the culture affected (Dorian Language-Maintenance 58). Declaring French as the second official language in Canada is one example of such a political change that had a major effect on language in Canada. Canada exhibits strong government support for different languages and cultures through its Multiculturalism Act to the point where this support is taught in the schools (Canada Program Guidelines). The Multiculturalism Act is a very broad and all-encompassing move on the government s part affecting all languages spoken and all cultures practiced in the country. According to Dorian, such a political change is significant because:

Speakers, or at any event their children and their children's children, might possibly derive some compensation for the pain of stigma and ridicule, or at the least some basis for mitigating negative family attitudes, by witnessing a reversal of *official* attitude and a possible concomitant lessening of general hostility to the minority culture (even if the language were lost) in the community at large. (Language-Maintenance 64)

The Government of Canada must have been aware of this when it enacted the Multiculturalism Act in 1971, thereby giving Canadian citizens the recognized right to practice their language and culture in Canada. Materials on different cultures were developed for educational purposes and eventually added to school curricula, and programs were designed to promote understanding of and respect for different cultures. The government also recognizes the advantages of this kind of philosophy: Canadians who speak many languages and understand many cultures make it easier for Canada to participate globally in areas of education, trade and diplomacy (*Canada Multiculturalism*). Because the Canadian government has this kind of outlook on multiculturalism and multilingualism, it supports numerous programs to help people (especially youths and students) learn about other cultures, including the languages spoken in that culture. Although many programs support international exchanges, most of them deal with Canada's bilingualism and try to create mutual respect between francophones and anglophones. One example is the Summer Language Bursary Program for students, whose mandate is: To provide young Canadians with the opportunity to learn their second official language or, in the case of Francophone minorities, to perfect their mother tongue (*Canada Our*

Programs). This mandate suggests that the government not only supports teaching Canadians their other official language, but it also recognizes that language problems may exist for those not immersed in their own language, namely that their mother tongue will not be as well developed.

Another program offered by the Canadian government is the Multiculturalism Program (Canada *Multicultural*). There are four objectives in the program, the first being, To assist in the development of strategies that facilitate full and active participation of ethnic, religious, and cultural communities in Canadian Society. The other three, which fall under this main one include: an increase in public awareness and public dialogue about multiculturalism, the guarantee of equitable access to public institutions for people of all ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds, and assistance to the federal departments and agencies in their obligation to commit to and follow the Act in the development of programs and policies. One of the results of this program is that Statistics Canada currently conducts the census in 61 languages (Canada *Annual Report* 46). Wil Kymlicka, a researcher who looked into the success of the Act, has concluded that the Act is generally successful in fulfilling its purpose: naturalization rates from 1971 (the inception of the Multiculturalism Act) to 1995 rose consistently, with a record 227,000 new citizenships being given in 1995. He also found that ethnic groups do not generally form their own political parties but still participate strongly in politics and tend to vote for the traditional national parties. Ninety-seven percent of Canadians speak one of the official languages, and new immigrants express a strong wish to learn one of them. And lastly, exogamy is on the rise: In 1968 52% of Canadians approved of intermarriages, and in 1995 this figure rose to 81 % (*qtd. in*

Canada *The Evidence Series*). In short, the Multiculturalism Act seems to be doing what it intended to do: to increase acceptance of different cultures and languages thereby building up a support system for those who wish to keep their culture and language. The implications of these results on language attrition and maintenance are discussed further down.

Similar to the Canadian government's support for retaining different cultures and languages, Ireland has tried over the past 60 years to revitalize Irish. The government has supported numerous projects involving research in Irish law, pre-Christian religion, literature, language, etc. The collected knowledge makes its way down to schoolchildren via illustrated books from an official Curriculum Development Unit (Dorian

Language-Maintenance 65). Irish schoolchildren are rarely denied the opportunity to study Irish if they want to (66). Despite government efforts, though, students learn much about their cultural heritage, but do not wish to learn the language (65). In Ireland, then, the institutions are very supportive, but their efforts to increase the number of Irish speakers have failed. This may be in part due to an earlier policy of compulsory Irish when there were less than the required number of trained personnel, which created a strong aversion to the language in many people (66). Although it is not a requirement to learn German in Canada, if children are pressured by their parents to learn it, especially via Saturday morning classes, they may inadvertently be instilling a dislike for the German language while hoping the children will understand when they're older.

The other side of the coin is a situation where no government support for a language exists, and thus instruction in a language is not given. Dorian contrasts Ireland's situation above with the Gaelic situation in Scotland. Even if students want to learn Gaelic (or if their

parents want them to learn it), it is not possible because there is no curriculum to be taught nor teachers to instruct (66).

The Concordia School in Kitchener, a Saturday morning German language school, has solved this problem: Just like the Irish are not required to learn about their cultural path but have the opportunity, and to some extent like the Scottish, whose schools do not offer the opportunity, people of German heritage in Waterloo Region have the opportunity to learn German in a formal educational environment if their day schools do not offer German language courses. For students who do not have access to German classes in their high schools, or for those who wish (or whose parents wish them) to take German classes before high school (aside from Saturday morning language schools, German is not taught in elementary schools in the public and separate systems in Ontario), they have the opportunity to attend Saturday morning language school, which currently has an enrolment of 613 students, according to principal Monika Matthaes. In Prokop's study of the German Hutterites in Alberta, German was rarely offered in the public schools because the rural Hutterite colonies organized their own German education, often taught by a member of the community (Pennsylvania Germans 62).

Although the government can affect much with its policies (or lack thereof) especially in education, there were, and still are, people who believe that students should be taught in English only (Wright and Taylor 241), believing that it is the school's main responsibility to teach children how to function in the dominant society (Wright *et al.* 63). They believe that giving only English instruction to a child whose mother tongue is not English improves that child's chances of competing in the dominant society. Ardent

supporters of this philosophy even go so far as to try to replace the student's mother tongue with the dominant language (Wright and Taylor 241). This kind of education can lead to negative opinions of one's own heritage language and threatens the child's linguistic heritage (Wright *et al.* 64).

The other option is to instruct students to some degree in their heritage language. Lambert, for example, found out that by allowing French-Canadian students to have some of their education in their own language instead of a full English immersion program, they developed a greater sense of pride in being French and came to the realization that French is just as important a language for education as English (Lambert, Giles and Picard, 1975 *qtd. in* Intergroup Relations 192). He suggests that instead of seeing education as something that should only be taught in one language, it would be better to give the students a solid foundation in their mother tongue and then begin with English instruction as early as possible. He believes this will convert subtractive bilingualism and biculturalism into additive bilingualism and biculturalism (Lambert Intergroup Relations 191). Members of more prestigious language groups (English in the case of North America) benefit from a full immersion program in the foreign language from the onset and experience additive bilingualism, i.e., there is no damage to their mother tongue, most likely because everyone in North America has access to English media, may perform many daily transactions in English, and often has acquaintances or friends who speak English. Clément and his colleagues came to the same conclusions in their study carried out about 20 years later (572). Another advantage with English Canadians in Montreal who have gone through a French immersion program is that they are more open to the French Canadian culture

(Lambert Intergroup Relations 190), although they were found not to have as much social contact with French-Canadians, nor did their parents support any such social connections. One must keep in mind, however, that this study was conducted in the early 70s, shortly after the Front de Libération du Québec terrorist attacks in Montreal. It is possible that negative feelings towards each group still existed.

Where education in one's heritage language is not available, families may opt to raise their children in the dominant language because of its importance in education. This was the case with the Pennsylvania Germans in Huffines' study. Participants over the age of sixty attended school only until grade eight or ten, lived on farms where Pennsylvania German was spoken regularly, and even spoke this language with their spouses. However, only one couple out of a sample of fifty spoke it with their children. The others chose to speak to their children in English because that is the language spoken and used in instruction at the schools (Language Contact 95). In another study conducted in rural alpine areas of Austria, several communities there had remained bilingual (Slovene/German) for roughly two hundred years. German eventually took over, especially because of the expansion of national education (Brudner-White 162). Identical findings about the importance of schooling in language maintenance and attrition were also reported by Folmer about Dutch immigrants in New Zealand (3).

In a report published in 1977 about the state of German in Waterloo Region, Bongart stated that one reason why German was still much in use at that time was because it received much support from both universities in Waterloo, which in turn led private schools, the Saturday morning school, and even some churches to help with the preservation and

continuation of German in the community (27). Unfortunately, despite all of these opportunities to learn German, the only ones who had an active knowledge of German were those who specifically set out to learn it (28). He came to the conclusion that people with an active knowledge of German were those who began some form of German language instruction at age six, spoke German at home, and had the opportunity to visit a German-speaking country periodically. The factor with the most influence though was school (27). In Isajiw's study, a comparison of language use and culture among several ethnicities in Canada, very few German Canadians attended language school - only 0.7% of the third generation, compared with 17% of third generation Ukrainians and 82% of third generation Jewish (76).

Despite all the efforts made by the Canadian government to support multiculturalism, which implicitly includes multilingualism, there seem to be fewer people of German heritage who want to keep their language and culture. One problem might be that there is too much acceptance of different cultures and languages. In Kymlicka's study, he said that intermarriage was on the rise, suggesting this shows that Canadians are more accepting of different cultures. This may be true, but successful pluralism in society does not automatically imply that the cultures will be preserved among members of contact groups (Clément *et al.* 561). By intermarrying, the culture and language of one of the spouses can become easily lost and forgotten if the couple is not careful. If one of the spouses' first language is English, chances seem even less likely that the native tongue of the other spouse will be passed on to the children. The ethnic groups in Isajiw's study, including the Germans, had high rates of marrying outside of the culture, except for the

Jewish immigrants and descendants (74).

However, due to government funding for programs which support multiculturalism, including school language programs, those who want to learn have ample opportunity. Although institutional support does indeed seem to be important in language maintenance and attrition, its importance seems to lie further down on the scale. When one enrolls in a foreign language class, for example, there is often a discussion entitled, Why learn this language? It seems that many websites devoted to different languages also answer this question. The answer is rarely, Learn German because the government supports it. It often deals more with the number of people who speak the language and in what situations it may be useful to know it. In other words, how much value there is in learning or maintaining a foreign language. The same applies to maintaining or learning one's heritage language. The next part deals with other external factors such as the media, which may help determine the value of a language.

II.B. Other External Factors

Before heading on into the direct social contacts a person has, it is important to consider other external means of exposure to languages besides the dominant one spoken by the community. Although the existence of a large number of resources does not mean that these resources will be used, as Dorian's Irish example showed, not having any of these resources guarantees that people will not be able to learn or maintain a language, as was demonstrated in her Scottish example. When a foreign language learner only has restricted exposure to the language being learned, there are fewer target models such as the media,

school, or workplace where the student can get more input (Giles and Coupland 129). This can also be expanded to include the maintenance of a minority language: Most of the second generation of German-speakers would have had limited input in their native tongue, most of it coming from their familial surroundings. The majority of their language input would have been in English: media, school, friends, on the job. They also did not have access to the Internet or a similar world-wide information system which would have allowed them to listen to music or a radio show in their native tongue whenever they wanted to instead of being limited to a few certain hours a week of foreign language broadcasting.

However, exposure to these minimal broadcasts may still have been helpful. Radio was a medium that was easily accessible to immigrants because the equipment needed was cheap and to receive signals did not cost anything (Warshauer 75). The first and second generation Dutch in Folmer's study, for example, listened to Dutch broadcasts when they could and played Dutch music (11). Foreign language broadcasting gives immigrants a connection to their former home, helps reduce the isolation they may feel when they first arrive in a new country, and gives them exposure to entertainment and their own culture in their native language for those who may be illiterate in their mother tongue and for whom the press is then inaccessible (75). Many listeners still lived in the same large ethnic communities their ancestors had lived in several generations ago and actively continued their great traditions and high culture. In the case of German, Warshauer found that the broadcasts aimed to help maintain their high culture and language (88).

Many Germans in Russia also used the German broadcasts and newspapers to fulfill the same goals. Although they had no interest in the political system which was often

propagated through their media, they saw these broadcasts and newspapers as an opportunity to maintain their language. One reader wrote a letter to the editor about a newspaper called

Die Rote Fahne :

Als ich die Rote Fahne das erste Mal in die Hand bekam, besaß ich nur spärliche Kenntnisse der deutschen Sprache und mußte gehörig buchstabieren, um sie zu lesen. ... Der Zeitung habe ich es zu verdanken, daß ich jetzt in meiner Muttersprache fließend lesen kann und alles verstehe.¹ (Susanna Eckert in der Zeitung Neues Leben vom 1. Januar 1975. S. four *qtd. in* Frank 157)

Immigrants do not always take advantage of these resources. For example, in a study of Italian immigrants in Germany, Di Luzio reports that even though they had access to Italian television programming broadcast from Switzerland (132), the children had no interest in it and preferred watching the German shows (133). Although they did not explain why this is the case, it could be related to peer pressure. Since it is reasonable to assume that the majority of students at most schools in Germany are German, conversations and activities with peers will most likely centre around German-themed topics instead of Italian ones, making it harder for these children of Italian descent to fit in if they are not up-to-date on the current German television shows. Another possibility could be a complete disinterest in their Italian background. Perhaps they view their heritage as old-fashioned and uncool and therefore would prefer to be part of the cool group, i.e., their peer group. This topic of

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When I first received the Rote Fahne in my hand, I had very little knowledge of the German language and had to spell phonetically in order to read it. ... I thank the newspaper that I can now read fluently in my mother tongue and understand everything.

identity is explored later in the present study and is just mentioned here as one possible reason why the Italian children in this study do not watch Italian programming.

However, foreign language broadcasting is not without its problems. Warshauer reported that in the U.S., broadcasters of German, Italian, and French programs experience several problems. They have numerous difficulties, including getting financial support, finding personnel with the required language knowledge, scheduling, and a decrease in their listenership mostly based on a lessening of cultural interests, especially in the younger generation (89). These difficulties have been augmented by the increasing use of television (76).

So once again the resources are available but not being used by the younger generation. Adults already speaking the minority language fluently, as was the case with the German villages in Russia, took advantage of whatever means they had to keep up their language. But it appears that the younger generation, who may only need this second language to communicate with those of their ethnic community, does not wish to take advantage of these resources. Perhaps this is because of perceiving their ethnic language as having no use to them, or perhaps this is due to the age of the material being broadcast. For example, the German radio shows in Waterloo Region broadcast mostly folk music, which may be seen as being outdated by the modern standards of the youth. If this is the only exposure to German music they have, then it may be more a rejection of the type of culture they are being exposed to and not the culture itself. If this is the only German music they hear, then they may perceive German music and therefore by extension German culture as being old-fashioned.

Immigration itself helps with keeping ethnic languages alive (Weinfeld 243), assuming the immigrants make contact with others who speak the same ethnic language. That is to say, speaking with people who speak the same language may help to enforce the ethnic language. Even if immigrants of one particular ethnicity no longer settle down in the same area as earlier immigrants, there are still opportunities to connect with speakers of the same language through travel and other means of communication (243). The next section takes a look at how contact with people helps keep a language in use.

II.C. Contact With People

Language is an important means of interacting with others. Social situations provide many opportunities for a person to engage in meaningful speech and communication. If an immigrant or someone from this person's family wishes to communicate with others in their new country, they must learn to speak in that language. This can result in two outcomes: It can affect the perceived value of the native tongue and the new language, eventually creating attitudes towards them and creating a diglossic situation in which the speaker uses one language with certain people and another with other individuals which, if stable, can help preserve the native language. However, it can also cause the speaker to eventually give up the mother tongue and use only the majority language, especially if all family members also speak the dominant language. This can lead to a major reversal in the language used: In the case of immigrants, their mother tongue will only be useful with others who speak it, meaning that as they come more and more into contact with speakers of the dominant language, they will eventually shift languages and neglect their mother tongue (Dorian 47).

In Folmer's study, the most important determinant of which language to use was the language spoken by those present. If non-Dutch speakers were present, then English was used. If several generations were present, then they switched to the pattern of language use in the home (10). Jaspaert and Kroon came to similar conclusions: The most important factor in determining which language the Italians in the Netherlands and Flanders chose when communicating with each other was the languages available to everyone involved in the conversation (92).

Friends can play an important role in language maintenance or loss depending on whether they belong to the ethnic group or dominant culture. The first and second generation Dutch in New Zealand had Dutch friends (as well as New Zealander and American). Both generations had the ability to more or less converse in Dutch, the first generation more so than the second. The third generation had playmates who were primarily New Zealanders. It is also this generation that has shown little or no ability in Dutch (Folmer 10). The German Canadians in Isajiw's study also support this conclusion: only 29% of the second generation and 23% of the third said that they had one or two close German friends (74). With the Italian families in Germany, the children's everyday lives were conducted in German both with Italian and German friends (Di Luzio 132). Speaking German with one's Italian friends could either be a result of accustomizing to using German in one's daily life or of age, as will be briefly discussed in the section on family.

In many communities, one often has considerable contact with one's neighbours. It is the neighbourhood which may be the domain most resistant to or the most helpful with language change (Pfaff 98). In Jaspaert and Kroon's study, Italians moved to Italian

neighbourhoods in the Netherlands and Flanders. These neighbourhoods proved to be the most resistant domain in terms of language shift (91). Chow found similar results with Chinese immigrants living in Toronto's core in areas with dense Chinese populations (192). In New Zealand, the Dutch immigrants, though proud of their heritage and wanting to preserve it, decided not to live in neighbourhoods with Dutch concentrations (Folmer 10). Although these differences in choice of neighbourhood may be dependent upon cultural factors, the main point is the importance of the surrounding environment these immigrants seem to attribute to neighbourhoods in deciding whether their environment should consist mostly of their ethnic origin.

Similar results for Germans have also been reported in previous sections, e.g., the Hutterite colonies in Alberta and Old Order Pennsylvania Germans in the U.S., and the post-War immigrant Germans from different European countries. The Old Order and Hutterite colonies are endocentric rural communities, allowing them to control the amount of English that filters through to their children. On the other side, the post-War immigrants often moved to urban centres where they had more contact with English-speakers, exhibiting exocentric attitudes towards the dominant language.

II.D. Family

One would think that the family is the most important factor in upholding one's native language. In some cases it is, but this tends to be related to the necessity to communicate with the immigrant generation as was described above in the social clubs the Dutch in New Zealand attended and in the New Order Pennsylvania Germans with parents

and grandparents who only understood Pennsylvania German. However, language acculturation can also lead to disintegration in communication among family members and weaken their bonds to each other (Usita and Blieszner 267). Language acculturation leads to the weakening of heritage language proficiency across generations, which results in stress on the families (276). This section will first look at possible patterns of language usage within a family and how they develop, and then describe the effects these patterns can have.

The use of the mother tongue/heritage language differs according to generation. The immigrant generation often leaves the old country in search of better economic opportunities, but often obtain jobs as unskilled labourers because they either have no other qualifications or those they have are not recognized. Their children, though, receive a much better education and develop closer connections to the new country (Jaspaert and Kroon 89). Returning to Di Luzio's study on the Italian immigrants in Germany, the parents never strived for a good command of German because they often planned to move back to Italy after a few years when they had saved enough and their children were finished with school (132). The parents had no intention of giving up their culture because they wanted to return to Italy at some point in time. The children, however, showed very little interest in learning Italian. The little contact they had with Italians was limited to the priest, Italian language class teacher, staff members of the study itself, and once in awhile on a social basis with other Italians. Italian was only used with family members who could not speak German, namely the older generation (133). Papapavlou and Pavlou found similar results in their study of Greek Cypriots in the UK: Second and third generation Greek Cypriots used Cypriot Greek with older members of the family and English with younger ones, especially with

siblings (102).

Folmer describes the processes the Dutch family in New Zealand went through in making the switch to English. The first generation husband and wife spoke to each other in Dutch (8). After they emigrated to New Zealand, they continued using their mother tongue. The children were raised in Dutch, but once they began attending school, English slowly took over as their preferred language and they began responding to their parents in English. The parents gradually began using Dutch and English to communicate with their children. This family eventually did return to Holland, where Dutch was used once again in the home, but upon their return to New Zealand three years later, their preferred language in the house returned to English. Once the third-generation participants in this study began school, English became the home language, even though there was an attempt at raising the first child in Dutch (9).

This family remained in contact with family back home through letters and phone calls. The first generation used only Dutch in their communications, whether written or spoken, with relatives back home. The deviation from this happened in the second generation. They spoke to their aunts, uncles, and grandparents in Dutch, but to their cousins in English. Age seems to be the important factor here, because the aunts and uncles also spoke English. The second generation also preferred to stay in contact via telephone because they felt insecure about their spelling, despite having stayed in Holland for three years and having learned how to write in Dutch (10). Both third generation participants were raised bilingually: in Dutch by the mother and in English by the father. The eldest spoke Dutch until he was four. Once he began school, where he was told that he could not speak Dutch,

he relied solely on English. The youngest child switched to English at an earlier stage, possibly due to her brother and her English-speaking friends (9).

The differences between the Dutch generations are the same as in other immigrant families. In the Dutch family, the immigrant generation placed a high importance on their descent and were active members of ethnic clubs. Their involvement in the clubs led them to form friendships with many others of their ethnic culture. All of this helped them maintain their language and culture. The children were even brought up in the heritage language (Folmer 9) and attended the ethnic singing and dancing clubs (10). However, once the children went to school and mingled with English-speaking children, they began speaking English in the home (3).

Similar results for the second generation were reported by Papapavlou and Pavlou: Greek Cypriots in London, England, preferred to travel to Cyprus and stay with relatives (86.9%) and some (12%) with friends. Of these participants, 65.3% claimed to practice Greek with their relatives, 18.6% with their friends, and 6.9% with siblings (100). Despite the difference in culture between Greeks and Dutch, it is clear that the younger generation still uses the dominant language with people their own age, irrelevant of ability in the ethnic language.

Prokop reported that the overall number of Albertans with German as their mother tongue decreased by 21% from 1971 to 1991. A decrease of 22% was noted by those who used German as their home language. However, when the figures are split between urban and rural dwellers, the role of surroundings becomes more obvious: The decrease was 57% for urban dwellers who used German as their home language and only 6% in the rural areas

(Maintenance 59). This decrease in using German as the home language is also prevalent in the New Order Pennsylvania German families: Subsequent generations learned Pennsylvania German in order to communicate with the older generations, be they family members or business clients, but spoke English among themselves (Huffines Language Contact 96). The similarities between the Germans here and the other cultures discussed above lie in the amount of contact each group has with other members of its own culture. The Germans living in rural areas in Alberta and the Old Order Pennsylvania Germans had limited contact with speakers of the majority language. The immigrant generations in the Dutch and Italian groups spent more time with members of their own culture in order to maintain it, whereas the second generation, most likely because of their exposure to the dominant culture through school, spent more time with people of the majority culture.

Bongart reported that in homes where German was still spoken, the children showed only a passive knowledge of the language. Those with an active knowledge of German acquired it through conscious efforts to learn it (28). The New Order Pennsylvania Germans in Huffines study reported similar results: The conscious decision to speak English with the children resulted in a young generation that was able to understand, but in most circumstances not speak the native tongue of their parents (Language Contact 96). In his book, *The German Language in Alberta*, Prokop talks about more extreme cases presented in several investigations which have confirmed that most German immigrants are actually prepared to cease using German in the home and to adapt English as their way of communication, both inside and outside the home (111). Gump came to similar conclusions: Their children would be able to adapt to the Canadian environment more easily

if English was spoken at home (80). Folmer also reiterates these conclusions and lists reasons which were also given in Gump's study, namely that the parents were afraid of the effects of raising their children in Dutch. Some even went so far as to consider bilingualism detrimental to their children's development (3), a view shared with advocates of English-only education in Canada.

Usita and Blieszner conducted a case study in which twenty-five dyads of Japanese mothers and one of their American-born daughters (the father was also American) were asked questions regarding communication with each other, specifically with regards to communication problems arising from the mothers' use of Japanese and the daughters' upbringing in English. The mothers made a conscious decision not to teach their daughters Japanese, despite their preference to use it whenever English was not necessary, for two reasons: The family lived in the United States, where English was the primary language. The mothers wanted to learn it, so they felt that one way to accomplish this was by speaking to their daughters in English. In some cases, the mothers spoke Japanese or a mixture of Japanese and English to their daughters, but the daughters responded only in English (273). Although this allowed the daughters to function in American society without any language barriers, numerous problems surfaced within the family, especially when the daughters were young. The mothers reported difficulties making their ideas clear to and understanding their daughters. The daughters reported feeling frustrated when language barriers were present and became impatient with their mothers (274). Proponents of the English-only philosophy would say that the mothers made the right decision in raising their daughters monolingually in English because the children could function better in everyday life. But is that more

important than a breakdown in family communications? In the studies concerning German Canadians, or the Dutch in New Zealand, the transition from the ethnic language to the dominant language proceeded slowly over three generations, the second generation serving as interpreters between the first and third generations if required. In the case of these Japanese-American families, the forced shift to English meant that there were no bilingual mediators within the family who could help with misunderstandings. Some of the daughters reported being ashamed of their mothers' English (277), and some of the mothers also felt emotionally distanced from their children and grandchildren because of their weaknesses in English (275). However, these families did cope and adjust. Usita and Blieszner found that although none of the families used exactly the same coping methods, the methods could still be categorized into four types: relying on others for help, seeking clarification from the mothers (279), humour, and helping the mother with her English (280). As the daughters matured, they grew to accept their mothers' language abilities, however limited they were (277). One daughter even went to Japan as part of her studies, which helped her to better understand and relate to her mother (278). Usita and Blieszner concluded that the participants were able to reduce strain on their relationships because they wanted to improve communication between themselves and discovered ways of doing so (279).

Interethnic marriage, a phenomenon occurring more frequently over time (Isajiw 74), is often considered both a contributor to and a consequence of the reduction in close ethnic ties and eventually, assimilation (Weinfeld 244). The studies described in detail thus far show this to be true for some ethnic communities: the Japanese mothers who spoke only English, or at best mostly English with a little Japanese, to their daughters; the daughter of

the Dutch immigrant family in New Zealand who married an English speaker, resulting in allowing English into the home; and also the Germans in Alberta who, by the third generation, had the lowest level of endogamy of all the groups in Isajiw's study. These results are reiterated by Weinfeld: Rates of interethnic marriage are far greater for native-born Canadians (245). This explains, then, why many third generation Canadians, with the exception of some ethnic groups, do not seem to care about the ethnicity of their (future) spouse. Many of course denotes that there are still some who consider it important to marry within the ethnic group. In 1980, this rate was about 10%-15% of third generation Canadians (Reitz 131) which means several hundred thousand Canadians (Weinfeld 246).

II.E. The Effects of Identity

Although there are numerous theories about identity, it is not the goal of this section to debate its meaning. What is important here is what participants consider themselves to be and how their idea of their own identities affects their choice in learning their heritage language and continuing their heritage. The definition of identity to be used for this section will involve how much a person identifies with either their own ethnic group or the dominant culture. There are four possibilities of this type of identification. The first is identification with both groups, called *integration*. The second is identification with neither group, called *marginalization*. The third is with the outgroup only, called *assimilation*, and the fourth with the ingroup only, called *separation* (Clément *et al.* 561).

Language can be seen as a means of connecting people to an ethnic community

which transmits culture and tradition (564) helping them form a cultural identity.

Individuals form these identities by internalizing different elements of a culture, be it their ethnic culture or the dominant one. This is separate from a social identity which is something that arises as individuals define themselves in relation to others in their social groups (e.g., their socio-economic status in relation to others SES). Language can be closely linked to forming cultural and social identities, meaning it is an important factor in both (Papapavlou and Pavlou 95).

An example of how language and cultural identity are linked with each other is how people label themselves, e.g., if they are Canadian because their dominant language is English or French, or German because their dominant language is German. Kells asked American college students of Hispanic background what they preferred to be called. Fifty-three percent of monolingual English-speakers preferred the label Hispanic and completely avoided the term Mexicano/a. Forty-three percent of Spanish-dominant bilinguals preferred Mexican American, 19% Mexicano/a and only 16% Hispanic (31). The clear language divide here is apparent in the term Mexicano/a : Students with English as their only language did not relate enough to their heritage (i.e., to the ingroup) in order to identify with that term compared to students who were Spanish-dominant. A study involving people of Greek Cypriot heritage in London, England, supports Kells' conclusions: Most of the group (94.5%) claimed to have few difficulties with informal Greek and preferred to be identified as Greek Cypriots, Greeks, or Cypriots (in that order of preference) as opposed to English, Anglo Cypriot, or English of Cypriot descent (Papapavlou and Pavlou 101). This link between culture and identity can be transposed onto

the family situation: Keeping the language of origin in a family can produce a circle effect by helping reduce acquisition of the dominant language for family members, thereby pushing out the dominant culture while assisting in the retention of the ethnic identity in the family (Nauck 160) which can lead to retention of the ethnic language in the next generation and so on. Some immigrant families try to keep their ethnicity either through separation or integration, while others try to leave the past behind and assimilate into the mainstream culture. Although retaining an ethnic language within a family can also help preserve the family's heritage and ethnic identity, it can hinder adaptation to a new cultural environment, which would be made easier by learning the new culture's language (Clément 568).

Learning the dominant language would not necessarily mean losing one's ethnic identity: It depends on whether one assimilates into the new culture or integrates both into one new identity. For example, adolescents who retain a high proficiency in their heritage language also feel a positive identification with their ethnicity (Phinney *et al.* 148) which could raise their overall self-esteem.

Isajiw conducted studies with descendants of several immigrant groups including Germans and measured how much of their ethnicity they kept via several categories. One category was ethnic behaviour patterns other than language, including the practice of ethnic customs, keeping ethnic ornamental or artistic articles, and the consumption of ethnic foods. The results showed that except for the English and Majority Canadians (people whose heritage is Canadian, i.e., their original ethnicity has been washed out over generations), Germans showed significantly lower retention of all of these ethnic behaviours across all three generations (72). The Greek Cypriots in Papapavlou and Pavlou's study on the other

hand showed that 83.5% of the Greek Cypriots kept their ethnic customs in part by attending festivals and organizations, apparently because of their own interest in and enjoyment of such events and because they wanted to be with friends of the same ethnic background and to practice their Greek (99).

Returning to Isajiw's study, he found that very pronounced loss of ethnic identity in the Germans, as demonstrated through language loss, was very prominent already in the first generation (the one which immigrated to Canada) where only 57% used German every day or often, compared to 94% of the first generation Italian participants and 84% of the Ukrainian participants. By the second generation, only 29% of the German group used their heritage language on a regular basis compared with 58% of the second generation Italians and 74% of the second generation Ukrainians. By the third generations, most members of all of these ethnic backgrounds rarely or never used their ethnic language. However, the Germans still had the lowest number of speakers of German compared to the other groups (71). In summary, although a large loss occurs across cultures between the second and third generations, the Germans showed their greatest depreciation of language use already between the first and second generations (69).

However, the connection between language and culture is not as simple as it seems at first glance. Ethnic identity is determined by many different factors besides language including customs, education, and religion. The importance of these factors in retaining ethnic identity varies from group to group (Papapavlou and Pavlou 95). Kells' findings that there seems to be a strong correlation between labeling oneself ethnically and the language one speaks, even though one no longer lives in the country where that language is spoken

led, her to conclude that there is much more to one's identity than speaking one's heritage language. She summarizes: The border is not only a geographical reality. The border is an internalized psychological, sexual, cultural, and linguistic reality that inflects students' concepts of self and belonging in profound ways (31). Phinney *et al.* for example found that some ethnic groups, especially those of non-European origin, retain their ethnic identity independent of their language (149). This could happen to German culture in Canada.

Prokop forecasts that German culture will not disappear altogether:

There will still be a German tent at Heritage Days in the future where German sausages and sauerkraut will be consumed; anglophone connoisseurs will continue to buy their bread and pastry at German bakeries and will discover the delicious flavour of German prepared meats. Unfortunately, there will be no one in the beer tents, pastry shops, and delicatessens who will be able to speak and understand German. (Maintenance 63)

He suggests that culture does not imply a need to speak the language that is most often associated with it. This same opinion is taken on by De Vos: Ethnicity is frequently related more to the symbol of a separate language than to its actual use by all members of a group (15).

Another measure in Isajiw's study examined how important German identity or cultural background was to descendants of immigrant Germans when growing up. The Germans again came out with the lowest value: Only ten percent of the third generation stated that it was somewhat or very important. For comparison, 51% of the Jewish, 30% of the Italian, 77% of the Ukrainian, and 40% of the English, Scottish and Irish third-plus

generations placed importance on their heritage identity and background (77).

So although a case may be made for a division between language and culture, many studies do find a link between both factors. Clément reported that acquisition of the outgroup (in this case dominant culture) language is important to one's change of identity (573). He conducted a study with Francophones and Anglophones in Ottawa. Both language groups were further separated into two groups: majority and minority. For example, majority Anglophones were those who lived in an area where English was the dominant language (i.e., most of Ontario) and minority Anglophones were those who lived in an area where French was the dominant language (i.e., Quebec). He found that majority Francophones increasingly identified with Anglophones as their knowledge of English grew and that their identification with Francophones actually decreased. He called this a *subtractive* or *assimilated identity profile* (565). He also found that the dominant culture of the country had an effect on the participants' identity. The results for the Anglophones were the opposite: As their knowledge of French increased, so did their identification with the Francophones as well as their adjustment to that culture as a whole. Their identification with other Anglophones was not affected. These results show *additive bilingualism* or *integration* (565). The Germans in Prokop's and Isajiw's studies, then, would be cases of subtractive identity profile.

It was stated before that many view Germans as being very ready to give up their ethnic identity and assimilate quickly. Isajiw found that the second generation spoke only English to their children (76). By the third generation, only 12% of the Germans with English as their native tongue claimed to know at least some German compared with 46% of

Italian, 69% of Jewish, and 48% of Ukrainian third generation participants. Prokop reported similar results among German immigrants and their families living in urban areas a little over twenty years before Isajiw's study (Language Maintenance 112). These results again support previous claims that the Germans are more willing to assimilate into the dominant culture than other ethnic groups and that the children will most likely grow up knowing of their German heritage but claiming to have a Canadian identity.

The Germans showed assimilation, whereas the Anglophones showed integration, i.e., they were able to retain their native tongue and identity and relate to and absorb the Francophone identity and language without any problems. Similar to the German groups, but not to such an extreme, the Francophones showed tendencies towards assimilation, demonstrated by their decline in identification with their own culture and language and a growing identification with the dominant culture (Clément 566). For some immigrants, this type of change in identity progresses smoothly and they learn to adjust to and accommodate it. However, some individuals may hold attitudes towards acculturation which may conflict with their identification profile, thereby having an effect on their adaptation (566).

This conflict between attitudes towards acculturation and one's identity profile may lead to a form of identity crisis, defined by Haselbach as a perceived threat to the continuity of personality. What the person used to think of herself is no longer an appropriate self interpretation (4). It can therefore be hypothesized that those who have a stronger command of the dominant language and strongly identify with its culture experience less maladaptive identity incongruities (Clément 568) as opposed to those who perceive themselves to have a weaker command of the dominant language and have

difficulties identifying with its culture, which could lead to more difficulties in adapting. (This is, for example, the reason behind the English only movement in schools, discussed on page 21.) He hypothesized that immigrants have an even smaller chance of retaining their ingroup identity than French-Canadians, because his findings showed that strong government support for the Francophone language and culture did not seem to make a difference (572) suggesting that the relatively small amount of support immigrants do receive is of little importance. It appears that only the dominant group, i.e., the English speakers, experiences an integrated or additive identity profile concurrently with enhanced adjustment (572). Jaspaert and Kroon came to similar conclusions about language confidence and identity with their study on the Italian population in the Netherlands: When a participant felt confident enough to use Dutch, and when communication in Italian was not too important, Dutch was used (95). Language confidence relates positively to an increase in identification with the outgroup and often softens the effects of contact on identity and adjustment (Clément 565). If contact with the outgroup is positive in nature, this tends to lead to a higher level of confidence in the outgroup language, which then leads to different identification profiles (567). These different profiles may lead to an identity crisis, as Haselbach suggests, or they may lead to integration, where immigrants and/or their descendants are able to identify with both groups and integrate the identities associated with each group into one.

The data presented here suggest that many people experience language to be an inherent part of culture, whereas other studies seem to say that culture and language do not always go hand-in-hand. There might be a shift in opinion on this matter across generations

in the German Canadian population. Returning to Isajiw's study, 24% of third generation German descendants sometimes use German expressions or words, 52% consume German food during holidays (28% even more often), 23% have one or two close friends of German background, and 20% feel they have some kind of obligation to help others of German heritage find a job if possible. Although these numbers, like the other statistics presented in Isajiw's study, are much lower than the other groups in the study, they still show that the third generation, despite its lack of knowledge of German, still has a sense of German identity.

II.F. Conclusion

As this chapter shows, there are numerous factors that effect a person's decision to pass on a heritage language or not. Government policies in Canada encourage people to keep their heritage and continue practicing their culture, beliefs embodied in the Multiculturalism Act of 1971 and the Multiculturalism Program. Students are able to take heritage language classes, sometimes in school, sometimes extracurricularly, such as at the Saturday morning German school in Kitchener. However, English is the language of instruction in the regular school system except for a few French immersion schools, possibly sending out the message that the children need to have an excellent command of the English language if they want to do well in school. This might then lead them to concentrate on English and ignore their heritage language.

The media is another type of input for a language, e.g., German radio and television programs, German language newspapers, etc. Foreigners may take advantage of these often

fairly inexpensive options in order to keep up their mother tongue or learn the mainstream language of their new society.

Possibly more important in language maintenance and loss is contact with other speakers of the same language. If a language community is exocentric, then they may welcome in English-speakers. If one's friends all speak English, then that person will be more inclined to use English and spend less time learning a heritage language no one else in his or her immediate surroundings uses. However, if a language community is endocentric, like the Old Order Mennonites in Huffines' study, then they will have an easier time keeping their heritage language intact.

The family is another sphere of life that has a strong influence on a person's language. If older members of the family only speak German, then their children are more inclined to teach their children the heritage language so that all three generations can communicate with each other. Other studies also explained the relationship between external influences and the home: The children of the home may have learned English outside of the home, brought it inside with them, and the parents then eventually switched to English, thereby reinforcing English and not the heritage language.

The last section of this chapter looked at identity and what its role in all of this might be. Four identity types were described: integration, marginalization, assimilation, and separation. Each type describes how a person identifies with both the ingroup and the outgroup. One factor that may be important in this definition is language, though it seems uncertain if language and culture automatically go together, i.e., if one speaks German, then one automatically identifies with German culture. Several studies concluded, however, that

Germans tend to assimilate into the mainstream culture relatively quickly when compared to immigrants and their families of other ethnic origins, though they may continue certain aspects of their culture. In other words, even if culture and language are inseparable in certain cultures, they seem to be separable in German culture.

The present study examines these findings to see if they apply to the German immigrant population in Kitchener-Waterloo. Three families participated and completed questionnaires and were interviewed. The next chapter introduces the family members and aims to define each of the three generations.

III. Defining the Families and Generations

For purposes of anonymity, the real names of the participants in the study have been changed and the following system was incorporated. Each family was given a generic German name: Meier, Schmidt, and Bauer, and each member a first initial. Names beginning with initials in the range A-H show that the participants belong to the first generation. Initials in the range I-P show family members belonging to the second generation. The range of Q-Z represents participants belonging to the third generation. For simplicity, these assigned last names will also be kept for women who changed their last name through marriage to someone outside of the family.

The first section of this chapter contains a short biography of each participant including information about their place of birth, age, and occupation, how they learned German and English, and how often they use German. The second section looks at defining features of each generation to give a general definition which can be used in analyzing the results of the study.

III.A. The Meiers

The Meiers consist of twelve members. Their relationships to each other are outlined in detail in the diagram following this description. The interviews were conducted as follows: A. Meier and B. Meier were interviewed together in person, as were Q. Meier and R. Meier. The entire second generation was interviewed separately over the phone except for L. Meier, who was available to meet in person for his interview. Although it was hoped that interviews could be done by generation to encourage discussion among siblings and

couples, schedules and place of residence did not make it possible. K. Meier's and N. Meier's children, S. Meier, T. Meier, and U. Meier, were not interviewed because of their young age (they range in age from three to nine years). The parents themselves and A. and B. Meier were unsure if the children even understood the concept of language.

A. Meier was born in a Serbian town in Yugoslavia. He described the language situation there as mostly Serbian on the streets and German among friends and family. He immigrated to Canada in 1961 where he had to learn English right away in order to get a job. He worked as a painter until he retired. He reports that he spends 80% of his day and 80% of his week in German. Since he still lives with his wife, B. Meier, they speak only German to each other. A. Meier also spends about one hour per week reading German newspapers. He listens to German radio and music, though he did not say how much. He also writes in German, but noted that his wife looks after most of the family correspondence, which is in German.

B. Meier was born in Austria and only spoke German until she immigrated with her husband to Canada. In Canada, she stayed at home, which made learning English more difficult for her because she had very little contact with the outside world apart from the media. She speaks German with everyone, though communication with her children (J. Meier, K. Meier, and L. Meier) tends to be half in English and half in German. She is responsible for most of the correspondence to family in Europe, which is always done in German. Her friends are of German descent as well, so communication with them is in German, too. She reads German newspapers and books, listens to German radio and music, but she did not give the number of hours per week she felt she devoted to each activity.

J. Meier is the oldest child of A. and B. Meier. She was born in Austria and was almost four years old when her parents immigrated. Her first language was German. She spent six years in Saturday morning German school (from grades one to six) and tries to speak as much German as possible with her parents and aunt. English is the language of choice with her siblings and children, although she tried raising her children (Q. Meier and R. Meier) in German during the first two to three years of their lives. She speaks German at home, when traveling, and when visiting relatives in another country. She spends on average three hours per week listening to German music and three hours per week speaking German. She estimates that she spends about 10% of her average day and week in German.

K. Meier, the second child, was born in Canada four years after J. Meier. His first language was also German. He learned English at around age two or three (As soon as I was old enough to interact with others outside the family.). He was raised partly in German, briefly attended Saturday morning German school, and spoke German with relatives. He still speaks some German with his parents and aunt and uses it when visiting relatives in North America and abroad. He spends on average one hour per week speaking German and estimates that 0% of his average day and 10% of his average week are in German. He and several other participants who gave this type of answer were assumed to therefore spend most of their German time on weekends when speaking with family.

L. Meier, the youngest, is two years younger than K. Meier and was also born in Canada. His first language was German. He began learning English when he was four years old and considers it to be his dominant language. He still speaks German with his aunt who lives in Kitchener-Waterloo and used to speak German to his aunts and cousins on both

sides of the family, though he is no longer in contact with them, but conversations with his parents are mostly in English, and only in English with his siblings. He now works as an executive assistant where he does not use his German. He did use his German when speaking with relatives from Europe, but he does not have any more contact with them. He spends about ten minutes per day speaking German. He estimates that zero percent of his average day but about ten percent of his average week is spent in German.

All five members of the family lived together until the children were either married or had decided to move out during university. The children were raised in German for the first few years and they and their parents noted that the switch to English happened gradually. This change will be explained further in the data analysis.

Q. Meier is the oldest child of J. Meier and M. Meier. His parents spoke German to him for the first two years of his life, during which time his grandparents were his only babysitters. They all spoke German with him as well. The switch to English was slowly made between his second and third birthdays. How and why this happened is discussed later. He attended Saturday morning German school for a number of years and was enrolled in the German stream where courses are taught completely in German except for units on grammar (Matthaes). He plans on continuing his German education in high school. He estimates that he spends one hour per week listening to German radio and speaking in German and five hours per week listening to German music. Although he wrote that he spends zero percent of his average day in German, he spends ten percent of his average week in German.

R. Meier, Q. Meier's brother, is younger by two years. He was also initially raised in German and subsequently in English by age three. He spent time with his grandparents, too,

though how much time is uncertain. He attends Saturday morning German school in the English stream (the German stream proved to be too difficult) and would also like to continue taking German in high school. He estimates that he spends one hour a week on each of the following activities: listening to German radio, speaking in German, and listening to German music. He considers five percent of his average day and ten percent of his average week to be in German.

Both boys speak German with their grandparents, though how much is uncertain. They also used German with their great grandparents when they were alive. They are visiting relatives in Europe in July and anticipate having to use only German with them.

The Meier Family

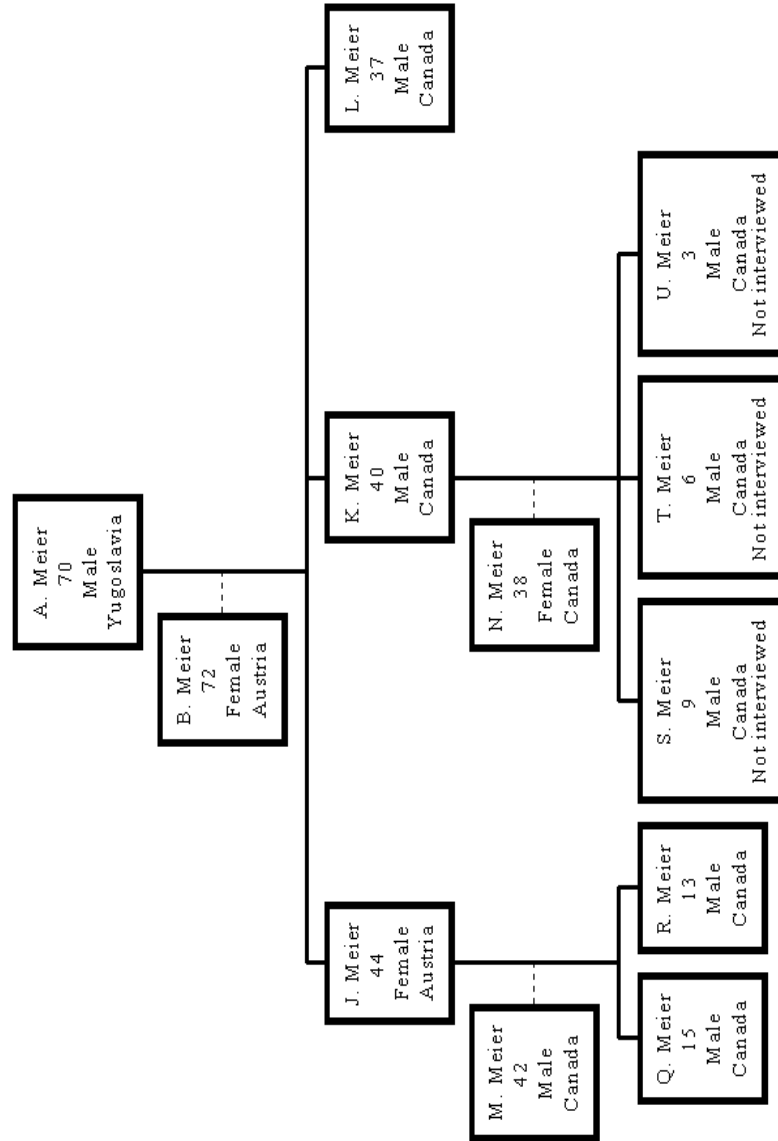


Figure 1: The Meier Family

III.B. The Schmidts

There are 13 members in the Schmidt family, as outlined in the diagram at the end of this description. Like the interviews conducted with the Meier family, the Schmidt interviews were sometimes conducted individually and sometimes together with another person, depending on personal schedules. C. Schmidt and D. Schmidt, the first generation, were interviewed together. K. Schmidt, their oldest son, and J. Schmidt, his wife, were interviewed together. Their children are R. and S. Schmidt. S. Schmidt was interviewed separately from her brother, R. Schmidt, but in person. R. Schmidt was interviewed over the phone. L. Schmidt, C. and D. Schmidt's second child, and T. Schmidt, her daughter, were interviewed together because T. Schmidt appeared nervous when asked if she would allow to be interviewed and taped alone. In this case, it seemed to be more beneficial to have the mother and daughter present during each one's interview. M. Schmidt, the third child of C. and D. Schmidt, was interviewed together with her husband, N. Schmidt. Their children, U. and W. Schmidt, were interviewed separately. O. Schmidt, the youngest child of C. and D. Schmidt, declined to take part. He will only be discussed in reference to what the others of his family say about him.

C. Schmidt is 70 years old. He was born in former Yugoslavia, has lived in Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Germany and moved to Canada in 1949. His mother tongue is German, which was also the home language in his family. In addition to German, he speaks Serbian, Hungarian, and English to varying degrees. He began learning English in 1949. He worked in construction in Canada until his retirement, where he also spoke German. C. Schmidt uses German with his wife, mother, cousins, own children, neighbours, friends, and

when traveling, though his use of German with these people and in these situations is not exclusive. He also uses German in the home, and when shopping, and visiting relatives in the United States and Germany. He spends about 2.5 hours per week reading a German newspaper, three hours per week listening to German radio, five hours per week listening to German music, about 0.5 hours writing in German, and 50 hours speaking in German to other people. He estimates that 60% of his average day and 60% of his average week are spent in German.

D. Schmidt is 69 years of age and is C. Schmidt's wife. She was born in Canada, but considers German to be her mother tongue. She did not start learning English until kindergarten and continued with German through private tutoring. German was also the language used in the home. She worked in retail and secretarial jobs, took some time off to be a housewife and look after the children, went back to college at age 50 to get her E.C.E. certification, but then decided to stay home after she had finished the program. She is now retired. She speaks German with her husband, friends, relatives in the United States, when traveling, and at club meetings, though these scenarios are never exclusively in German. She estimates that she spends one hour per week per following activity: reading a German newspaper, listening to German radio, listening to German music, and speaking in German to other people. She reports spending about 0.5 hours per week writing in German. She also estimates that 60% of her average day and week are in German.

K. Schmidt is C. and D. Schmidt's oldest child and is 46 years old. He is a chartered accountant and now lives in Toronto with his wife and two children. He was born in Kitchener-Waterloo and considers both German and English to be his mother tongues,

although he believes he started learning English when he was one or two years old. Other members of his family have said that he was initially raised in German for the first few years of his life and did not start learning English until around age five. He speaks some French. He circled on the questionnaire that he was raised in German, attended German school, spoke German with relatives, and learned German in high school until grade 11. He no longer uses German with anyone except with relatives in Austria and Germany only. He circled that he spends 0% of his average day and week in German.

J. Schmidt is K. Schmidt's wife. She was born in Kitchener-Waterloo and was also raised in an ethnic German family. She is 43 years old and currently works as a receptionist. She considers German to be her mother tongue and began learning English around the age of two. She still speaks German with her mother, but English with her sister. She also speaks German with her aunt from her mother's side and spoke it with her grandfather and uncle from her mother's side, no one from her father's side, and when traveling. She also uses it at home and when visiting relatives in both North America and abroad. She learned German through her family (i.e., she was raised partly in German), Saturday morning German school, relatives, high school, and university. She wrote that she has been learning German for a lifetime. She spends on average 15 minutes per week reading a German book for leisure, and one hour per week speaking German. She estimates that her average day is 10% German as is her average week.

R. Schmidt is 17 and was born in Toronto. He is J. and K. Schmidt's eldest child. He is currently a high school student. He considers English to be his mother tongue and speaks a little bit of German. He was initially raised in German for the first few years of his life

and began learning English when he was a toddler. He learned German through being raised in the language, Saturday morning German school, and relatives and spent seven to eight years learning it. He speaks some German with his mother, his grandmother on his mother's side, and his grandfather on his father's side. He also uses German to communicate with relatives abroad. He estimates that he spends an average of one hour per week speaking in German and that 10% of his average day and week are in German.

S. Schmidt, R. Schmidt's younger sister, is 14. She was born in Toronto and is also currently a high school student. She considers German to be her mother tongue but reports she began learning English when she was born. Her parents said they tried to raise her in German like R. Schmidt but switched to English very early in her life, around the age of two or three. She learned German by being raised in German, attending Saturday morning German school until age 11, and through her relatives. She speaks some German at home, though she estimates that 0% of her average day and week are in German.

L. Schmidt is C. and D. Schmidt's second oldest child. She was born in Canada and is 44. She works in the insurance industry. She considers English to be her mother tongue and speaks some German. She spent three years learning German outside of the regular school system and one year in high school. She also studied some Russian at university. She speaks some German with her siblings and friends while socializing. She estimates that she spends on average 0.5 hours per week listening to German music and 0.5 hours per week speaking in German, but that 0% of her average day and week are spent in German. Because she has been divorced from her husband for most of her daughter's life, it was not considered necessary to interview him.

T. Schmidt is L. Schmidt's daughter. She was born in Canada, was 15 years old when she was interviewed and is currently attending high school. English is her mother tongue and she learned French in high school up to grade nine, although she has learned a few words in German from relatives. She estimates that she spends on average one hour per week listening to German music but that 0% of her average day and week are spent in German.

M. Schmidt is the third child in C. and D. Schmidt's family. She was born in Canada, is 41 years, and works as an IT business analyst. She considers English to be her mother tongue and also speaks German. However, she was raised partly in German, attended Saturday morning German school, took German in high school, but then German 101 at university because she felt she needed a *refresher* course: She was mostly accustomed to hearing the dialect spoken in the family and had rarely responded in German, only in English. She also learned German through speaking with her relatives. She has been learning it since childhood. She speaks it with her husband, and her grandmother, aunt, uncle, and cousins on her mother's side, as well as her husband's family. She uses German when traveling and visiting relatives in North America and other countries. She spends about two hours per week speaking German, and estimates that 10% of her average day and 20% of her average week are spent in German.

N. Schmidt is M. Schmidt's husband. He was born in Canada, is 44 years old, and works as a financial planner. He considers English to be his mother tongue and also speaks German and French. However, he was raised in both English and German from birth and learned more German from other relatives. He speaks German with his parents, his wife, and

his aunt and second and third cousins from his mother's side and second and third cousins on his father's side. He uses German at home, at work, when traveling and when visiting relatives in North America and abroad. He spends about 0.5 hours per week reading a German newspaper, 0.5 hours per week listening to German radio, two hours per week listening to German music, and between 3-4 hours per week speaking in German. He estimates that 10% of his average day and 20% of his average week are spent in German.

U. Schmidt is M. and N. Schmidt's oldest child. He was 18 when he participated in the interview and is beginning university in September, 2002. He was born in Canada and considers English to be his mother tongue. He has learned some German from relatives and plans to take German 101 at university. Other than a few words and prayers, he knows no German.

W. Schmidt is M. and N. Schmidt's younger child. She was born in Canada, was 15 at the time of the interview, and is a student at high school. English is her mother tongue, but she also speaks German and French. She describes her knowledge of German as a few words and prayers. She learned German from some of her relatives and has known a few words since childhood. She speaks some German with her father, her grandfather, great grandmother, and cousins on her mother's side, and uses it sometimes when traveling and when visiting relatives in North America and abroad. She estimates that she spends about one hour per week speaking German but claims that 0% of her average day and week are spent in German.

The Schmidt Family

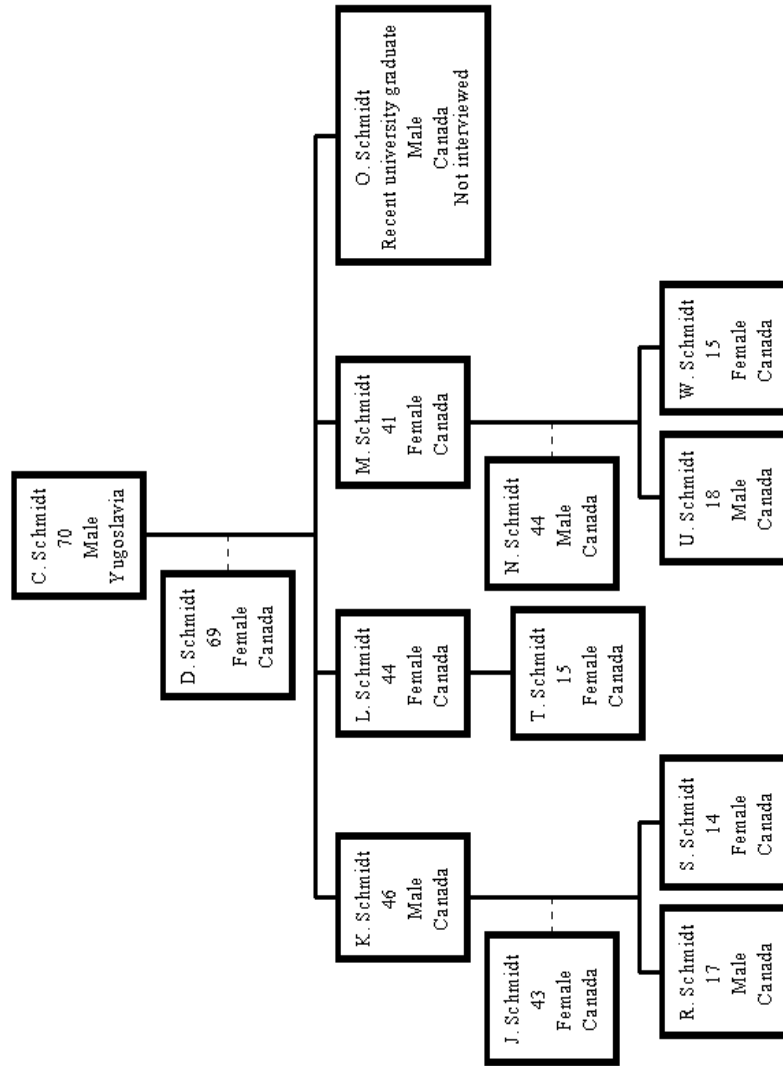


Figure 2: The Schmidt Family

III.C. The Bauers

The heritage of the Bauer family is Transylvania, Romania. They belong to an ethnic German group called the Siebenbürgensachsen. All interviews were conducted in person. F. Bauer was interviewed alone. J. Bauer and his wife, I. Bauer, were interviewed together. K. Bauer was interviewed alone, as was her son Q. Bauer, though his mother was in the room. S. Bauer and T. Bauer, his wife, were interviewed together, and R. Bauer was interviewed alone. Three members of the family, L. Bauer, O. Bauer, and P. Bauer, were unavailable for the study. Any references made to them are based on what others have said.

F. Bauer is 73 years old and was born in Romania. She attended a school for ethnic Germans where German was the language of instruction, but she also had on average two hours per week of Romanian. She was raised in German. She lived in Austria and Russia before finally settling in Canada in 1951, where she began learning English. She speaks German with her father and siblings, as well as her aunt, uncle and cousins on her mother's side and her cousins on her father's side. She also speaks it with friends and neighbours. She uses German when traveling, at home, at work, when going shopping, and when visiting relatives in both North America and abroad. She reports that she spends, on average, approximately two hours per week reading a German newspaper, four hours per week reading a German book for leisure, one hour per week working with a German textbook (this may be in relation to helping one grandson with his German), two hours per week listening to German radio, one hour per week listening to German music, and two hours per week speaking in German (she lives alone now). She estimates that she spends about 80% of her average day and week in German.

J. Bauer is the older child of F. Bauer and her late husband. He is 50 years old and works as a general manager. He was born in Canada but was raised in German and therefore considers German to be his native tongue. He attended a German language school run by an ethnic German club in Kitchener and later continued it in high school. J. Bauer speaks German and Saxon, which he treats as a separate language, with his family. He began with English at age four. He currently uses German with his mother, and his aunt, uncle, and cousins on his mother's side as well as with his aunt on his father's side. He also speaks German with friends and when traveling. He estimates that he spends on average half an hour on each of the following activities: reading a German newspaper, listening to German radio, listening to German music and speaking in German. He spends a quarter of an hour writing in German. Ten percent of his average day and 20% of his average week are spent in German.

I. Bauer is J. Bauer's wife. She is 48 years old and was also born in Canada. She is a housewife. Her mother tongue is German and she began learning English when she was four years old. She was raised in German, attended German language school at an ethnic German club in Kitchener, spoke to her relatives in German and attended German language classes in high school. She also listed Saxon as one of the languages she speaks, which suggests that she also considers it to be a separate language. To further support this, she lists that she speaks German with her father, and her aunt and grandfather on her father's side, but Saxon with her mother, and aunt and uncle on her mother's side. She also uses German with friends, when traveling, and when visiting relatives abroad. I. Bauer estimates that she spends 0.5 hours per week listening to German radio, 0.5 hours per week listening to

German music, 0.25 hours per week writing in German, and 0.5 hours per week speaking German. She believes she spends about 10% of her average day and 20% of her average week in German.

K. Bauer is J. Bauer's sister. She is 48 years old, was born in Canada, and currently works as a proof adjustment officer. She is married, but her husband, L. Bauer, was not available to be interviewed. German is her mother tongue and she began learning English when she was three. Like her brother, she was raised in German, attended German language classes both outside of school and in high school, and also learned it through speaking with her relatives. She speaks German and Saxon with her mother and German with her aunt and uncle on both sides and her cousins on her mother's side and periodically at home with her son. She uses it when traveling and visiting relatives both abroad and in North America. Her estimates for the amount of time she spends using German in an average week are: 0.25 hours reading a newspaper, one hour listening to the radio, one hour listening to music, and two hours speaking German. She spends 10% of her average day and 30% of her average week in German.

Q. Bauer is K. Bauer's younger son. Q. Bauer is 18 years old and is in his last year of high school. He was born in Canada. He considers his mother tongue to be English, although his mother said that she did initially attempt to raise him in German. He attended German school in kindergarten, but then the family moved to the London area where German instruction was only available at a Dutch club on Saturdays. However, hockey also took place on Saturdays, so both boys were never enrolled in German language classes. He understands German from interactions with his relatives on both sides of the family,

including those who come and visit from Germany, and some friends at the club, and is actively learning it now through high school courses. Q. Bauer uses German with his German school teachers and in German class.

P. Bauer, Q. Bauer's older brother, was unavailable for the study.

S. Bauer is J. Bauer's oldest son. He is 24 years old and works as a purchaser in the auto industry. He considers English to be his mother tongue and reports that he speaks both German and Saxon. He was raised in German, attended Saturday morning German school, and learned German also by speaking to his relatives. He still speaks German with his grandmother on his father's side and grandfather on his mother's side as well as with some older friends. He uses German when traveling and when visiting relatives both in North America and abroad. He spends about an average of three hours per week speaking German and estimates that 0% of his average day and 10% of his average week are spent in German.

T. Bauer is married to S. Bauer. She is 23 years old and is a teacher, though she is not currently working. Her family comes from Britain, but she was born in Canada. She took one German language course in university and only keeps it up insofar as she tries to understand the German spoken around her and sometimes picks out a few words in a Transylvania Club bulletin. However, her in-laws usually explain everything to her in English so she can understand and follow along.

R. Bauer is J. Bauer's second son. He is 22 years old and attends college. He considers his mother tongue to be German (compared to his older brother, S. Bauer, who said his was English) and also speaks English and Saxon. He learned German by being partly raised in it, attending Saturday morning German school until grade 13, and speaking

German with his relatives. He now speaks German with his father's mother, his mother's father, and when visiting relatives abroad. Although he gave no indication of the average amount of time per week he spends on various activities, he estimates that about 10% of his average day and week are spent in German.

O. Bauer is J. Bauer's third son, but was unavailable for the study.

The Bauer Family

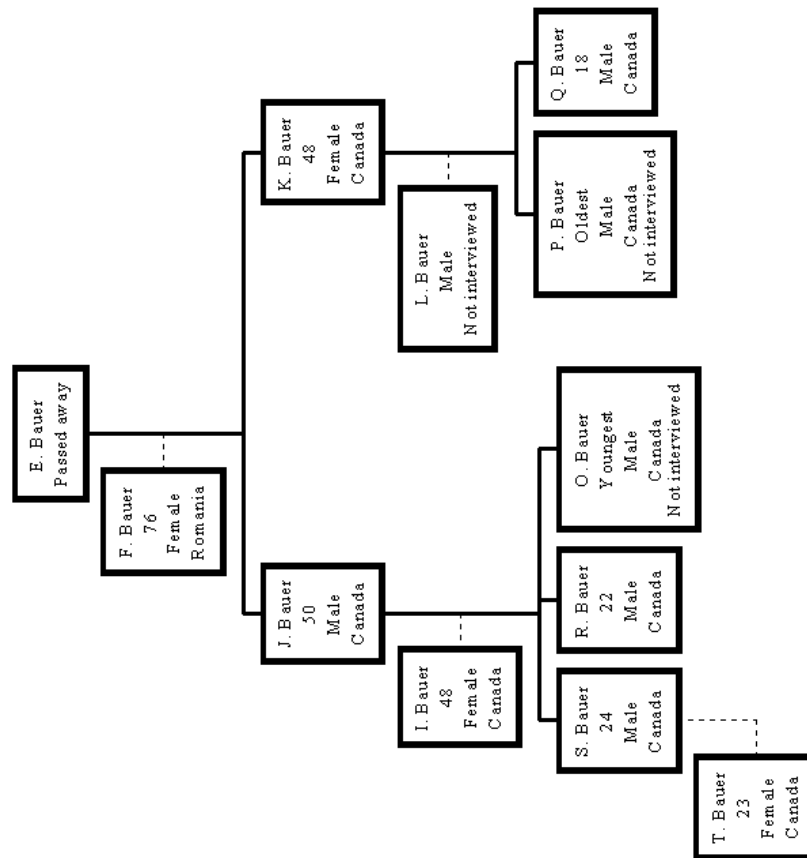


Figure 3: The Bauer Family

III.D. Conclusion - Defining Each Generation

The purpose of a case study is to show the details of a certain question in a descriptive way. As such, many differences are bound to be present from person to person, generation to generation, and family to family. Despite the variations in family history in the case studies presented here, some trends in the passing on of German to the following generations are apparent among all three families that can help define each generation.

Of the five first generation members, four were born in Eastern Europe and one, D. Schmidt, in Kitchener-Waterloo. Despite their differences in places of birth, all were raised in households where German was spoken and continued to be spoken once they had moved to Canada. In D. Schmidt's case, despite the fact that she was born here, German in the home was strictly enforced. German was their first language and the one they preferred to communicate in whenever possible. The main differences in the first generation include opinions on assimilation into the mainstream culture, the enforcement of German in the home with their children, and their involvement in the German culture in Kitchener-Waterloo.

The second generation was born in Kitchener-Waterloo. All of them had various amounts of instruction in German and were involved to some extent in one of the local German ethnic clubs. Their parents initially attempted to raise them in German with various levels of success. Very few of them feel comfortable expressing themselves in German and do so only when it is required of them. Differences included their attitudes towards raising their children in German and towards the value of German.

The third generation is very similar to the second generation in that they were born in

Kitchener-Waterloo and were often initially raised in German. However, aside from a few exceptions, they rarely spent more than the first 3-5 years of their lives in German and were subsequently raised in English. Most of them expressed a desire to learn German and many spent at least one year in German language instruction outside of school. There are no differences which are general enough to be discussed here.

The descriptions of each participant given in this section are only meant as illustrations so that one may begin forming a picture of the composition of each family and the basic role German may have had in their lives. The next chapter focuses on the results as reported by these individuals and endeavours to analyze them into meaningful information.

IV. Results

IV.A. Domains of German

The four members of the first generation who were born in Europe lived in towns where ethnic Germans were either the majority or a large minority. They also attended special schools for Germans where German was the main language, and Serbian or Romanian, i.e., the mainstream languages in their respective countries, was taught as a foreign language. Once the first generation in this study moved to Canada, they were no longer as isolated from other speakers of other languages and came into contact with English in varying degrees. This increase in contact with English was one catalyst that shifted the language in each family from German to English. However, all of the participants still have some amount of German in their lives whether it be near native fluency or simply the name of a tradition still practiced in the family. The focus of this section is not just on how often meaningful sentences are created or heard in German, but how often the participants use and hear German words. The participants all described various situations, or domains (see page 16), in which they use German. These situations may be anything from trips to Europe to visit family, in which case much of the day is spent in German, to exposure to German through media and leisure activities, to the name for a certain ethnic dish, among others. This section is organized by generation so that comparisons among the three generations can be made easily.

IV.A.i. First Generation

As could be expected, the first-generation participants use more German at home

than the rest of their families. Of the five first generation participants (first initials between A and H) interviewed, A. and B. Meier currently speak almost exclusively German at home, C. and D. Schmidt switch between English and German, and F. Bauer lives alone, so she has no one at home with whom she speaks German on a daily basis. A. and B. Meier said they use German because it just comes easier to them than English. C. and D. Schmidt cannot say precisely when they use English in the home and when German. The only trigger they could think of was the presence of others in their home: English is used more often when their youngest son is home and German when he is not at home or when they have German visitors. F. Bauer spoke only German with her husband when he was alive.

The domains in which a given language is spoken are also varied when the first generation speak with their children and grandchildren. A. Meier speaks mostly English with all three of his children. He feels the language shift developed this way partly because he learned English faster than his wife. The children eventually also switched to English as their main language, so even if he speaks to them in German, his two sons always answer back in English, and his daughter will use either German or English. B. Meier speaks English with her sons because they speak very little German now, but speaks German with her daughter. Although A. and B. Meier speak some German with their grandchildren, most communication with them is in English.

A. and B. Meier are still in contact with relatives in Europe on a regular basis and use solely German with them. They have also traveled to Europe in the past to visit family. B. Meier recently flew over with her daughter, son-in-law and their family. The trip before that was two years earlier, when both A. and B. Meier traveled over. On average, they travel

to Europe every seven to ten years mostly to visit family.

They both go to various German clubs in Kitchener-Waterloo, but more so to meet with friends than to really take part in different events. They listen to German radio programs and music, write and speak in German, and read German print material. They estimate that they spend a total of 80% of their average day and average week in German.

C. and D. Schmidt now converse with their children mostly in English, though they do mix the two languages. T. Schmidt, one of their granddaughters, mentioned that she knows when her mother is getting in trouble because her grandparents speak to her mother in German. M. Schmidt, one of their daughters, said that after roughly the age of four, more English came into the house and she and her siblings would answer back in English although their parents spoke to them in German. She feels that, although her parents still speak to her in German, they have been doing so less and less over the years. C. and D. Schmidt speak English to their grandchildren. W. Schmidt commented that her grandparents sometimes mistakenly speak to the grandchildren in German but then repeat what they said in English.

C. and D. Schmidt still have some relatives in Germany from C. Schmidt's side with whom they are regularly in contact. D. Schmidt has relatives in Vienna from her grandfather's family, though [. . .] *ich habe aufgehört mit der ganzen Schreiberei.*² The couple seems to travel regularly and has been able to use their German on trips to France and Germany. One thing C. Schmidt noted was that on a trip to Stuttgart, they could not understand the Schwaben, *Und ich bin, sag mal, Schwäbisch, aus Schwaben, und ich habe*

² *I've stopped with all the writing.*

sie nicht verstanden. ³ In Alsace-Lorraine, though, they had no problems speaking their dialect on the streets.

C. Schmidt also participates in club meetings, where German is spoken, and has been doing so for a long time. D. Schmidt attends very rarely. Both listen to German music and radio programs, read German newspapers, and write in German, C. Schmidt much more so than D. Schmidt. However, both estimate that they spend about 60% of their average day in German.

F. Bauer speaks mostly German to her two children, whom she and her husband raised in German, so it has consequently remained the language of communication among them. She also speaks German with her grandchildren. She is still in contact with her brother and sister in Germany and phones them once a week and two or three times a week respectively. So F. Bauer is able to speak German with her entire family.

She also uses her German with friends and neighbours and attends club and cultural events frequently, though club events less frequently. She reads German newspapers, books for leisure, and listens to German radio and music. She spends on average 80% of her day and week in German.

All five first-generation participants use German in many domains. They are involved in various German cultural activities to varying degrees where they have the opportunity to speak German with others. Their respective circles of friends are also mostly German, though they will use English if someone who does not understand German is with them. They all have relatives in either Europe or the U.S. with whom they are still in contact

³ *I am [. . .] Swabian, from Swabia, and I didn't understand them.*

and with whom they use German as their main language of communication. The media also play a role in their exposure to German, though a relatively small one when compared to their exposure to German in their social environment.

To conclude, the first generation still spends much of their day using German. Their domains include family, travel, friends, leisure, and media. They also show themselves to be flexible and able to switch to English when called for, e.g., when speaking with their children and grandchildren. The next section deals with the second generation and in what domains they use German.

IV.A.ii. Second Generation

The participants of this study in the second generation (first initials between I and P) were all initially raised in German. During their youth, however, English eventually became the dominant language in their lives, though there are still certain domains in which they use German, e.g., with certain family members, when traveling, etc. As with the previous section, this one examines these factors in each of the families.

The general attitude in the Meier family is one of assimilation, reducing the importance of German to just practicality: If one can use it, then one should learn it, but heritage does not play a role, or at least not a very important one. As such, both sons, not having any need for German anymore, no longer speak German unless required to do so, whereas J. Meier has found uses for it, namely by speaking German with her mother and aunt and a very small amount with her children.

L. Meier speaks German with his mother, his aunt on both sides of the family, as

well as cousins on both sides, though English is his preferred language: He estimates that he spends ten minutes per week speaking German. K. Meier also mentioned that he speaks German to his parents sometimes, but English is the dominant language. He will use German if someone who does not understand English is taking part in the conversation, though he would never instigate a conversation in German. He speaks English with his children and only uses German to joke around with them because his sons find it funny. J. Meier still uses German with her mother and aunt and sometimes with her father, although the conversations do not always remain German. She also had a friend from Germany a few years ago with whom she spoke both English and German, and she helped her children with their German school homework.

K. and L. Meier do not read any German material nor do they listen to any German music or radio programs. J. Meier, though, does listen to some music. All three use German when traveling, though K. and L. Meier have not been to Europe in over ten years. J. Meier was just recently in Germany, Austria, and Hungary with her husband, sons, mother, and father-in-law to visit family and do some sight-seeing. K. and L. Meier estimate that they spend on average 0% per day but 10% per week in German, and J. Meier estimates 10% per day.

The three out of four members of the second generation in the Schmidt family who participated in the interview speak mostly English among themselves, and with their parents and children, though they still occasionally use German. K. Schmidt only uses German with relatives who cannot speak English or who speak it very poorly, and sometimes his parents will speak to him in German. He and his wife go to a German pub in Toronto where they

hear some German and can listen to some German folk music, and he very occasionally goes to a local German club because he is a member there. But other than that, he does not use or hear German anymore. L. Schmidt's situation is the same, though she does listen to some German music and speaks a little German with her daughter. One example she gave is counting the stairs in the house with her. M. Schmidt uses her German a little more often than her siblings. She estimates that she speaks about two hours per week on average in German, whereas K. Schmidt wrote zero hours and L. Schmidt half an hour. She has also tried to formally teach her children German before realizing she did not have the required knowledge for the task. She is still in contact with relatives on her father's side in Europe as well as her husband's family and uses German with them, as well as occasionally with her husband. She and L. Schmidt will sometimes use German with each other for jokes or if they want to say something which is not meant to be understood by other people around them. M. Schmidt also does not listen to any German music or radio nor does she read German. K. and L. Schmidt spend 0% of their day and week in German, whereas M. Schmidt estimates that she averages 10% per day and 20% per week of German.

The second generation in the Bauer family is more consistent in using German with their parents compared to the Schmidts and Meiers. English is only used when they do not know the German translation for a word. Both speak German with other relatives, and J. Bauer still has friends with whom he speaks German. K. Bauer still has one son in high school who is currently learning German and who tries practicing his German with her during the school year. Aside from that, English is the home language. J. Bauer and his wife, I. Bauer, no longer use German as the home language, though they did when their sons were

younger. J. Bauer, still being active in a local German club and president of a national ethnic German organization, uses his German for certain functions, e.g., preparing and giving speeches. He and his wife occasionally listen to German radio programs, e.g., when they are in the car, or at home playing in the background. He also reads German newspapers, but the time he dedicates to them varies from week to week, depending on how much time he has available. Both also use German when traveling. J. Bauer spends about 10% of his average day and 20% of his average week in German, and K. Bauer 10% and 30% respectively.

As can be seen here, most of the second generation still uses German, though to a lesser extent. However, the domains here still include family (mostly their parents), travel, some leisure activities, and media. With very few exceptions, the domain of friends is no longer included. In terms of usage in the family, Huffines found similar patterns, as was discussed in chapter two: The heritage language was used among the second generation in the Schmidt family to say things that others were not meant to hear, or for jokes, giving it more of an entertainment value. And in accordance with Halliday (see page 7), the generation experiencing the language shift, i.e., for the most part the second generation, is usually bilingual, though often for a short period of time. Although this cannot be directly tested here, the participants' readiness and ability to converse with their family in German and to teach their children German if possible shows that they still feel comfortable using the language, even if only on a colloquial basis.

IV.A.iii. Third Generation

Unlike the first generation, who feels more comfortable speaking German, and the

second generation, who can for the most part still speak German with their parents, the third generation is very mixed in terms of abilities to speak German. Most were initially raised in German, but through circumstances which are described in later sections, speak mostly English. The few cases of German usage and their domains are outlined below.

The only members of the third generation in the Meier family with any knowledge of German are Q. and R. Meier. Q. Meier estimates that he spends on average 0% per day and 10% per week in German. R. Meier's estimates are 5% and 10% respectively. Both listen to German music and radio programs, and speak some German with their grandparents and very occasionally with their parents, though that is reducing in frequency. They also speak German with relatives abroad when necessary, e.g., when they travel to Europe. Q. Meier also tries reading German at his grandmother's house and gets some assistance from her in understanding the texts.

In the Schmidt family, there are also very few of the third generation who speak German. However, many are familiar with German words in their traditions, including the names of different ethnic dishes. S. and R. Schmidt have the most knowledge of German because of their 6-8 years in German school. They speak some German with their grandparents and their mother as well as with relatives abroad. But this amount of speaking must be very little because S. Schmidt estimates that she spends 0% of her average day and week in German, and R. Schmidt estimates 10%. T. Schmidt's father never allowed her to be raised in German, so she never had any formal German education nor did she learn any meaningful sentences from her mother when she was younger. Now she can count to twelve and tries speaking a few words with a German friend at school. She also knows the names of

different ethnic dishes and traditions, e.g., *Ticksen* and *Spätzle*. She reported that N. Schmidt sometimes says a word or phrase to her in German and asks her if she knows what it means and she tries to guess. U. and W. Schmidt also use German in similar ways.

Although neither reported having any friends with whom they try speaking German, they are also familiar with the German names of different dishes and traditions, and can recite some prayers in German. W. Schmidt speaks small amounts of German with her grandparents, father, and a few relatives abroad.

As with the second generation, more German is used by the third generation in the Bauer family, especially with the first generation. R. and S. Bauer speak only German with their grandparents and use English when they do not know the German word. They also use their German when traveling abroad, including when visiting family. S. Bauer has some friends with whom he speaks German. Neither speaks German with their parents anymore. Q. Bauer speaks some German with his mother at home to practice what he is learning in school and with other relatives, as well as in German class in high school.

When compared with the first and second generations, some domains are similar: family, friends, travel, and leisure. However, class (in terms of education) is a new domain. Although members of both the first and second generation attended German instruction, none of them are currently taking any German language lessons. When comparing the amount of time they spend using German, the third generation (including descriptions of those not interviewed from the participants) uses clearly less than the second generation.

These results of all three generations show that a stable and equally balanced diglossia (see page 5, 6), which is necessary if two languages are to continue to be used

concurrently and maintained, was never established, because there are no domains where one language is exclusively used. Even when the participants speak German with other German-speakers, they still use English when they do not know the German word or when the English word comes to them faster. That is, they use both English and German in the same situation (even if one is currently more dominant than the other), which Fishman says would lead one language to eventually become superfluous. The domains are similar, especially the domain of family, but guidelines for language use with family members and in other domains were never established. Although most of the families tried making German the home language, a language shift occurred because German was never enforced: Already in the second generation did the siblings start speaking English with each other and in most cases with the parents, thus reinforcing that language instead of German. Many participants still take advantage of the German media available to them, though this only amounts to a few hours per week. The role of contact to speakers of the same language is also clear: The first generation has more friends and family members with whom they can speak German and therefore maintain their language much more so than the first generation, which has little regular contact to speakers of German but much more contact to speakers of English. The amount of contact with speakers of English is one of the main factors that contributed to the language shift in each family. The next section looks at this language shift in more detail.

IV.B. The Language Shift Within the Family

None of the families speaks uniformly English or German within the family unit. As

was demonstrated in the previous section on domains, the first generation generally uses mostly German, the second generation a mix of both languages with a strong tendency towards more English, and the third generation almost exclusively English. The purpose of this section is to analyze how the different language patterns that were described above developed.

One generalization that can be made for all three families is that a switch was made from German to English as the home language at some point in time, either when the first generation family members were the parents or when the second generation became head of their own households. Carrying the most influence on language choice was the rank of the English language in the community, which confirms Dorian's statement that speakers of two languages have no difficulties ranking them in terms of prestige (see page 9). Being the language of anglophone Canada, English is also the main language used in most schools and in the schools the participants attended. This resulted in the parents making decisions about the home language based on their own, often negative, experiences entering Anglo-Canadian schools. Another factor involved in the switch from German to English in the home was birth order: The siblings of both second and third generations in these families are generally two to four years apart from each other. So although the parents may have spoken German with the first child, by the time the second child was born, the parents had allowed more English into the house resulting in less exposure to German for the second and subsequent children, leading them to be more comfortable using English than German. The third factor to be examined is the importance of heritage to the parents: If the family places a high priority on heritage, then there is a stronger tendency to teach the children German, either

through the family or extracurricular language courses. The following section elaborates on each of these factors in the families.

IV.B.i. The Effects of School on the Home Language

Members from all three families spoke about the effect of the education system on their decision to enforce German in the home or to allow English to become the home language. Many parents' decisions to switch to English in the household were directly based on their own experiences when starting school in Canada with no knowledge of English. In other cases, once the children began learning English through other children in the neighbourhood, their parents allowed English in the home also with the idea to make school easier for their children. This next section looks at the various factors related to school and how they affected the parents' decision to use English at home.

A. Meier summed up his feelings about teaching German to his children: *Das kam alles automatisch. [. . .] Wie es von selber am leichtesten ging, [. . .] das, was wir getan haben. [. . .] Man hat sich nicht da extra angestrengt, Englisch zu sprechen oder Deutsch.*⁴ He and his wife did initially raise their children in German. However, once the children entered school, English slowly made its way into the home. Even though A. Meier and B. Meier wanted their children to learn German, they report that they never forced the issue. All three children had been sent to German school, with J. Meier, the eldest, spending five

⁴ *Everything came automatically. [. . .] Whatever was easiest, [. . .] what we did. [. . .] One didn't make any extra effort to speak German or English.*

or six years there, K. Meier two, and L. Meier, the youngest, one or two. J. Meier also spent more time in the Schwaben Club dance group than her two brothers, who participated for a very short time. The language pattern eventually developed into the family's current situation, where A. Meier speaks mostly English to his children, and B. Meier speaks mostly English and some German to L. and K. Meier and mostly German to J. Meier. L. and K. Meier respond back almost exclusively in English and J. Meier replies to her mother in German and to her father in English.

When asked how this situation transpired, A. Meier suggested that it had to do with his picking up English quickly when he arrived because he had to find work, so he felt comfortable conversing both in English and in German. B. Meier, on the other hand, stayed home where most of her exposure to English was through the media instead of daily contact with people. Therefore, she felt more comfortable speaking German.

K. Meier felt that German was the main language in the house *for many, many years* because his mother's English was not that good and his father's English *wasn't a whole lot better*. However, he also explained that English slowly filtered into the house because of school, especially through homework. After having spoken English all day at school and with friends, the children came home and spoke English with each other. Their parents also used English when helping the children with their homework because it was easier. He also reported that his parents wanted to learn English, so they took advantage of their children's level of English and tried to learn more via them. K. Meier and his wife, N. Meier, decided to raise their children in English. K. Meier shows a very practical orientation to languages and feels that, if the children are to learn a foreign language, then French

should be the first one because of its status in Canada. Therefore, it seems likely that one reason for not passing on German to his children was its impracticality compared to English and French.

L. Meier only said that he learned English through his friends and at school and did not explain how English came into the house. He only commented that German was the home language because *that s what we learned when we were really young*.

J. Meier spoke German initially and learned English through some friends in her neighbourhood. She said she already knew English by the time she entered school, according to what her mother had told her. She and her husband initially attempted to raise both sons in German, but communication with others in the community was the main reason they decided to continue using English in the home and send the children to German language instruction outside of school until high school, when the boys can take German classes at school instead of Saturday morning. So although they did not mention specific problems regarding entering school without any knowledge of English, they realized early that Q. Meier seemed to be adversely affected by not knowing any English when he needed to communicate with other English-speakers (discussed in the section on birth order, starting on page 85), which he would have had to do in school.

The Schmidts' decision to use more English in the home was perhaps more so effected by English being the language of the school system than the Meiers' decision. In the Meiers' situation, the switch from German to English happened unintentionally in A. and B. Meier's home. In C. and D. Schmidt's household, the switch to English was deliberate.

C. Schmidt, now 70, was born in Yugoslavia and immigrated to Canada in 1949,

thereby having done his schooling in Yugoslavia in German and avoiding any negative experiences in a Canadian school. D. Schmidt, however, was born in Kitchener and was only allowed to speak German at home unless friends who could not speak German were over. She recalled her first few years in school as being very difficult because she had no knowledge of English when she entered kindergarten. She also remembered that the first words other children taught her were swear words and the like, obviously inappropriate for her age. When K. Schmidt, their first child, was born, he was initially raised in German. However, D. Schmidt said, *Ihm passiert es nicht so wie mir.*⁵ So they slowly introduced English into the household. L. Schmidt mentioned that K. Schmidt was even going to be held back one year in kindergarten because of his lack of English skills. He himself, though, has no recollection of ever speaking German at home. D. Schmidt's decision again proves Dorian's point on ranking: D. Schmidt placed English above German because of its usefulness in Anglo-Canadian society. This in turn shifted the family language from German to English.

Using German in the home in the second generation of Schmidts was much more diverse. However, the reasons that were given were not related to the use of English in school, so they will be examined at a later point.

The Bauers did not switch to using English as the home language until after the third generation was born. I. and J. Bauer, both born in Kitchener-Waterloo, spoke only German to their parents when they were living at home, but English to each other. When the children were awake, I. and J. Bauer would speak German to them, but once the children were in bed,

⁵ What happened to me is not going to happen to him.

they would speak English to each other again. Both remembered finding the first few years of school difficult when they were young, so they also introduced some English to their children before they entered school to make the primary years a little easier for them.

These findings confirm Folmer's study of Dutch families in New Zealand (see page 34): Even though parents may have initially made the effort to involve their children in ethnic activities both at home and at an ethnic club, contact with speakers of the dominant language through school and other social contacts was an important factor in shifting the language from German to English. The discussion on multiculturalism (see page 18) suggested that through institutional support, in this case schools, children would grow up being able to speak different languages and understanding different cultures, and that this in turn would be an asset to Canada. These families seem to disprove this theory to some extent: Because the language of the classroom was English, most of the parents in the study eventually chose to raise their children in English in the hopes of avoiding any difficulties they themselves experienced because of their inability to fully understand and speak it. The system does allow German language lessons, though these are not mandatory like French instruction is and are often left by the way-side for various reasons (see discussion on German language instruction beginning on page 103). This shows that the participants have ranked English above German, already changing the focus from maintaining one's ethnic heritage to assimilating into Canadian society. Since this decision to switch to English was already made by the time the first child went to school, the second and subsequent children had less exposure to German. The next part takes a closer look at how birth order effects a child's exposure to German.

IV.B.ii. The Effect of Birth Order on a Child's Exposure to German

Birth order also affected how much German or English each child in the family was exposed to. Most families had originally decided to try raising their children in German. However, for various reasons, e.g., the prestige of English compared to German, they often switched to English by the time the second child was born, meaning that the oldest child had more exposure to German than his or her younger sibling(s). The amount of time spent in German language instruction was also often affected by birth order, resulting in even less exposure to German for the younger siblings. This section explains in detail how birth order affected each member of the family's exposure to German.

In the Meier family, J. Meier, the oldest of the three children, was born in Austria and was three years old when her family moved to Canada. K. Meier was the next child, is four years younger than his sister, and was born in Canada. J. Meier was raised the first four years of her life entirely in German, three years of which were in a German-speaking environment, whereas her first brother, although raised in German at home, would have already spent his first three years of life in the English-speaking environment outside of the home, e.g., through media or neighbours. J. Meier reported that her parents have told her that she picked up English through neighbourhood friends and could speak it well enough by the time she entered kindergarten, so she did not appear to have had any negative experiences related to language when entering school. Her second brother, seven years her junior and also born in Canada, could already tell the difference between German and English when he was two years old, at an age when J. Meier was still in Austria. His parents reported that he picked up English very quickly, but did not learn it intensively until he

began school. However, his exposure to German was much less than his sister's exposure. Each child also had various amounts of exposure to extracurricular German lessons. J. Meier had five or six years of German school tuition, K. Meier had one or two years, and L. Meier had zero to one year. By the time the sons were able to attend German school, their father became increasingly busy with his job and eventually could no longer drive the children on Saturday mornings. J. Meier was able to attend for several years because a neighbourhood friend also went, so J. Meier was able to drive with her whenever her father was unavailable until he became too busy to return the favour.

Of the three siblings, two of them married and now have children. J. Meier married M. Meier, also of ethnic German background, and K. Meier married N. Meier, who has some German heritage further back in her family but has stronger French-Canadian roots.

J. and M. Meier spoke only German to their first child, Q. Meier. However, J. Meier noticed that Q. Meier's German developed to the point where he would ask questions about certain things for which she had no vocabulary and needed to explain in English. His babysitters were his grandparents, who also spoke German with him, until he was about two years old. However, J. Meier commented that when he was finally left to an English-speaking babysitter who knew no German, he was terrified, and she felt that it had to do with his not being able to communicate at all because of the different languages. At that point, J. and M. Meier realized they should start speaking to Q. Meier in English so he could communicate with others. M. Meier spoke mostly English with their son, leaving the German up to his wife. Describing the decline in German usage, she explained, *[. . .] then we started and I guess slowly you're speaking more and more English and forgetting about*

the German and because [M. Meier] s German isn t the best, he often wouldn t speak German, so then it was up to me all the time, so you just sort of get out of it.

When R. Meier, their second child, arrived, they again tried implementing a German-only policy in the home, which gave Q. Meier more exposure. Once the boys started attending Saturday morning German classes, Q. Meier stayed in the German stream whereas R. Meier had to switch to the English stream because the German stream proved to be too difficult. Their mother attributes this to the amount of exposure they had at home.

K. and N. Meier have three children. However, the role of birth order cannot be analyzed here because of the young age of the children and the lack of German in the household: There have not been any attempts at a German-only upbringing or even at exposing the children to German. N. Meier attributes it to her husband s lack of interest in German, possibly stemming from having been forced to attend German school. K. Meier also believes that, although any language is valuable, the concentration should be on French since it is one of Canada s official languages. However, both did mention that they would support the children if they showed any desire to learn German.

This pattern of more exposure for the oldest and less for the youngest can especially be seen in the Schmidt family, with four siblings, the oldest one 46 years of age and the youngest one just having graduated from university a few years ago. K. Schmidt was initially raised in German until shortly before kindergarten because of his mother s negative experiences related to beginning school without knowing any English. He also attended German language lessons until grade 11. L. Schmidt was born two years later, and as far as she can recall, has spoken English from birth. She only attended German school for three

years and did one year in high school. M. Schmidt, born three years later, seems to be the only exception to the pattern here: She reported that she has been learning German since childhood and that she was raised in German. However, although she also circled that she took German classes outside of school as well as in high school, she was enrolled in a German 101 course at university because she felt that her speaking skills in German were not very strong. O. Schmidt hardly speaks any German anymore, according to his parents. He still lives at home with them, but they reported that they only speak to him in English.

Both K. and M. Schmidt each married someone of ethnic German background. L. Schmidt married and later divorced a man with German heritage who did not support or even allow their daughter to be raised in German, and O. Schmidt is still single.

K. Schmidt and his wife, J. Schmidt, gave birth to two children, R. and S. Schmidt, now 17 and 14 years old respectively, but born two years apart. They initially raised R. Schmidt in German but eventually switched to English by the time he began school. They also bought only German books to read to their children, but as J. Schmidt commented,

Once the second one comes around you end up with a lot of the English. So R. Schmidt had more exposure to German when he was young than did his sister. However, both children did attend German school for six to eight years and were considered by other members of the family to be able to speak German relatively well because of the amount of time spent in German class.

M. and N. Schmidt tried raising their children in German, but N. Schmidt's job required that the family move around a lot, therefore making it difficult to raise the children in German and send them to German school. U. Schmidt, their oldest child, did attend

German school for one year when he was five years old and then again several years later when the family moved back to Kitchener-Waterloo. They would have enrolled W. Schmidt, too, the following year when she was old enough, but other activities conflicted with German school on Saturdays, so she was never enrolled and U. Schmidt was taken out. Again, the oldest child had more exposure to German than the younger child. However, the difference here seems to be minimal. Both judged their German to be poor: U. Schmidt rated himself as being able to understand German at a level of 2 (out of 10), and cannot read or speak it. W. Schmidt rated her speaking and understanding at 1 and reading at 0.

German in the Bauer family does not seem to have been effected as much by the role of birth order, most likely because of the active and consistent attempts made by most of the family members to raise their children in German. Both J. and K. Bauer were sent to German language school and also took part in ethnic club events because their father, as one of the founders of the club, was often there and took his children along with him. K. Bauer and her husband made the same attempts that were made by the Schmidt and Meier families, namely that they began speaking German to the older son, but shortly after the second son had been born, had completely switched to English. Her second son, Q. Bauer, did attend kindergarten at Saturday morning German school, but after that the family moved to the London area and decided not to continue with German language education. They also did not enforce speaking German at home. The mother reports that her older son does understand everything and will speak German when he has to, and that the younger son is now actively pursuing German in high school. Q. Bauer asked his mother to answer some of the questions before the interview began because he did not recall how the switch from

German to English happened, suggesting he was very young when English became the home language.

J. and I. Bauer, however, enforced German at home for a time and also sent all three sons to German school until grade 12. R. Bauer, the middle child, even continued to grade 13, or OAC, German. Neither J. nor I. Bauer nor their children could remember when English became the home language. Both R. and S. Bauer recalled speaking German at home when they were young and in primary school. R. Bauer remembered having to speak German at the dinner table when he was young, and S. Bauer reported that he could speak English by the time he entered kindergarten. Both sons feel comfortable using German, though S. Bauer appears to feel more comfortable than R. Bauer. J. Bauer reported that his younger son, who did not participate in the study, said he felt good about knowing German because it came in useful on his recent trip to Germany and Austria. This also suggests that he feels confident to some degree in using German. Therefore it is difficult to tell in this branch of the Bauer family if birth order had an effect on the amount of German each child knows or feels he knows.

The only study to mention anything about birth order was Folmer's case study on Dutch in New Zealand, where both third-generation participants were initially raised bilingually. The oldest child learned Dutch until age four, but the younger sibling switched to English at an earlier stage. Birth order is a factor in one's knowledge of German, according to the findings of the present study, and can also be considered to play a role in language shift within the family: The parents tried keeping German as the home language but realized with the first child the difficulties he or she might have from not knowing

English. Once the second child came along, there were a few attempts at re-introducing German into the house (e.g., J. Meier's family), but English had already become the home language. To reinforce English, the siblings also always spoke English with each other. So the first child had two parents who spoke English or German to each other, but only German with the child, whereas the last child not only had two parents who spoke German or English to each other, as well as English to the child, but also siblings with whom to speak English and who responded in English. However, as with all the factors described in this study, birth order alone does not determine whether a shift to English occurs or not. The next section looks at the importance of heritage itself and analyzes whether or not the families in the study have tried passing on the German language for the purpose of preserving their heritage.

IV.B.iii. The Importance of German Heritage Within the Family

The three families showed different levels of attachment to their German heritage, which also seemed to affect the amount of German that was passed down to the next generation. The Meiers showed a general attitude towards assimilation and generally placed the teaching and use of German low on the priority list. The Schmidts, while considering assimilation into the mainstream culture important and the passing on of the German language less so, felt that cultural traditions and history were the most predominant aspects of their heritage and passed those down to the next generation. The Bauers, although also feeling that assimilation into the mainstream culture was important, showed a stronger emphasis on keeping their German heritage, both traditions and language.

A. and B. Meier tried to raise their three children in German. However, once the children began making friends with English-speakers both at school and in their own neighbourhood, they brought English into the house. A. and B. Meier did not enforce speaking German in the household and just used whichever language came naturally at that moment. A. Meier's main reason for not enforcing German was to try and fit in as much as possible:

Das ist nur eine Sprache. [. . .] Wir haben uns sowieso ganz verändert von Deutsch auf Kanadisch. [. . .] Uns hätten sie auch nicht verjagt in Jugoslawien, wenn wir uns vermischt hätten mit den Serben. [. . .] Und in Jugoslawien, die Deutschen, die haben sich nicht vermischt, die haben sich [. . .] immer separat gehalten. Deswegen hat man sie rausgeschmischt.⁶

They also gave the impression that the usefulness of a second language is what counts, not heritage. A. Meier explained, *Jede Sprache ist wertvoll, was wir können. Es macht nichts aus - Deutsch, Russisch, Französisch [. . .].* They both believed it is better to know more languages, partly because one can have richer travel experiences, and that people will only learn a language if they can use it. B. Meier mentioned that K. Meier previously used some of his German at work, but it does not seem to have been enough to lead him to pass it on to his children, which illustrates A. and B. Meier's point.

J. and M. Meier (who married into the Meier family) both emphasized different

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It's only a language. [. . .] We've completely changed anyways from German to Canadian. [. . .] They wouldn't have chased us out in Yugoslavia if we had mixed in with the Serbs. [. . .] And in Yugoslavia, the Germans, they didn't mix in, they always kept to themselves. That's why they were thrown out.

reasons for passing on German and their respective dialects to their children. J. Meier emphasized the practicality of learning German, mentioning that it is useful for travel. She also added that she used her German while working in a law office for seven years. When asked if she would like to pass on her dialect (a mix of Danube Swabian and an Austrian dialect) to her children, she replied no, because no one would be able to understand them. The only reason she could think of for continuing the dialect in the family was *for sentimental value maybe*. She felt that learning standard German is more useful for her children so they can communicate with anyone who speaks German as opposed to only those who speak Danube Swabian. She summed up her position by saying, *If you want to have another language, if you want to speak German, then do it. But I don't think that everybody that's from German-speaking ancestry should and has to further the fatherland. That's not my way of thinking.*

M. Meier, her husband, expressed a slightly different opinion on the importance of German heritage to him. He did mention that a second language is always good, but added that he *couldn't think of a better one than German*. Heritage was another reason for continuing German in the family because of traditions and one's roots. Although he also expressed his desire for his children to learn standard German, he would also like them to learn Swabian because *it's the language of their ancestors* and therefore valuable from a tradition point-of-view.

K. Meier seems to reflect a similar attitude of assimilation to his parents. He feels that it is more important for his children to learn French first because of its higher status in Canada than German: *German not being a language of business, not being a language of*

necessity in our country falls to an elective subject, okay? It s not a requirement. And because of its status as an elective subject, it s not going to grow and prosper, it s going to fail in competition with the primary languages. But he would support the children if they showed any interest in learning German. His wife reported similar thoughts. However, he does not seem to see this as detrimental to the German culture in Kitchener-Waterloo at large: *There s a distinction between language and culture, I think. A lot of people automatically think that if a language dies, a culture dies, and I don t know if I necessarily agree with that.* He felt that by passing on certain values he picked up from his parents, such as a hard work ethic and learning how to save money, he was passing on his heritage to his children, even if traditions and languages were not included.

L. Meier placed much emphasis on the practicality of the language, a sentiment echoed throughout this family. He felt that if he ever has children, he would attempt to teach them German, but if they do not find a way to use it, such as when traveling, working, or talking to other family members, then they will forget it.

The only third-generation members of this family who were old enough to participate in this study were Q. and R. Meier. Both boys expressed strong interests in German culture and reported that they plan to take German language courses in high school. Their school also has an exchange program with a partner school in Germany, which Q. Meier hopes to participate in. B. Meier also reported that Q. Meier tries to read German magazines she may have in her home, and although she feels he does not understand much of what he reads, she explains to him what she can. Both sons have also expressed a wish to pass on their German culture and language to their children if they ever have any.

The Schmidt family seems to emphasize their German heritage more than the Meier family. Although C. and D. Schmidt did decide to teach their children English to make entry into school easier for them, they still practice certain traditions within the family which do not have as negative an impact on assimilating into Canadian culture and still allow them to retain parts of their German heritage. One example that they mentioned is called *ticksen*, which is practiced at Easter. This is a contest to see who has the hardest egg and involves family members tapping the tips of eggs against each other to see whose breaks first. D. Schmidt explained how her daughter-in-law, J. Schmidt, and her family have found ways of making their eggs the hardest so that they always win. This kind of tradition is not apparent to outsiders but allows the Schmidt family to continue their heritage without any negative experiences such as D. Schmidt had when she first began school.

Folk dancing was another way the Schmidt family tried to pass on their heritage to their children. All of the second generation, including J. and N. Schmidt, who married into the family, had participated in German folk dancing at various German clubs throughout their adolescence. J. and K. Schmidt sent their children to German folk dance lessons when they were younger, though they took them out because other activities such as sports became increasingly important and took up more time. L. and M. Schmidt, the two daughters, started a folk dance group at their club. Both learned various dance steps from their parents, recalled what they had learned when they were young, and managed to get the notes of a local former folk dance instructor. M. Schmidt then looked after acquiring music, and L. Schmidt then choreographed and taught the dances to the group, which was made up mostly of older children and young teenagers. They did some touring, especially during

Oktoberfest, but also at Easter, club picnics, and other events, and L. Schmidt said they both received some very positive feedback. U. and W. Schmidt participated in this group and U. Schmidt also participated in folk dancing when he was about five.

M. and N. Schmidt explained that since they did not feel confident enough to teach their children the German language, sentiments which Huffines found in her study of Pennsylvania Germans (see page 9), they placed a stronger emphasis on their cultural heritage. M. Schmidt still cooks some Donauschwaben dishes for the family of which the children only know the Donauschwaben names. They have also told their cultural history to their children, as N. Schmidt explains: *Where the Donauschwabens went so Prince Eugen could give them the money. Where they went to and why. Why their grandfather talks so funny. Why things look like they do. Why we have these stupid thatch hut pictures all over our house. We ve passed that culture on more than adequately well.* N. Schmidt feels that passing on that part of their heritage is more important than the language: *Well, they re not going to practice another language, whether it s German, French or whatever if they don t see a need for it [. . .],* suggesting that one does not need to practice one s family history in order to know it like one does a language and that it does not take an immense effort to learn one s heritage compared to learning a language. In March, 2002, the family traveled to Austria and the children were able to make a connection, as N. Schmidt explains: *And now that we were able to go back and actually, we were at the Danube. We said, That s the river we re talking about. And they can make that connection.* This way of passing on the family heritage seems to have been successful in this family because both children would like to learn German and now feel they are ready for it. U. Schmidt would like to start with

some beginner courses in university, and M. and N. Schmidt are looking for a private tutor to share with L. Schmidt for their daughters.

The importance of heritage also showed up in the third generation participants response to the question, Down the road, if you have kids, would you like to pass on German to them? All of them said yes in this family. Their reasons for doing so were different, but some cited heritage as being a reason for continuing their language or even discontinuing it, as R. Schmidt explained: *It depends on who I marry, I guess. If it s somebody that s strongly something else, then I don t know if I would make the effort to have them learn German and that other language as well. But if the person was as Canadian as I was, then probably, yeah. At least a couple years [of German] anyways.*

This supports Clément *et al.* and Kymlicka s claims that cultural pluralism does not guarantee the preservation of different cultures, but rather that they can disappear through intermarriage (see discussion on page 24). M. Schmidt shared similar thoughts: *Like, had I married somebody who wasn t of German background or vice versa, or had your grandparents not, [. . .], our social situations would ve changed. We probably wouldn t have revived it again.*

M. and N. Meier, for example, demonstrate this point: Their children are not being raised in their family s German culture, partly because of M. Meier s opinions on the practicality of German, but also because N. Meier cannot understand German.

However, despite the lack of German language in the Schmidt family, the preservation of their heritage through cultural traditions seems to have had a positive influence on everyone, including the third generation. As T. Schmidt said, *And I [. . .] like*

being German.

The importance of heritage is also prevalent in the Bauer family. J. Bauer explained, *But I always say that sports is only with you as long as you re capable, healthy and young to play in sports, where culture, you can start to learn at a very young age and basically, culture is with you for the rest of your life because you can use it in different aspects of it.* Heritage plays an important part in the Bauer family s lives, mostly because of F. Bauer s husband s, I. Bauer s, and J. Bauer s involvement in a local German ethnic club. Both I., K. and J. Bauer explained that they often went to the club as children with their parents, thus making it the hub of German cultural activity for them, and I. and J. Bauer as well as K. Bauer in turn frequented the club with their children.

J. Bauer gave an appropriate summary of their club involvement: *We re of course members of the [. . .] Club and have always been involved with the [. . .] Club.* J. Bauer was youth leader when he was younger, and later became president of the club for seven years. Currently he is the chairman of a national German ethnic organization. I. Bauer was also part of the youth group and now runs the Women s Auxiliary at their club. They enrolled all three of their sons in the Kindergruppe, in which children do crafts and other activities, and learn German songs and poems all in German. When they were old enough, I. and J. Bauer enrolled their sons in the folk dance group. Another activity organized by their club and other clubs of the same German ethnicity in North America and Europe is the *Jugendlager*. This is a youth gathering that takes place every two years for two weeks, alternating between Europe and North America. The countries involved are: Romania, Canada, the United States, Germany, and Austria. The youth meet, go sightseeing, and

perform some of their cultural dances and music in front of audiences.

J. Bauer admitted that they sometimes did have to force the children to go to their club activities, but does believe that they enjoyed it in the end: *But, you know, maybe they didn't want to go, but they did come back with a smile on their face and enjoyed it.* R .

Bauer said that he enjoyed participating in the dance group and went of his own volition and enjoyed Kindergruppe as well, though he started disliking the activities as he got older just because he had to go. S. Bauer, his older brother, also enjoyed taking part in all the cultural activities at their ethnic German club: *I met some of my best friends at the [. . .] Club.*

K. Bauer mentioned that both her sons have participated in folk dancing. The older son, P. Bauer, has now quit because he is going to the United States for his university degree, but Q. Bauer is still taking part. It is not clear when they started folk dancing, but since the family spent several years in London, where they did not have access to any strong German culture groups, and only returned about two years ago, the assumption is that they have only been participating for about two years.

As in the Schmidt family, some of the third generation Bauer family members also expressed that heritage is a reason for passing on German. Q. Bauer cites one of his main reasons for learning German is *because it's basically part of our roots* and wants to pass it on *because it's basically part of our heritage, where we come from.* R. Bauer, like R. Schmidt, indirectly mentioned the importance of heritage when he replied that if he marries someone with German heritage, then he might try and pass it on. But if his future wife is Indian, as he suggested, then he does not think so.

It seems that where the importance of one's German heritage is strong, so is a

willingness to learn the language, even if it is lower on one's priority list. In the Meier family, both Q. and R. Meier like German culture and are eager to continue learning German when they have another opportunity. The Schmidt family, by placing more importance on heritage than language, has managed to develop their children's interest in learning German. The role of heritage is difficult to ascertain in the Bauer family because the three sons in J. and I. Bauer's family were forced to take German lessons and the two sons in K. and L. Bauer's family grew up in an area with very little access to German cultural activities and language classes. However, continuation of the culture was the reason for sending one's children to German language instruction. All of the third generation also expressed interest in passing on their heritage and language to their children if they ever have any, though a few mentioned that marrying someone of either Canadian or German background would be important in making this decision. These sentiments show the importance of heritage in each family, even if the language itself is not passed on.

IV.b.iv. Conclusion

None of the families in the second or third generations interviewed use German as their home language anymore as was explained in section IV.a. Section IV.b.i examined what factors may have played a role in the switch from German as the home language to English. It is impossible to conclude from this study with 100% accuracy which factor is the most important. However, a few possible conclusions can be suggested. Certainly, the status of English was most often given as the main reason for teaching the children English, especially with regards to entering school. These findings are parallel to what several studies

discussed in chapter 2 found out: Dorian and Huffines pointed out that the importance of English in Anglo-Canadian society is significant in deciding which language to raise one's children in. Brudner-White mentioned the importance of national education in Austria when several fully bilingual Slovene/German communities lost its Slovene language and became monolingual. The information given by the respondents in this study therefore reconfirm the influence of school.

Birth order, covered in section IV.b.ii also appeared to have an effect on each child's exposure to and perhaps subsequent comfort with using German, though this is by no means true for each generation in each family, nor does it seem to be an important factor. In the Schmidt family, with four siblings in the second generation, the oldest seemed to have the most exposure to German yet only uses it when it is really necessary. This is in direct opposition to the Meier family, where the oldest in the second generation also had the most exposure to German but utilizes German much more. In the Bauer family, all members appear to be comfortable using German, though I. and S. Bauer, the oldest in their respective generations, more so. However, none of the literature mentioned anything about birth order, also suggesting its importance is minimal.

In terms of continuing the German language in the family, the importance of one's heritage, dealt with in section IV.b.iii, appears to play an important role. Each family expressed different views on the priority they place on their heritage, ranging from the general feeling in the Meier family of assimilation and practicality, to the emphasis of cultural traditions in the Schmidt family, to the emphasis of both traditions and language in the Bauer family. Huffines' findings (see page 12) that parents tended to pass on German

only if they felt it was practical, and not for traditional reasons, are only partially applicable to this study. Although the practicality of learning German was often cited, it seems that many parents felt that heritage was also important and indirectly stimulated their children to learn German on their own. As Bongart reported (see page 23), the only participants in his study who had an active knowledge of German had specifically set out to learn it. The responses from the participants in this study suggest that some now wish to fill a gap in their heritage and would like to learn German. Assuming they are able to fulfill Bongart's requirement of periodic trips to a German-speaking country (his other requirements - see page 23 - may no longer be valid) as well as find some speakers of German in Kitchener-Waterloo so they can keep up their German, they may be able to retain what they learn which means they could pass it on to their children. The third-generation respondents already expressed a wish to attempt to pass on German to their children. Many of them said that heritage - theirs and that of their future spouse - is an important factor in making this decision. To conclude, heritage is important in deciding whether to learn German at all as well as in deciding whether to pass it on, thus giving it a very important role in the continuation of German within a family.

Bongart reported that German in the home was also an important factor for retained active knowledge of the language. Of those exposed to a significant amount of German in the home, most perceived themselves as being able to speak, read, and understand German well. This shows that, although their language was not tested, these participants have a high level of confidence in their German. For those who were exposed to very little or no German in the home, the self-evaluations of one's abilities in German are a little more varied, though

the tendency is towards lower levels of self-perceived abilities in German. Since most of the family units within each family were not able to maintain a consistent level of German within their household, one option that remained open to them was formal German instruction for their children, which is the topic of the following section.

IV.C. Attending German Language Classes

Unlike French language instruction, which is available in all schools, German courses in Kitchener-Waterloo are only available at some high schools and through the Concordia Language School on Saturday mornings. One thing that is important to the parents in the study is that if their children learn German, they should learn standard German instead of the dialect spoken by the first generation and possibly the second. because most had the impression that their dialect was something no one except for speakers of that specific dialect would be able to understand, so they preferred their children learn standardized German. Formal instruction in German is one option open to the parents and seems to have been a popular choice since 24 out of the 32 family members born in Canada (this and the following figures include those who did not participate in the study) attended German language instruction at some point. Of the 28 who were raised in German at all, even for a short period of time, 23 attended German language school and only five did not. Of those five, three belonged to the first generation, who were born in German-speaking communities in Eastern Europe and who spoke German regularly at home in their home towns and in Kitchener-Waterloo. This suggests that parents saw German lessons as another means of teaching their children German besides just speaking it at home. In the third

generation, eight of the fourteen children were sent to German school at some point, though none of them attend anymore (Q. Bauer takes his lessons in high school). This suggests that extracurricular German lessons are less popular with the second-generation parents and third-generation children, possibly reflecting the attitudes discussed in the previous section on language shift in the family. These numbers also confirm Isajiw's findings (see page 23) that fewer third-generation ethnic Germans continue with language class compared to other ethnic groups.

Four of the 29 respondents were not raised in German for any period of time, and of these four, two have taken German language courses. T. Bauer, who married into the Bauer family and was also not raised in German, took a beginner's course at university to help herself be able to understand family conversations better. N. Meier, who married into the Meier family, took a beginner's course for the same reasons but found herself too busy to continue. The other two who did not attend German language school were T. and W. Schmidt.

The following table shows the number of participants who took part in German language instruction and who did not, and if they continued past grade eight. The middle column shows participants who participated in German language instruction from kindergarten to grade 13 and the column on the right, those who did not. "Total" is the total number of participants who reported having taken or not taken German lessons outside of school. "German Instruction in High School" shows the number out of the total who took German in high school, and "German Instruction in University", those who took courses in university.

	Extracurricular German Instruction: Kindergarten-Grade 13	No Extracurricular German Instruction: Kindergarten-Grade 13
Total	20	9
German Instruction in High School	10	0
German Instruction in University	3	1

Table 1: German Language Instruction

This suggests that the participants were more likely to take German lessons in high school if they had already attended extracurricular German instruction before high school and that there is a similar tendency, though it is not as strong, in taking German lessons at university. However, these figures do not explain the decisions behind them. This section will examine why parents enrolled their children in German language courses (or why children enrolled themselves, as was sometimes the case) and attitudes participants had/have towards German lessons.

IV.C.i. Reasons for Enrollment

German language lessons were often taken outside of the regular school system. This of course meant that extra effort was involved in taking these lessons: Extra homework, more driving for the parents, more time spent in school, etc. But in light of the decreasing effort in using German in the home, many parents seemed to feel that this was the only option to teach their children their heritage language. All first-generation parents sent their children for a period of time to German school, but fewer from the second generation did so.

The main reason for sending one's children to German school was so that they could

learn how to properly write and speak in German since all three families come from a German ethnic background with a strong dialect. J. Meier recalled an incident from 25 years ago in Germany when she spoke German to someone and was asked what kind of German she spoke. She felt that he could not place her because of her Austrian-Swabian-English mix (Austrian from her mother, Swabian from her father), so during that trip she endeavored to speak more standard German. This experience helped her later decide to teach her children standard German, especially because *that s what everybody learns in school and that s how they can communicate with everyone who speaks German no matter what dialect.*

German school was a popular choice for many of the second-generation parents. Except for K. and N. Meier, who chose not to, and L Schmidt, whose husband would not allow it at the time, all parents sent their children at some point in time to German school, often when the children were still young. However, many eventually withdrew their children. Only the Bauer family continued sending their sons until they graduated from high school, and Q. Bauer is currently taking lessons in high school. The main reason for taking one s children out of German school was time: Many of the children were also involved in sports which also took place on Saturdays, so their schedules became too tight and they missed a lot of their German classes.

The next popular reason was moving: M. and N. Schmidt moved to different cities because of N. Schmidt s job. Although they stayed in Southern Ontario, German language classes were not always available. By the time they lived in a city which offered German lessons, sports had become more important in the family, so the children were never re-enrolled. K. Bauer and her family had the same experience once they moved to London, i.e.,

they decided not to enrol their children because of sports, and when they returned to Kitchener-Waterloo, her older son was too old to attend, and Q. Bauer had too little knowledge of German for his age group at German school.

Another reason to not attend German school was simply one's dislike for it. L. Meier, S. Bauer, and K. Meier mentioned that they just did not enjoy going to German school, L. Meier and S. Bauer because it interfered with their Saturday morning cartoon viewing. K. Meier did not give any explanation of why he did not like it. Q. and R. Meier also quit because they did not like their teachers. L. and K. Meier only attended for one and two years respectively, and Q. and R. Meier for five and seven, whereas S. Bauer was forced to continue until grade 12.

In I. and J. Bauer's family, not attending was not an option. I. and J. Bauer sent their children to German school from the beginning to grade 12 to help them keep up their German and pass on the family's ethnic heritage. Both feel that their children now appreciate the extra knowledge they gained from the extracurricular language instruction. J. Bauer's youngest son, O. Bauer (not interviewed), recently returned from a *Jugendlager* trip (see page 99) to Germany and Austria, and, according to J. Bauer, said he felt pretty good about being able to speak German because others in the youth group who could not speak German looked to him for help while over there.

Several of the third-generation participants have expressed an interest in learning German. Although many explained that the practicality of having a second language is important, they also said that they like their German heritage and would like to pass it on to their children. High school and university courses give them the opportunity to learn (or in

some cases re-learn) their heritage language.

As mentioned previously, though, none of the third generation participants currently attend Saturday morning German language lessons. In some cases, (e.g., the Meier family) the children simply disliked going to German school. Others (e.g., most of the Bauer children) are now too old to attend. In other cases (e.g., the Schmidt children), time seems to have played an important role in deciding whether to continue with German language instruction or not, suggesting that passing on the German language is not as high a priority as other things. For example, N. Schmidt gave the example that hockey practice three nights a week culminates in a match on the weekend which the children hope to win. In other words, they see a reason for practice. With young children, it is often difficult to explain to them the reason for learning a language which has little use in one's immediate surroundings. N. Meier, for example, was not even sure if her children understood the concept of language, something which A. and B. Meier also supported. M. Meier, her husband, explained he would prefer his children to learn French first because of its status in Canada. So the rank of German at number three after English and French is clear in this family. The children may then develop certain negative attitudes towards German language instruction because they do not see any use in learning it. The next section deals with these attitudes.

IV.C.ii. Attitudes Towards German Language Lessons

K. Schmidt explained the distaste for German language lessons experienced by many participants: *It's extra class and they're not interested in that.* Both L. Meier and S. Bauer

mentioned that they missed Saturday morning cartoons because of German school. R. Bauer felt it did not help that much because he already knew a fair amount of German before entering and preferred annoying the teacher. Although German language instruction was a popular choice among parents, their children did not seem to enjoy it very much. As the children became older and less emphasis was placed on the German language, the parents themselves often eventually admitted that it was not as important as other activities, such as hockey, for example, thereby giving their children the message, most likely unintentionally, that the language itself is not very important. Attitudes towards extra German lessons and reasons for enrollment or withdrawal in such courses are often intertwined: A negative attitude can be a precursor to taking a child out of German class just like a positive attitude towards extra lessons to keeping a child enrolled. This section, though, aims to look at these attitudes in more detail than the previous section, where they were mentioned simply as a reason for enrolling or withdrawing one's children.

D. Schmidt is the oldest participant who had German language instruction. As described in previous sections, her parents would not allow English to be spoken in the house unless she had friends over who could not understand German. During high school, she had a private tutor for German come to the house twice a week. She learned about German literature, including the classics, and was even taught Gothic handwriting even though it was by that time no longer used in Germany. She appreciated the extra tuition when it was time to graduate from high school: Back then, each student was required to have one foreign language upon graduation. Since French was not her strongest one, the teachers at her school allowed her to write a provincial exam for German as a replacement. In an

unrelated question during the interview, when she was asked about German culture, she and her husband both mentioned that they prefer to see events involving German literature and the classics, *was ich gelernt habe*,⁷ showing that she still recalls some of the material she learned back in high school and that she still gets some enjoyment out of it. She also felt that by learning German grammar, she simultaneously learned more about English as well and came to see the advantages of learning another language.

The second generation is somewhat mixed in their opinions about German school. Some did not enjoy it at all and do/will not send their children there, while others would like to send their children but cannot find the time. L. and K. Meier both disliked German school. L. Meier said it was because he wanted to stay home and watch Saturday morning cartoons. K. Meier did not express himself that he disliked it, rather N. Meier, his wife, mentioned it in her interview. She believes that not sending their three children to German school is related to his not having enjoyed the two years he had to do when he was young. J. Meier, the oldest of the three children, did not give any opinions about German school but did mention that she quit because she could no longer get a ride there, suggesting she may have continued if given the chance. She also appreciated having her knowledge of German because she worked in a law firm for several years before she had children and conducted some correspondence in German. She and her husband sent the children to German school and are actively encouraging German at home as much as their time allows. They pulled their oldest out because his teacher made the class too stressful, and therefore decided to pull out their younger son as well. Both sons promised to continue with German in high

⁷ What I learned.

school. To conclude the Meiers' opinion of German instruction, J. Meier found it useful and therefore, with her husband's co-operation, sent her children to German school. L. Meier disliked it but said he might try and pass German on to his children if he ever has any. K. Meier did not enjoy it either when he was young, and has obviously decided not to send his children there. These attitudes may be passed on down to their children, potentially closing one door to learning the family's heritage language.

In the Schmidt family, all four in the second generation and J. Schmidt went to German school. K. Schmidt took extracurricular lessons first and then switched to German lessons in high school. J. Schmidt, however, reported that she went to German school until grade four and quit because it was too difficult and because she had a male teacher. However, she took it all through high school and took one course per year at university and enjoyed it.

Of the three Schmidt siblings who have children, two sent theirs to extracurricular German lessons: J. and K. Schmidt, and M. and N. Schmidt. L. Schmidt's ex-husband would not allow their daughter to be taught any German. J. and K. Schmidt were able to keep their children in German school on Saturday mornings for a fairly long period of time: six years or so for S. Schmidt and eight years or so for R. Schmidt. K. Schmidt feels that his children like German but are not interested in taking extra classes in order to learn it. R. Schmidt, his son, said he did not enjoy going, though S. Schmidt, his daughter, did enjoy it, but said that a lot of younger children were joining the class and she felt that she was not learning anymore. This suggests that she would have continued, but now that she is older, she is not taking classes any longer because of other commitments, often sports.

M. and N. Schmidt tried sending their oldest child to German school but had to take him out because they moved to another city. Although they had the opportunity when they lived in Toronto to send their children to German school, they felt that other activities such as hockey were more important: *You re only going to practice hockey three times a week if you want to win the game on Saturday. Well, they re not going to practice another language, whether it s German, French or whatever, if they don t see a need for it, if they don t see that there s actually going to be an end to the road.* Since German school conflicted with these activities, they decided not to pursue it any further. They are now looking for a private tutor for their daughter as she has expressed an interest in learning German, and their son will take courses at university. The attitudes towards German language instruction in this branch of the family seem to be very positive.

In the Bauer family, all three interviewed members of the second generation attended German school, though it was run by their ethnic German club at the time and not by the regional public school board. They obviously saw some value in it since I. and J. Bauer sent their children to German school for thirteen years, even though the children did not want to go. K. Bauer sent her children there until the family moved to the London area, where they decided to focus on hockey lessons instead of a small German school run in a Dutch club. The parents' efforts, though resulting in two different ways of emphasizing their heritage while raising their children, seem to have paid off: I. and J. Bauer's children seem to appreciate what the extra instruction has done for them (with the exception of R. Bauer), and Q. Bauer is now interested in learning German on his own.

The third generation Meiers and Schmidts all appear to enjoy learning German or

want to start learning German. Q. and R. Meier attended German school for several years when they were young and plan on taking German classes once they reach high school. T. and W. Schmidt would like to learn privately, and their parents are trying to find a tutor. U. Schmidt plans to take a beginner's course in university. R. and S. Schmidt attended Saturday morning German school for several years. S. Schmidt reported that she enjoyed it until younger students joined and she was not learning as much. R. Schmidt said *it helped*.

The third generation of the Bauer family was generally not enthusiastic about having to attend Saturday morning German school. Q. Bauer only attended for a year in kindergarten. However, R., S., and O. Bauer all have their grade 12 German credit, with the exception of R. Bauer, who also has his grade 13/OAC credit. R. Bauer summarized his feelings about German school by saying, *I hated it. I absolutely hated it.* And of his OAC course he said, *I don't know why I took that last year. One of those stupid ideas. I remember the first day I went back for that last year, it was like, Why? I don't know why I did that.* S. Bauer also admitted to not enjoying it at the time, though he is glad he now has the knowledge. R. Bauer felt that he learned more from speaking to his grandparents and learned less at German school, mostly because of how much he hated it. This in turn had a negative effect on him with regards to his attitude towards German in general at the time: *I hated German school, and of course when you're growing up, if you have to go to German school, you hate German.* His older brother also recalled not enjoying the extra classes partly because it was difficult for him to suddenly think of German in terms of grammatical concepts instead of just another way of communicating, but also because he found it difficult dealing with the fact that he still had to go to school Saturday mornings while his

friends were watching cartoons.

In conclusion, the general trend here is that those who were forced into language instruction did not enjoy it, and those who had the choice seemed to get something out of it and enjoy it. This reflects the same conclusions Dorian reported about compulsory and voluntary Irish language instruction in Ireland. The negative side with forcing the children to take extracurricular German lessons is that there is a danger they may decide not to pass German on to their children, just like the strong aversion to Irish Dorian found in those who had been forced to take Irish lessons. Although many third generation participants have vague plans to send their children to German school, M. and L. Meier already show that being required to attend may have a negative impact. On the other hand, the children may grow up to appreciate the extra knowledge of standard German, as S. Bauer demonstrated.

IV.C.iii. Conclusion

The findings in section IV.C do not uniformly support or disprove the findings regarding education reported in chapter two. Even though some participants were forced to take extracurricular German lessons, this appears to be no clear cause for a person's like or dislike of learning the language, though there is a slight tendency towards disliking German language instruction. In chapter two it was also suggested that teaching children in school to some extent in their mother tongue would be beneficial and lead them to hold positive opinions about their native language. However, it seems that many viewed extracurricular language instruction as a burden and impractical. The discussion on heritage explained that most participants still feel proud about their German background even if they do not speak

German. However, German does have a lower rank in most participants' lives. Lambert, Giles and Picard reported (see page 22) that instruction in one's heritage language can lead to the view that the heritage language is as important a language as English - a view not held by many of the respondents in this study. The solution proposed was to give the students a solid foundation in their mother tongue and then begin teaching them in English. But what does one do when most of the second- and third-generation participants spent their first two to five years in German and then shifted to English? Had the parents already given their children reason to believe that English was more important than German? At that age, most of the participants were most likely as bilingual as a six-year-old can be, meaning that the shift to English as the mother tongue and the little emphasis placed in most families on keeping up their German contributed to subtractive bilingualism (see page 22).

Bongart wrote that those who could still use German had also had German language instruction beginning at age 6 (see page 23), so although extracurricular German lessons do not seem to be solely responsible for one's ability to speak German, they do appear to have an effect. It also appears that many third generation members would consider sending their children there as a means of passing on the language. So, just like the Irish in Dorian's study, the possibility is open to them and they may take advantage of it, though to what extent is uncertain. Several of the third-generation participants just gave vague guesses that they might try it out for a few years. So although they see it as a means of furthering their culture, it does not appear to be seen as a very positive and useful way of doing it.

IV.D. The Effects of Identity on Attitudes Towards German

In chapter two there were several studies mentioned which drew correlations between identity and heritage, and identity and language: Kells came to the conclusion that students who did not speak Spanish did not identify with the term *Mexicano/a* (31). Papapavlou and Pavlou found out that participants who could understand informal Greek preferred to be called *Greek Cypriots*, *Greeks*, or *Cypriots*, as opposed to a label including *English* or *Anglo*. Both of these studies show a strong correlation between one's identity and language. In the present study, each participant was asked with what nationality or ethnic label they identified. They were given several suggestions by the interviewer as well the opportunity to give their own definition. In order to see if there is a correlation between language and ethnic label, their answers are displayed below in a table showing each participant's ethnic identification and their estimates regarding how much of their day and week is spent in German. The table is ordered numerically by the first column and then by participant.

Estimated Level of Spoken German (0=no German, 10=perfect German)	Nationality/Ethnic Identity	Participant
0	Canadian	N. Meier
0	German with Canadian background	U. Schmidt
1	Canadian-German	T. Schmidt
1	Canadian	W. Schmidt
2	Ethnic German	K. Schmidt
2	Canadian	R. Schmidt

3	German-Canadian	L. Schmidt
3	Canadian with German background	S. Schmidt
3	Canadian	T. Bauer
4	Canadian with German heritage	R. Meier
5	Canadian	F. Bauer
5	German	K. Meier
5	Canadian	L. Meier
5	Canadian with German heritage	Q. Meier
6	German-Canadian	J. Schmidt
6	Donauschwaben/Austrian	M. Schmidt
7	German-Canadian	M. Meier
7	German-Canadian	Q. Bauer
7	Canadian	R. Bauer
7	Canadian	S. Bauer
8	Canadian of German descent	I. Bauer
8	Canadian	J. Meier
8	German-Canadian/first generation Canadian; more Donauschwaben than German	N. Schmidt
9	Canadian	A. Meier
9	Canadian with German heritage	D. Schmidt
9	German-Canadian	K. Bauer
10	Canadian	B. Meier
10	German	C. Schmidt
10	Canadian of German descent	J. Bauer

Table 2: Ethnic Identity and Level of Spoken German

This table shows that ethnic identity in this group of participants is not necessarily connected with a person's perceived level of spoken German as Kells and Pavlou and

Papapavlou reported. Out of all 29 participants, 11 considered themselves only Canadian. Their personal estimates of their level of spoken German range from 0 to 10. Out of all 29 participants, 18 included German or a sub-group (e.g., Donauschwaben) in their definition, and again with an estimate range of language level between 0 and 10. The only participants to consider themselves only German are: K. Meier, who does not use German in the home nor is he currently making an effort to teach his children German, C. Schmidt, who was born in Eastern Europe and lived in a town with a very strong German population, and K. Schmidt, who supports his children in learning German, but does not enforce it. Their estimates are 5, 10, and 2 respectively. These findings suggest that the participants do not consider language to be strongly related to their ethnic identity nor to culture in general, which supports Prokop's and De Vos's arguments (see page 42) that ethnicity is related to the symbol of the language and not one's ability to speak it. It is clear from the above table that the participants' ethnic identity and heritage language are not linked. In an attempt to find out what other factors may correlate with their ethnic label, other combinations were considered but also appeared to have no effect: Ethnic identity + traditions practiced now; ethnic identity + traditions practiced in youth; ethnic identity + traditions practiced now and in youth, and ethnic identity + passing on German.

IV.d.i. Assimilation and Integration

Ethnic identity, therefore, appears to be a very personal matter. Returning to Papapavlou and Pavlou, they suggested that ethnic identity is determined by many factors including language, customs, religion, and education. In the present study, only language,

customs, and German language education were considered. The importance of these factors with regards to one's own ethnic identity also differs from generation to generation. Four of the five first-generation participants have Canadian in their ethnic label yet spent their youth in German-speaking towns in Europe (with the exception of D. Schmidt, who was born in Kitchener-Waterloo), still attend ethnic German functions, spend most of their day using German, but did not attend any German language school (aside from D. Schmidt). Ten of the 13 second-generation participants have German in their label (of the three who do not, two married into the family and are themselves not from ethnic German families), and only two consider themselves to be only German, as has already been discussed. They either still practice German traditions, speak German to some extent, or plan on learning German in the near future, and attended German language classes at some point in their lives. Of the eleven third-generation participants, six also include German in their ethnic identities, again with various levels of involvement in German traditions and activities. There does not seem to be a checklist of factors that determine if people consider themselves German or Canadian. K. Meier, for example, considers himself only German, yet he rarely speaks the language, and does not continue any traditions in his household, whereas C. Schmidt, who labels himself as Canadian, spends most of his day in German and is still involved in a local German club.

One factor that may influence one's ethnic identity is the acquisition of the outgroup language, i.e., English. With three exceptions, all participants consider themselves to be Canadian or partly Canadian, and all (including the three exceptions) can speak English. This would suggest that there is a link between ethnic identity and language, though

ironically with the mainstream language and not the heritage language, as if to suggest that if one is born with a German identity, one acquires the Canadian identity later, and may or may not keep the German identity. Clément came to similar conclusions in his study (see page 42).

Therefore the focus should not be only on the respondents' ethnicity, i.e., their German identity, but also on their Canadian identity. Four different types of identification were described in chapter two which can be used to help ascertain how much one identifies with both the ingroup (Germans) and the outgroup (Canadians): integration (identification with both groups), marginalization (identification with neither group), assimilation (identification with the outgroup only), and separation (identification with the ingroup only) (see page 38). Although there is not enough conclusive data here to clearly assign each participant to one of these four categories, it is possible to say which behaviours show signs of which type of identification.

Assimilation shows itself here in the reasons why parents decided to raise their children in English: Many wanted to make the entry into school easier for them, which, as Clément pointed out, would ease adaptation into the mainstream culture (568). D. Schmidt made it especially clear that her experiences with entering school without any knowledge of English were negative enough that she did not want the same to happen to her children. I. and J. Bauer expressed similar sentiments, as did J. Meier. Others, such as K. Meier, said that they raised their children in English because it is the mainstream language of the country. He would rather his children learn French as their first foreign language because of its status in Canada. A. Meier also believes that the Germans' inability to assimilate in his

home town in Yugoslavia led to them being driven out after the Second World War, so he does not enforce German within his family.

Another sign of assimilation is leisure activities. Many participants reported, for example, that one reason why they did not continue sending their children to Saturday morning German school was because it conflicted with sports such as hockey. In other words, the parents and their children preferred a Canadian activity to an activity which would have helped continue their ethnic culture. N. Schmidt, for example, chose to get his coaching certificates in two sports, volunteer as a coach for youth sports, the Knights of Columbus, the K-W Symphony, and the Lions Club instead of becoming president of an ethnic German club like his father did.

Separation and marginalization do not seem to be an issue with these participants, so they will not be discussed in any great depth here. None of them showed any signs of completely ignoring mainstream Canadian culture or both cultures at the same time. However, integration seems to be apparent in many of the participants since many of the responses they gave suggest that they feel comfortable in both cultures. The first, and perhaps strongest, clue is each participant's ethnic label, e.g., German-Canadian or Canadian with German background, suggesting that most feel comfortable labeling themselves in such a way as to show that they have two identities.

Another clue is what parents have done to try and pass on their German heritage to their children through folk dancing, language lessons for purposes other than the usefulness of knowing another language, and through stories told by parents and grandparents so that their offspring appreciate their roots. This suggests they feel comfortable teaching or having

their children taught this kind of knowledge and that they believe it important to pass it on, as was often the case with German language instruction, while at the same time using English in the home because of its status in Kitchener-Waterloo as the mainstream language. Activities such as folk dancing and language lessons generally took up only a small amount of time compared to larger commitments such as work, school, and family. However, the fact remains that most of the participants still use German or practice their German culture, even if they do not dedicate a lot of time to it. This also supports the conclusion that most have an integrated identity.

IV.d.ii. Conclusion

The first part of this section looked at language and identity. The results disagree with Kells and Pavlou and Papapavlou's studies on the relationship between language and identity. The ability to speak German obviously does not decide if one considers oneself German. However, there appears to be a strong correlation between identifying with Canadian culture and speaking English giving more importance to the rank of English over German.

The second part discussed the possibility of identifying equally with both cultures and not just one. These results disagree with Ryan *et al.* who say that speakers of a minority language can either adopt the mainstream language and culture and be able to move around in the new society more easily, or they can keep their own culture and language, which in turn would make movement in the new society more difficult (see page 11). The responses of the participants in the present study show that they identify well with both cultures, that

they have integrated and some to a certain extent assimilated. Those who have been to Germany or another country where German is spoken found that they had few problems fitting in, mostly because of their knowledge of German they had acquired in Kitchener-Waterloo through their family, etc., as has been described throughout this study. M. and N. Schmidt even reported that they may eventually move back to Austria permanently when they retire because they enjoyed it there so much. Those who did experience some difficulties expressed a stronger interest in learning German, suggesting they would like to learn more about that part of their heritage, possibly because they have either made a connection between their heritage and their own lives or simply because they see some practicality in learning more about it. In other words, they have a reason to raise the prestige of German to that of English.

V. Conclusion

This study analyzed the passing down of German culture and language within three three-generational families to get a detailed look at which factors are involved. The hypothesis was that having a positive attitude towards the language and culture, i.e., perceiving it as useful and as having some kind of value, means it will be passed on, and having a negative attitude, i.e., that there is no use for or value in the language and culture, would lead parents to decide not to pass it on anymore. The first chapter introduced the study, its aims, important general background research, and the methodology used to collect the data. The second chapter expanded on previous research and looked at the influence of school, the government, media and other external factors, social surroundings including the family, and one's identity. The third chapter defined the families: The Meiers, the Schmidts, and the Bauers, and then gave a general definition of each generation. And finally, the fourth chapter reported the results found in the interviews and investigated the domains of language use, how the language shift from German to English happened in the family, German language lessons, and identity.

The families were selected for this case study because of their various circumstances and history, allowing for the widest breadth of results possible. The Meier family was chosen for their tendency to assimilate; the Schmidt family for their emphasis on traditions, and the Bauer family because of their involvement and pride in participating in many ethnic German events. This is not to suggest that the results reported in this study were already known beforehand, only that it was known that these families carry these general traits which seemed to warrant more investigation. As such, this study concludes that there is no

one single factor that can be said to determine if a family decides to continue their German heritage and/or language. Participants willing to continue their language or learn it were found in all families, especially in the third generation of each. The only certainty seemed to be that a negative attitude towards learning German and passing on the culture leads more to an unwillingness to continue practicing one's language and consequently to not pass it on to the next generation. But a positive attitude does not guarantee that German will be passed on, either. All appeared open to learning foreign languages, so in this respect they considered German useful and valuable. However, some participants do not feel that the second language has to be German. So they perceive value and practicality in any language, meaning that German does not receive any extra emphasis.

Many studies outlined in chapters one and two suggested that Germans tend to assimilate faster into the mainstream culture than other ethnicities, as long as they do not live in their own endocentric communities like the Hutterites in Alberta or the Old Order Pennsylvania Germans in Pennsylvania. Several participants in the present study even mentioned that the Mennonites in Waterloo Region will continue using German because of their isolation, and that the German language in general in Kitchener-Waterloo is slowly dying out, but the culture may stay because of events like Oktoberfest. These conclusions seem to be the only ones that concur with this study, but even this result is still questionable since many of the third generation said they would like to try and pass on both the language and culture to their children. A quantitative study could see if there are others in Kitchener-Waterloo who would also like to keep German in their family. If so, then a resurgence may be possible.

One factor that can most likely be ruled out is birth order. Although the interviews showed that it was important in learning German in the home and/or reinforcing one's English, those who have set out to learn and/or keep up their German will continue doing so, regardless of when they were born. However, an interesting question here would be if a child's exposure to German, even if for only a few years, aids in making language learning easier later in life.

The continuation of one's culture seemed to be the most important factor in one's desire to learn the language that normally belongs to it. In some cases, the continuation of culture was chosen because it required less time commitment compared to learning and maintaining a language. Although many participants explained what aspects of their culture they still practice, a more detailed investigation would be called for here. For example, how much time do they devote to upholding their culture? How strong is the connection between heritage and identity? Does a strong identification with German culture help pass it on? Or do some of the participants consider the values they feel their parents have passed on to them count as culture?

The main reasons given by many respondents for not passing on German were practicality and time. Some did not view German as very useful, as an elective, whereas others felt that sports and other weekend activities were more important to the children. What could be done to make German more attractive to these participants and others of the same opinion? Or is it just a matter of preferring sports to languages, like preferring to study the sciences instead of the humanities, for example?

Many participants touched on the topic of code-switching. It would definitely be

worthwhile studying this more in depth. Several participants mentioned that they sometimes do not know which language they use when speaking. Are there perhaps certain topics they feel more comfortable speaking about in English or German? Or is it just a simple matter of whether they feel like putting in some effort to speak in the foreign language?

Chapter IV.c looked at German language lessons and concluded that these may have helped develop a negative attitude towards learning German, since almost every participant who had attended said they had not enjoyed it. It would be interesting to find out from students currently enrolled in German language lessons why they are learning German and how many of them go there because they have to go, i.e., that there is no other reason besides their parents putting pressure on them to attend. Do younger students even appreciate the knowledge they are gaining, as some participants admitted to after having completed German school? Also interesting would be a comparison of the answers given by students in the English stream and those in the German stream.

The prognosis for German in Kitchener-Waterloo as a native culture does not seem good. Bongart concluded that those in his study from 1977 who could still speak German had to actively set out to learn it, begin by age 6, speak it at home, and periodically visit a German-speaking country. None of the participants of the present study fulfill all of these requirements except for the first generation. Both the second and third only fulfill some of these, depending on the family. However, continuing the children's interest in their heritage seems to help them develop an interest in learning the language that goes with it. So although they will never be able to claim that they are native speakers of German, they may once again be able to speak it.

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Appendix A

Questionnaire Cover Sheet

Participant number (assigned by researcher): _____

The information on this sheet is used only for contact information and to match the data from each session to the previously collected data. It will be kept separate from the data in a locked and secured area.

Name: _____

Home address: _____

—

Home phone number: (_____) _____

E-mail address: _____

Questionnaire

Participant number (assigned by researcher): _____

Demographic Information

- A. Age: _____
- B. Gender: _____
- C. Profession: _____

Personal History

- D. Country of birth: _____
- E. Where else have you lived since you were born? _____

- F. What is your mother tongue? _____
- G. What other languages do you speak? _____

- H. When did you start learning English? _____

Level of German and Learning German

I. How well do you speak German? Please circle a number.

10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
can speak without any problems										cannot speak any
German										

Other (please specify): _____

Your father's side:

Grandmother Grandfather Aunt Uncle Cousins

Other (please specify): _____

Other:

Friends Neighbours Teachers Work When travelling

O. Where do you speak German? Please check all that apply.

At home: _____

At work: _____

When going shopping: _____

In German class: _____

When travelling: _____

When visiting relatives in North America: _____

When visiting relatives in another country: _____

Other (please specify): _____

P. On average, how many hours per week do you do the following?

Reading a German newspaper: _____

Reading a German book for leisure: _____

Working with your German textbook: _____

Listening to German radio: _____

Listening to German music: _____

Writing in German (letters, e-mails, school work, etc.): _____

Speaking in German (face-to-face, over the phone, etc.): _____

Q. How much of your average day would you say is spent in German? Please circle one.

100% 90% 80% 70% 60% 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% 0%

R. How much of your average week would you say is spent in German? Please circle one.

100% 90% 80% 70% 60% 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% 0%

Thank you very much for your time. I will be in contact with you soon to set up the next interview.

Appendix B

Interviews

R. Meier - M, 13, student, abroad 0, Canada 13

Q. Meier - M, 15, student, abroad 0, Canada 15

Interview Date: June 26, 2002

0:08 What country does your family come from?

Q. Meier: A lot of countries. It comes from Austria, Hungary, and Germany all smushed together. And then they came here.

0:19 Do you consider yourselves Canadian, or a mix of all that, or German, or...?

R. Meier: A mix.

Q. Meier: I d probably consider myself Canadian but with German way back somewhere.

R. Meier: German heritage.

0:35 What kind of German do you speak? Do you just call it German, or...?

Q. Meier: Germglisch

R. Meier: Germglisch, swo wisch.

R. Meier: Swabian

0:43 Some high German?

Q. Meier: Some.

R. Meier: Some, yeah.

0:50 Do you still have family in your family s home countries that you still talk to?

R. Meier: Yeah.

Q. Meier: Well, we don t directly, but our parents do.

R. Meier: Our familes do. We talk to them sometimes.

1:00 What language do your parents use with these members?

[. . .]

Q. Meier: German.

R. Meier: Yeah, German.

1:13 5. The first language that both of you learned was German or English?

R. Meier: German.

Q. Meier: German.

1:18 And you were really young when you switched to English...do you know what happened there?

Q. Meier: Well, in my case I was two years old and my mom said, she told me I d been asking too many questions in German and she couldn t constantly keep answering it. And we were speaking really, sort of weird dialect of it so no one else can understand us, no one else that speaks a different dialect of German could understand us, so she wanted to get us to learn English. And then she would send us to German school and let us learn high German, which everyone understands.

R. Meier: Same case, probably.

1:51 So you don t talk about it much at home? Like, why you switched languages?

R. Meier: No.

1:55 Just kind of happened?

Q. Meier: Yeah, it just happened. We know the story, though.

R. Meier: Over the years, it just turned into English.

2:08 So both of you said that you speak and understand German - you speak it sort of but understand it more...

Q. Meier: Understand it more.

R. Meier: Yup.

2:15 Do you have certain ways that you keep it up? By reading, listening to music, finding people you can talk to...

R. Meier: Listening to our grandparents

Q. Meier: Talking with our -

R. Meier: - grandparents.

Q. Meier: - family and our family's friends that speak German

2:31 Were you ever in a German speaking country?

Q. Meier: Not yet.

2:36 But you're going?

Q. Meier: Yup.

R. Meier: Yup.

2:38 In a couple of weeks?

MA02 02: Two weeks.

R. Meier: A week Thursday.

2:40 So do you think you'll be talking as much German as you can with your family and...?

Q. Meier: I'll have to

2:48 They don't speak English?

R. Meier: Some of them.

Q. Meier: Some of them speak it, a teeny weeny bit, but most of them are pretty old, so they don't care. They just speak German.

2:59 Do you think there's any value in learning German?

R. Meier: Yeah.

Q. Meier: Oh, definitely.

3:02 Yeah? What kind?

Q. Meier: Well, first of all, it's easier to communicate with older people in family, to speak with them in their first language.

R. Meier: It comes in handy when you go on trips.

Q. Meier: Travelling. Like, if you know German, you can go pretty much anywhere in Europe and people will talk to you in German.

[. . .]

3:38 Would you say you were raised in English mostly or in German?

Q. Meier: Mostly in English.

R. Meier: In English.

3:45 And what language do you use with your grandparents then?

R. Meier: Some of each.

Q. Meier: Some of each. Like, we speak some German with them and some English. It's sort of half-half.

3:54 And when you were young, did you stay at their place a lot for babysitting and stuff?

Q. Meier: Yeah.

R. Meier: Yeah.

3:59 Do you remember what you spoke with them?

R. Meier: German?

[. . .]

Q. Meier: German when we were really young, I think. And gradually we got to more English. I wish I could get to more German. I like it.

4:15 Your parents obviously made attempts at teaching you German. What did they do?

Q. Meier: Speaking it at home.

R. Meier: Sending us to German school.

Q. Meier: Some German reading. Not a lot, but some.

4:30 Were they successful in teaching you?

R. Meier: Partially.

Q. Meier: They were more successful at [. . .] keeping us speaking it after we were done German school.

R. Meier - didn't hear question - not realized until after interview when listening to tape

4:45 With all this German school and books and stuff, do you still want to learn German?

Q. Meier: Oh, yeah.

R. Meier: Yeah.

4:52 Why? Just because of the reasons you mentioned before?

Q. Meier: Yeah, because of these and speaking it with my family, maybe making them happy that I can speak German, too, with them.

5:03 And you as well?

R. Meier: Yeah.

5:05 Different reasons?

Q. Meier: The same pretty much.

5:15 The two of you - you think you'll get married and have children later on in life?

Q. Meier: Hope fully.

R. Meier: Hope fully.

5:20 And do you think you'll try and teach them German as well?

R. Meier: Mhm m.

Q. Meier: Yeah.

R. Meier: Yeah.

5:24 And how do you think you ll do it? Also German school, if it s still around...?

Q. Meier: German school if it s still around; speaking it with them if I can speak it then .

5:32 You as well?

R. Meier: German school, grandparents, stuff like that, yeah.

[. . .]

5:45 And do you think that fewer people are speaking in Waterloo Region now?

R. Meier: Mhm m.

Q. Meier: Yes, because the original people that came here [. . .] are dying off. Like, when they came here in the fifties and sixties and stuff like that. Or before that. Now they re getting old and they re starting to die. They re disappearing. And not as many younger people want to keep speaking German because English is everywhere here, so not everyone continues to speak German .

R. Meier: Yeah.

Q. Meier: They don t see the point in it probably.

6:18 And do you both think it s a good thing, a bad thing, or it doesn t really matter?

Q. Meier: I think it s a bad thing.

[. . .]

R. Meier: (after question had been repeated for him) It s probably going to eventually, like, just fade away because nobody s going to speak it anymore, because everybody s just getting used to speaking English.

7:01 And yourself? What do you think?

Q. Meier: Well, I feel it s a bad thing that it s dying out because, I mean, personally, it s my belief that you should keep up your heritage, like, the past and everything, but that s just me. That s just what I think. You should keep, sort of, following your grandparents footsteps almost and keep your links with where you re from, like keeping your traditional links, your language and costumes, stuff like that, your lederhosen and cow bells.

7:40 You see it the same way?

R. Meier: Yeah.

7:41 Heritage and all that stuff?

R. Meier: Yeah. Basically.

7:44 More for practical reasons? Both?

R. Meier: Pretty much the same. Both, sort of.

[. . .]

8:03 So you guys obviously like German culture, right?

Q. Meier: Mhm m.

R. Meier: Yup.

8:05 What do you like about it?

Q. Meier: History, interesting traditions, and the music. You may think it s weird, but I do like the music.

8:16 The folk music? Volksmusik?

Q. Meier: Yeah, the Volksmusik. Not the new stuff. Except for Ramstein. Ramstein's good. [. . .] I like Ramstein!

Q. Meier: I don't.

8:27 What about you?

R. Meier: I like the costumes, the food, of course, and traditions, like, the culture, sort of. I like the way the houses look on the street.

Q. Meier: Architecture.

R. Meier: Yup.

8:49 So do you have music groups you like?

Q. Meier: Wildecker Herzbuben.

R. Meier: Mhm m.

[. . .]

Q. Meier: Oh, Ramstein.

R. Meier: No.

9:01 No, not for you.

R. Meier: No.

Q. Meier: Ramstein's good. That's pretty much all I know. And there's a bunch of little ones. I can't remember the names.

9:10 So like the music on the German hour? That kind of thing?

Q. Meier: Yeah.

R. Meier: Yeah.

Q. Meier: The traditional stuff that we've been brought up with.

9:17 So is German culture for you what's been passed down, like the dirndls and lederhosen, umpah music, or is it more what you find in Germany, or a mix?

Q. Meier: What's been passed down to us.

R. Meier: Yeah.

Q. Meier: The Swabian sort of area [. . .]

R. Meier: Same.

A. Meier - M, 70, born Yugoslavia, Canada 41

B. Meier - F, 72, born Austria, Canada 49

June 27, 2002

Note: German spoken partly in dialect, re-written in some areas into standard German

0:00 Aus welchem Land kommen ihre Familien?

A. Meier: Meine Familie kommt von Jugoslawien. Aber originell kommt sie von Elsass-Lothringen.

0:24 Und Ihre Familie kommt aus...?

B. Meier: Meine Familie kommt aus Österreich.

0:26 Nur Österreich?

B. Meier: Kärnten.

0:33 Würden Sie sagen, dass Sie Kanadier sind, oder Österreicherin oder Deutsche?

A. Meier: Kanadier.

[. . .]

B. Meier: Wir sind Kanadier.
A. Meier: Wir sind Kanadier, beide, kanadische Staatsbürger [. . .] und wir denken aus kanadisch [. . .]. Wir sind immer froh, wenn wir von Deutschland, oder wenn Besuch von drüben herkommen, zurückkommen, sind wir immer froh, dass wir nach Kanada kommen.

[. . .]

1:00 Was für ein Deutsch sprechen Sie dann, oder wie nennen Sie Ihr Deutsch?

A. Meier : Ich spreche Schwäbisch, möchte ich sagen. Wie in Alsäb, ge? Weil wir ja von Alsäb kommen.

1:12 Und Sie?

B. Meier: Österreichisch und Schwäbisch mit meinem Mann. Richtig gemischt, ge?

1:24 Haben Sie noch Familien in irgendeinem deutschsprachigen Land?

A. Meier: Ja. In Deutschland, ich habe einen Cousin. Das ist der nächste. Also der nächste Verwandte. Cousin und die Familie halt, ne? Und Cousinen und Cousins im zweiten Grad auch, ne? Aber keine Geschwister oder Eltern oder so.

1:46 Und Sie?

B. Meier: Ja, ich habe noch Geschwister. Drei Geschwister und Cousins. Jede Menge. [. . .] Aber keine Tanten und Onkeln mehr.

2:03 Und Sie sind noch in Kontakt mit den Verwandten?

B. Meier: Ja.
A. Meier: Oh ja.
B. Meier: Ja.
A. Meier: Sie geht ja nächste Woche - fährt sie nach Deutschland [. . .] und Österreich.

2:15 Und Sie unterhalten sich natürlich dann auf Deutsch.

B. Meier: Ja.
A. Meier: Ja. Nur. Nur.

2:19 Wie oft sind Sie in Kontakt?

A. Meier: Was soll ich sagen? Wir phonen öfters, ne?
B. Meier: Wir phonen und schreiben. [. . .] Schreiben einmal im Jahr, zweimal im Jahr. Die schreiben nicht mehr zurück, ne? Jeder phont.
A. Meier: Heutzutage ist das.

[. . .]

B. Meier: Ist einfacher.
A. Meier: Ja, ist einfacher. [. . .] Und schöner auch zum, you know, hören tust wie bloß lesen, ge?

2:52 Man kann sich auch unterhalten...

A. Meier: Genau.

3:02 Als Sie noch in [dem Heimatland] wohnten, als Sie jung waren, haben Sie dann nur Deutsch gesprochen, oder...?

A. Meier: Meistens. Im Haus haben wir Deutsch gesprochen, auf der Straße haben wir Serbisch gesprochen. Wir haben in einem serbischen Dorf gewohnt, gell? Die Familie ist wie hier auch: Wir sprechen Deutsch - zu Hause haben wir Deutsch gesprochen, mit den Nachbarn und Umgebung hat man Serbisch gesprochen.

3:29 Und Sie?

B. Meier: Ich habe nur Deutsch.

3:39 Sie haben vorher gesagt, dass es irgendwann einen Wechsel von Deutsch auf Englisch gab in der Familie...

A. Meier: Ja. Als wir immigriert sind. Wie wir herkamen. Man muß Englisch lernen, ne?

3:53 Es war so ein absichtlicher Wechsel? Also sie wollten, dass die Kinder zu Hause Englisch sprechen?

B. Meier: Dass die Kinder Deutsch lernen zu Hause.

A. Meier: Ja.

4:03 Können Sie sich noch daran erinnern, wie dieser Wechsel von Deutsch auf Englisch passiert ist? Ging es ganz langsam, oder...?

A. Meier: Oh ja. Das geht nicht über Nacht. Es ist heute noch nicht ganz [. . .] hundert Prozent, ne?

B. Meier: Es wird immer gemischt, ne? [. . .] Die Kinder geben englische Antworten und wir reden Deutsch mit ihnen.

A. Meier: Wir reden Deutsch.

B. Meier: Und manchmal geben sie deutsche Antworten. Es ist so verschieden.

[. . .]

4:48 Sie sprechen untereinander natürlich Deutsch. Was machen Sie noch, um Ihr Deutsch zu...erhalten?

A. Meier: Das ist keine Absicht. Das ist wirklich keine Absicht. Das ist mehr wie...Es kommt leichter in Deutsch wie in Englisch. Das Unterhalten oder das Kommunizieren kommt leichter in Deutsch. Die Zunge geht leichter in Deutsch wie in Englisch. Sagen wir so.

B. Meier: Ja, das stimmt. [. . .] Dann haben wir viele Freunde, die Deutsch sprechen.

A. Meier: Ja.

B. Meier: Und wenn wir uns unterhalten, dann natürlich Deutsch. Man kann sich besser unterhalten.

A. Meier: Mit dem [denen?] werden wir wahrscheinlich auch sterben.

[. . .]

5:58 Wann war das letzte Mal, das Sie in einem deutschsprachigen Land waren?

A. Meier: Wir waren zwei Jahre zurück, ne?

B. Meier: Ja. 2000.

6:06 Haben Sie einen Unterschied zwischen Ihrem Deutsch und dem anderen Deutsch gemerkt, oder...? Oder dass Sie vielleicht doch ein bisschen Deutsch vergessen haben?

A. Meier: Ja, das sind auch, wo wir meistens hingehen, das sind Schwaben. Und in Österreich sind die Österreicher...

B. Meier: Ja. Es kommt vor, dass wir englische Wörter reinmischen. Kommt sehr oft vor.

A. Meier: Ja. Sie tut mehr.

B. Meier: - bis man ein bisschen länger mit denen ist und dann spricht man genauso wie die. Aber gewissen Sachen, das kommt dann wieder in Englisch, dann weißt du nicht, wie du es in Deutsch sagst. Wenn man länger mit den Leuten zusammen ist, dann geht das leichter, ge? Ist man gleich wieder drinnen und spricht miteinander Dialekt. [Es dauert] ein paar Tage.

A. Meier: Ein paar Tage.

[. . .]

7:02 Glauben Sie, dass es noch Sinn macht Deutsch zu lernen, dass Deutsch noch eine wertvolle Sprache ist?

A. Meier: Oh ja, sicher.

B. Meier: Ja.

A. Meier: Sicher. Jede Sprache ist wertvoll, was wir können. Es macht nichts aus - Deutsch, Russisch, Französisch - ich wünschte, ich könnte Französisch.

[. . .]

7:26 Nur so aus Spaß?

A. Meier: Aus Spaß. [. . .] Ja. Ich habe schon versucht im Radio und so und im Fernsehen.

B. Meier: Es ist nur schwer zum lernen. [. . .] Mit dem Enkelsohn, mit dem kleinen, da tue immer gern mein Französisch tryen [?]. Ja! Er kann das gut.

[. . .]

7:54 Lernt er Französisch?

B. Meier: Sein Nanny, die kann Französisch.

A. Meier: Sie kommt aus Quebec.

B. Meier: Dann sagt er immer zu mir, wenn ich irgendwas in Deutsch sage, You must speak Französisch - French. Dann sage ich, No, du mußt das mit der Nana das lernen. Ich spreche Deutsch.

[. . .]

A. Meier: Er hat das noch nicht.

B. Meier: Aber er spricht das gut, was er spricht. Er lernt irgendwas.

[. . .]

8:45 War Serbisch dann die Hauptsprache in Ihrem Dorf?

A. Meier: Ja. Die Umgangssprache war Serbisch.

9:02 Für Sie dann natürlich Österreichisch...

B. Meier: Bei uns war es Österreiches, also Deutsch, ne?

9:07 Was für andere Sprachen haben Sie bisher gelernt? Nur Deutsch und Englisch?

A. Meier: Ja. Deutsch, Englisch. Serbisch kann ich vom Kind an.

9:20 Sprechen Sie noch Serbisch?

A. Meier: Ja, ich spreche, but nicht mehr, wie wir schon gekannt haben. Man verlernt. Verstehen tue ich ja alles. Aber die Zunge will das nicht mehr machen. Will nicht richtig mehr funktionieren. Da muß ich oft denken, wie sagt man das, ge? Wenn man es zu wenig üben tut, ge? [. . .] Man verliert es mit der Zeit.

9:53 Seit wann wohnen Sie jetzt in einem nicht deutschsprachigen Land?

A. Meier: Seit 1953. Und sie seit...

B. Meier: Seit 1961.

10:14 Wo Sie gearbeitet haben, in Europa, da haben Sie auch Deutsch gesprochen?

A. Meier: Ja. Ich war in Österreich. In 1947 sind wir ja geflüchtet von Jugoslawien nach Österreich und dann haben wir sechs Jahre in Österreich gewohnt, bevor wir nach Kanada kamen.

10:33 Als Sie hier gekommen sind, haben Sie dann irgendwelche Tätigkeiten gefunden, wo Sie Deutsch sprechen konnten, oder...?

A. Meier: No, no. Ich habe gleich mit Englisch angefangen. Sie hat ja nie gearbeitet da. [. . .] Sie war im Haushalt. Da heim. Wife stopped working, was housewife.

10:58 Das Geschäft, wo Sie gearbeitet haben: Haben Sie dort Deutsche Kunde gehabt?

A. Meier: No, nein. Das war ...strictly English.

[. . .]

11:12 Welche deutsche kulturelle Veranstaltungen besuchen Sie noch?

A. Meier: Wir gehen oft ins Schwaben Klub, ne? Sie gehört zum Schwaben Klub.

B. Meier: Schwaben Club oder Concordia, ne?

A. Meier: Manchmal gehen wir ins Concordia, ja.

B. Meier: In den Alpen Klub, ne?

A. Meier: In die deutschen Klubs sagen wir.

11:38 Und dann je nach Lust und Laune?

A. Meier: Ja. Aber nicht gerade...

B. Meier: Ja, wenn man mit Freunden gehen will, dann macht man sich aus [. . .]

A. Meier: Es ist kein ständiges...wir sind nicht, wie soll ich sagen, wir sind nicht richtige Mitglieder, beteiligt, ge? Wir sind mehr wie Zuschauer.

12:00 Also eher dann ein Treffpunkt?

A. Meier: Ja. Ja. Eher. Mit Freunden und so. Ja.

12:10 Wie oft fliegen Sie zurück nach Deutschland oder Österreich...nach Europa?

A. Meier: Ich glaube, alle zehn Jahre, ne? So ungefähr, ne?

B. Meier: Vier Jahre, zehn...Ich würde zehn Jahre, sieben... ja. Da war s mal acht Jahre...

A. Meier: Ja, aber es ist jetzt zu viel.

12:32 Aus welchen Gründen dann?

A. Meier: Besuch.

B. Meier: Ja, Besuch.

[. . .]

12:38 Sie haben Englisch gelernt als Sie erst hier gekommen sind?

A. Meier: Ja.

12:44 Als Sie hier gekommen sind, wieviel Englisch haben Sie dann benutzt im Vergleich zu Deutsch? Sagen wir in den ersten 10 oder 20 Jahren.

A. Meier: Zu Hause? Oder?

12:55 Im Allgemeinen.

A. Meier: Allgemein. Wenn ich gearbeitet habe, dann ging ja alles Englisch, ne? Sobald ich aus dem Haus draußen war. Zu Hause, wenn man zu Hause war, wir sagen 50/50, ne? Deutsch und Englisch. Zu Hause war s Deutsch alles.

13:14 Haben Sie irgendwelche englischsprachigen Freunde gehabt?

A. Meier: Nicht intensiv.

B. Meier: Du hast gehabt.

A. Meier: Ja. Schon habe ich...aber nicht so wie die Deutschen Freunde. Sagen wir so. War mehr oberflächlich.

[. . .]

B. Meier: Ich habe es mehr von den Kindern gelernt. [. . .] Und vom Lesen und Fernsehen.

A. Meier: Vom Fernsehen und mit den Kindern.

13:52 Haben Sie so einen Zeitplan, so zu sagen, mit den Kindern vereinbart, wann Englisch gesprochen wird und wann Deutsch?

A. Meier: Nein.

[. . .]

B. Meier: Wenn die klein waren, haben wir nur Deutsch gehabt.

A. Meier: Sie haben das alles können, aber mit der Zeit haben sie alles verloren, gell? Die Kinder. Solang sie klein waren...

B. Meier: Ja.

A. Meier: Der [K. Meier], als er mit der Schule anfing, hat er kaum Englisch können.

B. Meier: Oh, doch. Der hat mit zwei Jahren schon einen Unterschied gewußt. Wenn er mit dem Nachbarsmädel gesprochen hat, mit mir hat er Deutsch, sagte er, Mit dem Nachbarsmädel muß ich Englisch reden. Sie versteht mich nicht. So er hat schon können. Er hat mit den Kindern gespielt und da hat er es schnell gelernt.

[. . .]

14:58 Was für kulturelle Veranstaltungen haben Ihre Kinder gemacht?

A. Meier: Für deutsche Kultur meinst du?

15:05 Ja. Für deutsch Kultur.

A. Meier: Die [J. Meier] ist...die war...

B. Meier: In der Tanzgruppe.

A. Meier: In der Tanzgruppe. Bei den Schwaben, ne?

B. Meier: Und in die deutsche Schule gegangen für fünf Jahre. Der [K. Meier] ist nur -

A. Meier: Die boys sind nur -

B. Meier: Zur zweiten Klasse.

A. Meier: Ja. Und unser [L. Meier] ist eine Klasse, ne?

B. Meier: Ja.

A. Meier: Dann haben sie aufgehört. Die haben keine Lust mehr gehabt. Dann ging das Weinen los, ne? Dann haben wir gesagt, vergess darauf. Die [J. Meier] die hat ja fünf Jahre -

B. Meier: Fünf Jahre -

A. Meier: -gemacht.

B. Meier: Sechs.

A. Meier: Ja.

15:37 Die Jungs haben dann nichts mit dem Tanzen zu tun gehabt?

A. Meier: No. Die sind zweimal hingegangen oder dreimal -

B. Meier: Ein Jahr waren sie dort.

A. Meier: Ein Jahr. [. . .] Und dann haben sie aufgehört.

16:00 Was machen Ihre Kinder jetzt mit ihren Deutschkenntnissen?

A. Meier: Die boys kaum was.

B. Meier: Kaum was. Die sprechen nur Englisch.

A. Meier: Sie sprechen mit ihrer Familie nur Englisch.

B. Meier: Der jüngste, [L. Meier], war fünf Wochen dort.

A. Meier: Mit uns sprechen die auch Englisch.

B. Meier: In Europa. Und da hat er lernen müssen. Und er hat das auch gelernt.

A. Meier: Und da gehts auch schnell.

[. . .]

A. Meier: Verstehen tun sie, die Jungs, gell?

B. Meier: Sie verstehen alles.

A. Meier: Verstehen tun sie ja, nur Sprechen kommt ihnen, halt, you know, schwerer.

16:40 Wie empfinden Sie das, dass Ihre Kinder nicht so viel Deutsch können?

A. Meier: Ich denke, das macht keinen großen Unterschied. Das ist nur eine Sprache.

B. Meier: Wir wollten, dass sie es lernen.

- A. Meier: Wir haben uns sowieso ganz verändert von Deutsch auf Kanadisch. Wir leben doch ein bisschen anders wie in Deutschland, oder nicht? [. . .] Es ist überhaupt...es ist ja ein anderes Anschauen. [. . .] Ich sag s so. Uns hätten sie auch nicht verjagt in Jugoslawien, wenn wir uns vermischt hätten mit den Serben. [. . .] Und in Jugoslawien, die Deutschen, die haben sich nicht vermischt, die haben sich [. . .] immer separat gehalten. Deswegen hat man sie raus geschmischen.
- B. Meier: Kommt der Haß. Ich denke, es ist besser, wenn sie...und heiraten auch.
- A. Meier: Anpassen in dem Lande -
- B. Meier: Und so weiter.
- A. Meier: - wo man wohnt. [. . .] Es ist schon gut wenn man zwei Sprachen kann oder drei. Von dem sage ich nichts.
- B. Meier: Man kann s brauchen in der Arbeit. So wie der jüngere, der konnte es brauchen in der Arbeit, ne? Sie verstehen ja, aber dem Sprechen, [L. Meier] hat s schon ein bisschen gebraucht. [K. Meier] eigentlich nicht.
- A. Meier: Die [J. Meier], die kann ja auch. Die spricht ja auch. [. . .] Mit ihr spricht sie Deutsch. Mit mir spricht sie Englisch. Ist tatsächlich war. Mit ihr, wenn sie spricht, es geht immer auf Deutsch.

18:29 Wie hat sich das ergeben?

- B. Meier: Weil sie spricht auch so wie ich, ne?
- A. Meier: Weil ich vielleicht leichter mit dem Englisch zurecht gekommen bin am Anfang schon, gel? Und dann ist das gewohnt, ne? Die Kinder haben mit mir dann Englisch und da hat sie sich auch daran gewöhnt, ge?

18:54 Haben Ihre Kinder Deutsch an deren Kindern beigebracht?

- A. Meier: Kein.
- B. Meier: No, kein.
- A. Meier: No. Die [J. Meier] ja. Aber die können ja auch nicht Deutsch.
- B. Meier: Oh, die können. Die sprechen aber.
- A. Meier: Jetzt werden sie ja lernen, [. . .] weil sie lernen müssen.
- B. Meier: Die verstehen das schon. Die können auch sprechen. Sie sprechen nach der Schrift, ne?
- A. Meier: Ja, Schuldeutsch.
- B. Meier: Ist ja auch besser.
- A. Meier: Ja.
- B. Meier: Als sie klein waren, da haben wir immer Deutsch mit ihnen gesprochen. Mit [R. Meier] und mit [Q. Meier] habe wir Deutsch gesprochen auch, und die haben mal verstanden, alles. Aber mit den anderen, da müssen wir Englisch, weil die nicht verstehen kein Wort, ne?

19:34 Wann war dieser Wechsel mit [Q. and R. Meier] von Deutsch auf Englisch? Auch als sie ganz jung waren, oder...?

- B. Meier: Als die ganz klein waren, die haben beides gesprochen. Erst später wie sie in die Schule gegangen sind -
- A. Meier: Ja.
- B. Meier: Dann hat das mehr nach gelassen.

19:55 Was finden Sie...Finden Sie das gut? Oder...was halten Sie davon?

- B. Meier: Dass sie nicht mehr sprechen?

20:07 Ja.

- A. Meier: Das macht mir weniger aus. Ich bin da nicht...
- B. Meier: Es ist gut, wenn sie Deutsch sprechen, wenn sie es können.
- A. Meier: Ja, es ist besser. Sicher. But ich bin nicht-
- B. Meier: Wenn sie wohin fahren oder irgendwo wenn sie die Sprache können, sie haben viel mehr davon. Sie können sprechen mit den Leuten. Es ist doch viel schöner.
- A. Meier: Ja. Sicher.

[. . .]

- B. Meier: Wie Französisch. Die lernen ja in der Schule. Wenn sie aber jetzt nach Quebec gehen, die können sich doch ein bisschen verständigen, nicht?
- A. Meier: Ja. Verständigen.

B. Meier: Ja. So ein paar Wörter kennen sie, ne? Wenn sie bestellen irgend etwas und so. Aber richtige Sätze, ich glaube, das geht auch nicht. Da muß man schon eine Zeit dort und mit denen sprechen, bis man das wieder rein kriegt, ne? Wenn du den Grundbegriff hast von der Schule, dann lernst du es schneller, ne?

[. . .]

21:19 Was machen [Q. and R. Meier] mit ihren Deutschkenntnissen?

A. Meier: Schwer zu sagen, was die anfangen werden damit.

B. Meier: Ja, but lesen können sie ja. Nicht so gut wenn s Bücher sind. So von der Schule und das alles. [Q. Meier] versucht ja immer von uns da Bücher mal zu lesen. Manche Wörter versteht er dann nicht. Das sind die schweren Wörter, ne? Das ist logisch, dass er wenig versteht. Aber im Grundbegriff, er findet ein bisschen aus, was es meint. Ich denke, wenn sie jetzt hinüber gehen und dann hören, dann wird s besser. Aber die werden sich nicht mit so vielen Kindern...da sind nirgends keine Kinder und dann wird s auch schwerer sein.

A. Meier: Ja.

B. Meier: Sie müssen mit den Erwachsenen. Aber wenn sie die befragen, dann werden sie auch antworten können.

A. Meier: Ja, sicher.

B. Meier: Und das ist schon viel wert, ne? Wenn du was bestellst, du kannst es verstehen und du kannst fragen, Was ist das? , wenn du nicht ganz verstehst, ne?

[. . .]

23:59 Meinen Sie dann, dass mehr Leute Deutsch lernen sollten, oder...?

B. Meier: Ich denke, die Leute lernen nur, wenn sie Gebrauch davon machen können.

A. Meier: Ja. Ja.

B. Meier: Sonst lernen sie andere Sprachen, wo sie brauchen können, ne?

A. Meier: Genau.

B. Meier: Es ist gut, wenn du es kannst. Ich wünschte, ich könnte mehr Sprachen.

A. Meier: Ja. [. . .] Wie gesagt, ich wünschte, ich könnte Französisch.

B. Meier: Ja.

24:30 Sie haben nichts dagegen, wenn jemand kein Deutsch lernen will?

A. Meier: No.

24:35 Wäre es sicher zu sagen, dass wenn eine Person Gebrauch davon machen, dann ist gut?

A. Meier: Ja.

B. Meier: Ja.

[. . .]

B. Meier: Wir haben immer gesagt zu den Kindern, ihr solltet das lernen, ihr wisst nie, wenn ihr es braucht.

A. Meier: Wir sind nicht fanatische Deutsche. Sind wir nicht.

B. Meier: Sie können es immer mal gebrauchen.

A. Meier: Ja.

B. Meier: Sie sollten es lernen.

A. Meier: Je mehr das man weiß, desto besser. Das ist mit allem.

25:10 Glauben Sie, dass Deutsch hier in der Umgebung langsam ausstirbt?

A. Meier: Eventuell...

B. Meier: Eventuell wird es, ja.

A. Meier: Well, es kommen deutsche Immigranten kommen ganz wenig. Und die Kinder, die meisten Kinder, die lernen kaum mehr Deutsch. Das sind ganz wenig, was Deutsch lernen. Von der gesamten Bevölkerung von den Deutschen, gell? Die meisten gehen verloren. Ich würde sagen, in fünfzig Jahren von jetzt, da wird man kaum Deutsch sprechen.

25:50 Das finde ich auch schade irgendwie.

A. Meier: Ja.
B. Meier: Ja.
A. Meier: In einem Weg ist es schade -
B. Meier: Ein gewisse Prozentzahl wird schon, weil die reisen ja [. . .].
A. Meier: Sicher. Sicher. Die Mennoniten werden noch immer Deutsch schwätzen. Ja. Die sind ja schon
solang da und sie haben es immer gehalten. [. . .] Die sind aber dann unter sich, so waren wir da
heim, gell? Die Schwaben in Jugoslawien, Romänien und Ungarn, ne?

26:22 Sie haben gerade gesagt, es wird also in ungefähr fünfzig Jahren dann -

A. Meier: Das ist ja nur...just a guess.
B. Meier: Es wird nicht mehr so viel Deutsch gesprochen eigentlich. Ich denke so. In der Zeit.

[. . .]

A. Meier: Es wird nicht so mal viel in Deutschland Deutsch gesprochen. Die reden schon alles in
Deutschland schon halb Englisch. [. . .] Und im Fernsehen und -
B. Meier: Englische Musik -
A. Meier: Da sind sie nur stolz, wenn sie ein paar Wörter Englisch können.

[. . .]

29:18 Haben Sie noch irgendwas, was Sie hinzufügen wollen?

[. . .]

A. Meier: Das kam alles automatisch. Wie es von selber am leichtesten ging, das was wir getan haben. Man
hat sich nicht da extra angestrengt Englisch zu sprechen oder Deutsch auch nicht, ne?
B. Meier: Das ist so, wie das rauskam. Die Kinder haben meist deutsche Antworten gegeben und wir haben
deutsche sie gefragt, ne?
A. Meier: Und heute geht das alles in Englisch.
B. Meier: Und heute geht das auch so. Das ist immer so gemischt. Mit den Enkelkindern auch, ne?
A. Meier: Aber meistens ist es Englisch.

L. Meier - M, 37, born Canada

June 30, 2002

0:08 What country is your family from?

L. Meier: Austria and Yugoslavia.

0:13 Do you consider yourself Canadian or another nationality?

L. Meier: Canadian.

0:18 What kind of German do you speak?

L. Meier: I guess it would be Schwowisch.

[. . .]

0:32 Do you still have family in the home countries of your parents?

L. Meier: In Austria yes, in Germany yes, in Yugoslavia no.

0:41 Do you keep in contact yourself with any of them?

L. Meier: No.

0:44 Just through the parents?

L. Meier: Yup.

0:48 In what contexts did you use your first language when you were younger?

[. . .]

L. Meier: Well, at home it was just German because that's what we learned when we were really young. But when we started meeting other kids on the street then we had to speak English because they didn't speak German, and that's how we learned English. Because we didn't know English at all until we started interacting with other kids on the street.

1:18 Do you remember finding that difficult?

L. Meier: Yeah. Yeah, it was. And then when I was seven we went to Germany for six weeks, and by the time we came back we were thinking in German, if you can understand that. And speaking it so much that when we came back [. . .] we had to basically relearn English again. Because our friends here spoke English we would answer in German. And I had the same thing in 1990 when I was there for five weeks, just myself. And when I came back, one of my friends picked me up at the airport and I had to stop myself each time because I was answering in German and thinking in German. Yeah. It took me a while to switch back.

2:07 So German's still in your head?

L. Meier - It's still there, it's just I don't use it.

2:15 Do you keep up your German at all?

L. Meier: No.

2:23 The last time you were in a German-speaking country, was it difficult then to change to German at the beginning of the trip?

L. Meier: Very. Very. My grammar was way off. But they could tell. They understood what I was saying. But it got easier the longer I was there.

2:43 So the switch back to English was easier in general?

L. Meier: It was easier to switch back.

2:52 Do you think there's any value in learning German?

L. Meier: I think there is if you have relatives over there or if you travel, yeah. If they use it for an occupation, definitely. But it's not a terribly common language. And I didn't take it in school because it interfered with my Saturday morning cartoons. [. . .] That's why I didn't take it.

3:23 Do you still speak German with your family?

L. Meier: Yeah, but usually I talk to them in English.

3:35 What language do your girlfriend's parents use? German? Or English?

L. Meier: Actually, they speak in Italian. [. . .] Her parents only speak Italian. Some English, but a very heavy accent. And their English is not very good. So sometimes she has to translate for me because I don't understand what they're saying.

4:08 With your parents it's just English then?

L. Meier: Right.

4:15 How often do you go back to some German-speaking country?

L. Meier: Well, last time was ten years ago, or actually 12 now. I would say not very often.

4:32 So whenever you feel like it?

L. Meier: Whenever I have the money in time. The time is a big factor. Here, people don't get holidays like they do over there. Over there they take it for granted. They get automatically five to six weeks

just like that. We don't get that here. You've got to work for somebody for ten years or twelve years before you get that kind of holidays, if at all.

5:00 If you ever have children would you try and teach them German or send them to German school?

L. Meier: I think it's good for them to know a second language. I would make an attempt. But it's like any language. If you learn and you don't use it, like, we learned French in school, too, but I never use it, so I've forgotten all of it.

5:28 If it's German, French, or Italian, it doesn't really matter?

L. Meier: If it's something that you can use at home, or you can use if you travel or something, or with relatives, then it's something you can retain, and you'll keep it. But if it's something you just learn in school and then you never use it again, it's gone.

6:00 Do you believe that the dialect spoken in your family and German in K-W are slowly dying out?

L. Meier - I would say yeah, absolutely.

6:11 And why do you think that is?

L. Meier: Just look at the German clubs. You go there, and how many young people do you see there hanging out at the clubs? You don't. Now they're all in their, what, sixties and seventies? And the membership is dwindling, they're dying out. The kids aren't interested - they're not interested in listening to oomp music or...they're not. They've assimilated into the culture here and they're not interested in the German culture because the German culture is not a very strong culture, I don't think. It's not like other cultures, people from other parts of the world, where they retain it, or they make sure their kids retain it and they keep it. Germans...no. In fifty years it'll be gone. Totally.

7:05 That sounds pretty depressing.

L. Meier: Well, it depends how you look at it. English is the international language of business. Very much. And I think it's entrenched and it's going to stay entrenched. And you go anywhere in the world now people speak English. Anywhere you travel, you'll always find someone that speaks English. You won't find that with German, or Italian, or Portuguese, or French. You won't.

7:38 So how do you feel about all this then?

L. Meier - It doesn't bother me.

7:42 That's the way things work....

L. Meier - That's right.

N. Meier - F, 38, born in Canada

Ju.y 14th, 2002

0:01 You're obviously not of German background.

N. Meier: No. My father has some German descendents, but it's a little farther back. They're actually Pennsylvania Dutch.

0:21 Do you speak any other languages?

N. Meier: No.

0:27 Are you and your husband trying to teach your children any German at all?

N. Meier: No.

0:38 They've never shown any interest in it?

N. Meier - I think it's more because [K. Meier] doesn't have a lot of interest in it. Every once in a while he

makes them laugh by saying a line or two in German. But other than that, he hated German school, and I think he'd never want to put the boys in that. They haven't shown any interest either.

1:04 Do you know how his parents react to that?

N. Meier: I don't know. I've never asked him. I figured that because it's his side of the family, if he wanted them to learn it then it's up to him to encourage it and I just kind of stay neutral and out of the way. If he wanted them to learn it, I'd support it, but, you know, it's his heritage really, so it was up to him, that was my opinion.

1:38 Do you think it's important that the kids learn German or at least learn about their heritage, etc.?

N. Meier: Well, they have done - especially [S. Meier], he's the oldest - he has done family trees and that kind of thing, so he knows where his Oma and Opa are from. I don't even know that they're old enough to understand that it is a different language. Once in a while Oma will go into a spiel where she starts talking German and they kind of tune her out. I don't think they really understand that she's actually saying real words to somebody that would understand, you know? I mean [S. Meier] is only nine, so he's only now learning French in school, but he's only getting an awareness that there is other languages out there. The other guys they don't have a clue I think half the time what they're saying [. . .].

02:35 How's [S. Meier] taking to the French? Does he enjoy it?

N. Meier - Oh, he loves it.

02:41 So he doesn't see it as a waste of time or anything like that? For his age, anyways?

N. Meier: Nope, oh no. He seems to have a knack for it, too. [. . .] I think, to be honest, with the kids, once they learn a bit more French it might be easier to learn the German. I took a German course shortly after we were married just so that I could, well you know, I was trying to ingratiate myself. Brownie points wouldn't hurt. No, I mean, I wanted to know what they were saying sometimes because [K. Meier's] mom does go off into German periodically and it would have been nice to, not join in the conversation, but to have some understanding. And I know the French, like my mother's side is French, so the French background. Some of the words are similar, I don't know, some of the phrases, that kind of thing, so I find it similar. So if they show an interest in it later, I mean, there's nothing better than having more than one language, so we'll see where they end up.

3:55 Does [S. Meier] try and speak French with your parents - with your mom?

N. Meier: Yeah. And the babysitter is French. Actually, [U. Meier's] first words that he came out with were pretty much French.

4:15 Do you think there's more worth to learning French than German?

N. Meier: I think only because...see, I'm looking at the business side. When you're looking for a job, they're looking for bilinguals and it's usually French and English and not German. I mean, I guess it depends on where you plan on working or in what business you'd like to be in. If it's a European firm, then yes, the German would help. My personal opinion is French would probably be even better for now.

[. . .]

K. Meier - M, 40, born in Canada

July 14th, 2002

5:14 From which country does your family originate?

K. Meier: Mom's from Austria, Dad's from Yugoslavia.

5:19 Do you consider yourself Canadian or another nationality?

K. Meier: Canadian.

5:27 And Canadian with something background, or just Canadian?

K. Meier: Basically just Canadian.

5:33 Do you still speak German?

K. Meier - Broken.

5:38 What kind of German do you speak?

K. Meier: Basically it's just slang. A lot of terminology, etc., picked up from my parents, of course. It wouldn't be called textbook German, that's for sure.

5:57 Do you still have family in your parents' home countries or in other German-speaking countries?

K. Meier: Yup.

6:01 Are you in touch with them at all yourself?

K. Meier: Myself? No.

6:09 So German was the first language that you learned?

K. Meier - I would think so, yeah.

6:14 Do you remember when you used German at first?

K. Meier: Oh, we used it all the time. In our family, like, that's all basically that they spoke was German. Mom's English was not very good, Dad's wasn't a whole lot better. So German was the language of choice around the house for many, many years.

6:36 Do you remember when you eventually switched to English or how it happened?

K. Meier: I would say it was as we were going through grade school, Mom and Dad were working with us, you know, homework, projects, that sort of thing. And at the same time that they were learning we were learning. And I think we were the ones that instigated the change because we spoke basically English all day long with our friends and at school. And then when we came home, as kids we spoke basically English with each other and our parents just basically sort of went along with that, at some point finding it easier. And from their perspective, too, I mean, they were trying to learn the language, trying to better their English, so it made sense for them to use it as much as they could as well, so it kind of gradually took precedence.

7:39 With your German, do you make any attempts at all to keep it up?

K. Meier: To be honest with you, no, not really. I mean, it's one of those things that if you don't have to use it in your work life or in your family life, it's not something you really have time to pursue. It'd be easier if I did use it in my work life or if it was required in dealing with my family, but because we basically switched to English, it's no longer of primary importance.

8:18 Do you think there's still any value in learning German at all?

K. Meier: I think there's value in learning and understanding any language. I love it when people are speaking German around me and discussing things and thinking I don't know what the heck they're talking about and I do. I can still understand everything. It's just my speech is...my grammar's really bad. I tend to hesitate when I need to speak.

8:45 And when was the last time you were in a German-speaking country?

K. Meier - That'd be a long time ago. When I was, like, twelve, I think.

8:57 And back then, was that when your German was still pretty good would you say?

K. Meier: I was still at an impressionable age, so after a couple of weeks being there, speaking straight German with all my relatives, I was very fluid. When I came back I was actually doing certainly well. Too bad I didn't keep it up.

9:20 So other than that, you've never had any contact with those relatives, never been back to visit...?

K. Meier: No. I mean, some of them come visit from time to time, and, you know, I hear about what's going on through my parents. But to all intents and purposes, really, in my own sphere of life, they don't have a lot of impact or influence. They're too far away to have a direct impact.

9:46 Do you still speak German with your family?

K. Meier: No.

9:52 So not even with your parents at all?

K. Meier: Rarely. I mean, from time to time. But English, like I said, has become dominant language in our dealings. If [there's] a social gathering where there are other people who are more comfortable speaking German, if German is being spoken under those conditions, then I try to join in as much as I can and go with the flow. But I wouldn't initiate in German, let's put it that way.

[. . .]

10:30 When you and your wife started dating, did you have problems speaking to each other's parents, or did they just switch to English?

K. Meier: My mom still speaks, mixes, like, she'll use German words, German phrases when she's talking to [N. Meier] assuming that [N. Meier] knows what she's talking about and [N. Meier] has no idea. So at times it's kind of funny, actually.

[. . .]

11:05 Does that happen with [N. Meier's] mom?

K. Meier: Oh, yeah. When her family gets together, there's basically just French spoken, okay? Her uncle in Quebec, his English is very bad. His wife's English, when she was alive, was even worse. So basically they speak French and if you wanted to converse with them at all, it was very difficult. You had to try to make yourself understood and, I tell you, there's a lot of times I wish I'd paid attention in French class.

11:40 Did you try and relearn French at all?

K. Meier: Actually, I'm taking it again now. At work, we have a program where once a week a French tutor comes in and teaches French classes for an hour. It's not a lot, but believe it or not, it is making a difference.

12:03 Is she learning German at all?

K. Meier: No. She did take a course once. Actually, her mother challenged her. They did it for fun. And they were doing pretty good. But, you know, day-to-day life, time constraints, you just find it's difficult to sort of keep that kind of thing up.

12:22 So you haven't tried to pass it on to the kids then?

K. Meier: No. I mean, I would encourage them to learn any language. But to be honest with you, living in this country with the current environment, I would encourage them to learn French first and, you know, if they have time and interest, then German second.

12:45 So no German school, nothing like that then?

K. Meier: No.

12:53 Do you see any worth at all in passing on German per se or the dialects that your parents speak?

K. Meier: No, I don't see any particular value in maintaining any particular dialect. I mean, I'd rather the kids learn school German so that in the future if they need to use it in, you know, a business setting or in a professional setting, if they need to write documents or make translations or

anything like that that they have that level of capability as opposed to just conversational slang.

13:33 Do you think then that German in K-W is slowly dying out?

K. Meier: There's a distinction between language and culture, I think. A lot of people automatically think that if a language dies that a culture dies, and I don't know if I necessarily agree with that. Yeah, do I think the language is dying? Definitely. For very simple reasons. People only have so much time and energy and they're going to devote that time and energy to where it's most productive in their lives. And German not being a language of business, not being a language of necessity in our country falls to an elective subject, okay? It's not a requirement. And because of its status as an elective subject, it's not going to grow and prosper, it's going to fail in competition with the primary languages. But I think on a cultural side, European or German attitudes towards things, tastes, philosophy, a lot of what makes us a German people stays in tact because those are the kinds of things that are passed on regardless of language from parent to child.

15:03 So are there certain philosophies that you feel your parents have passed on to you that are more German than Canadian?

K. Meier: I think so. There's a lot of things I find that maybe over the years where my outlook is a little different than the people around me, people who are not of German descent. And I think that goes back to their culture influences as they grew up, being passed on to us, and in turn we're passing those influences on to our children. Over time they may become...I shouldn't say more watered down...but they may have less overall influence in our kids' lives and maybe in their kids' lives, but I think that the things that are strong, that are important last, regardless.

15:58 Do you have any examples in the back of your mind where something like that came to the forefront or where you realized that, "What I'm doing is more German than my friends?"

K. Meier: One thing where I've found we're a little bit different is our practical approach to money and finances in the sense that my parents and their relatives worked very hard, had a very, very strong work ethic, very cautious with their money, liked to have the money in their pocket before they go shopping. That kind of mentality is very much them and their people as opposed to [...] the Canadian standard is how much can I run up on my credit card before somebody comes to collect. It's a whole different outlook. We live for today in Canada, a lot of European cultures still live for tomorrow. They put away and they live for tomorrow. So, some basic things like that, actually, I think survive and really impact you over time.

17:45 Is there anything you'd like to add?

K. Meier: There's still a lot of strange attitudes out there left over from, you know, World War Two, I guess, and you're still going to run up against things like that no matter how much time passes by, media influences being what they are. There's still a lot of that going on. But other than that, no.

J. Meier - Female, 44, born in Austria, moved to Canada when 3

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0:23 From which country do your parents originate?

J. Meier: Austria and Yugoslavia.

0:28 Do you consider yourself Canadian or another nationality?

J. Meier: Canadian.

0:32 Canadian with a mix of something?

J. Meier: Well, I'm a Canadian citizen because I wasn't born here, I was born in Austria. I came to Canada in October and I turned four in January.

0:47 What kind of German do you speak?

J. Meier: Germglisch. Probably quite a mix because it's not really high German, it's a mix between different dialects from Austria and from where my dad's from, from the Donauschwäbian dialect with probably some other Serbian words mixed in from where he's from, so for the most I try, when I

talk to people that speak high German, I try and speak high German as best I can. But when I speak with my family, I speak the way they speak which is the mix, and probably some English mixed in there.

1:36 Do you have family in your parents' home countries that you're still in contact with?

J. Meier - Yes, with family in Austria and in Germany.

1:45 So you speak with them in German?

J. Meier: I don't normally. Mom usually writes them or she speaks to them on the phone. I haven't talked to them that often on the phone. You have to speak to them in German because the older people don't speak English. The young people, I've spoken with cousins, and a lot of them speak enough English, and actually quite good English. So, my one cousin was here for my wedding and her English was pretty good.

2:20 So you don't have contact with them that often?

J. Meier: No, no. Not that often.

2:27 So when you came here, your first language was German.

J. Meier: Mhm m.

2:30 In what different contexts did you use German? Just at home, or friends...?

J. Meier: For the most part just at home and with other extended family that live...like my aunt, my uncle and my grandmother. They didn't live with us. At the beginning when we first got here, we lived with my grandmother and my aunt and within a year my parents had their own place. But those were mainly the only people I spoke German with, and I learned as a small child, Mom said I learned English quite quickly, you know because you pick it up very quickly because, well, like I said, I was almost four and then by the time I turned five I was in kindergarten and by that time I was pretty well speaking English pretty well already. So, because the kids in the neighbourhood, you know, they took it upon themselves to teach me, so...The were two little girls living next door, my mom said they were great, they taught me English really well, so I had no problems starting school or anything. And in the early years we spoke only German with my parents and as we got older, I guess, the English crept in there. And I did have German school. I skipped kindergarten and I went from grade one to grade six at the Bechtold Church. They had a German school and then they also had confirmation, but since I didn't go to that particular Lutheran church, I didn't have my confirmation there. But went up to grade six. So I spoke German there every Saturday. Saturday morning.

[. . .]

4:13 So how do you keep up your German now?

J. Meier: Basically, when I speak with my mom I try to make an effort to speak in German all the time and with my dad. He doesn't always speak German, but he starts out German. There was a friend that lived here for two years and we saw each other quite often because their boys went to school with our boys and she's from Germany and was here for two years. Her husband was working here. And so we did speak German as well as English because she wanted to, you know, really learn her English well. But we did speak German, too.

4:55 Do you read any newspapers or anything like that? Or books?

J. Meier: Recently, not a lot. But I used to. [. . .] You sort of get out of it and you don't even think about it, but in the past I have, I've read German books, German magazines. My mom used to have all kinds of literature from Germany and Austria when they first came here. And they'd always, you know, at Fielder's or whatever buy German magazines. And when I was living at home, I would read them as well.

5:29 And now is it more just a matter of time that you've gotten out of it?

J. Meier: Yeah, you know I don't even think about it lately now that I've gotten out of it. I haven't really made an effort to do any, like, specific reading in German. You just get so, I guess, entrenched in the English and forget the German, and it's like, Oh, yeah, somebody's speaking German. [...] Well, I did, when the kids were in German school, I did, you know, they had homework or whatever and they didn't understand something, I was able to help them. But for the most part, they did it on their own. Like, we encouraged them to do their own, and I don't like when parents are doing work for their kids. Because it's not teaching them anything, so, you know, if they really didn't understand something, you know, I'd read it because I had more...my German is better than [M. Meier's] so I was able to help them more with it. But for the most part they were able to do it on their own.

6:30 And when was the last time that you were in a German-speaking country?

J. Meier: Twenty-five years ago. Exactly twenty-five years. I remember because now I'm 44 and I was 19 when I went the last time and I went with my mom.

6:49 So what kind of experiences did you have with your German when you were there?

J. Meier: I didn't have any problems communicating. Although the one comment that'll stick in my head for quite a while because we were somewhere sightseeing and I had to ask somebody that was working there something, I asked them something, and afterward he said, Where do you come from? What kind of German do you speak? So I'll never forget that. Thought, Oh, okay. I've got to make more of an effort to speak high German, even though this was not some place where they spoke high German, so I just spoke my dialect and made sure I didn't put any English in there, but I guess the dialect, he'd never heard it before because mine's, like, you know, it's so much of a mix because of my mom and dad coming from different areas, and I guess that's what happens over time. It really doesn't sound like any specific dialect in Europe, in Germany. [...] So, yeah. What kind of dialect do you speak? He understood me, he just didn't know where I was from. He couldn't place me.

7:59 So do you think there's still value in learning German?

J. Meier: Definitely, you know, especially if you want to travel right now, and...although English is probably becoming the international language. But I think it's still useful, although I think probably in the future, my feeling is we're probably all going to be speaking one language. I think that's probably the goal, and it may not always be necessary to know other languages. But I think right now it's still to your advantage to know, you know, at least to be able to speak it to some degree. I did use my German when I was working as well, and I worked for almost seven years in a law office and I did have to do some correspondence in German and that kind of thing [...] It wasn't very often, but they did have a couple of German clients, so I did have to do a little bit. So that was helpful and anything that I wasn't sure of I would look up in the dictionary and I'd asked my mom if there was something I really wasn't sure of. She would sometimes know. But I managed. I don't know whether I could do it anymore, but I did.

9:14 So do you still speak German with your family?

J. Meier: With my mom, when I talk to her, at least most of the time it's half German. And the same with my dad. And my aunt. [My father-in-law and his wife], sort of sometimes German, sometimes English.

9:39 And then with your kids?

J. Meier: Well, we sort of, you know, we did speak German to them until they were probably about between two and three, somewhere in there. Only German. Especially [Q. Meier]. He still likely remembers that. With him we never had a word of English in there because he was either with us or the grandparents or whatever. He'd never had another babysitter until he was about two. And I, you know, I can't always leave with the grandmas or whatever, so I had to find some other babysitter, a friend of ours, her sister. She was nineteen and she'd babysat quite a bit, so we had her come babysit. And [Q. Meier] was terrified because I think it was because he couldn't communicate because he couldn't speak in English and she didn't understand German so I think he didn't want to be left with her because he couldn't tell her what he wanted or needed. And he was two at the time and pretty, you know...He was already quite aware at the age of two about a lot of things, but I think that was probably why he was more terrified: He was being left for the first time

with somebody he didn't know because they didn't even speak his language. So then we realized, I'd better start speaking some English to this child so he can communicate with other people, so and then we started and I guess slowly you're speaking more and more English and forgetting about the German and because, I think, because [M. Meier's] German isn't the best he'd often, you know, wouldn't speak German so then it was up to me all the time, so you just sort of get out of it. But when [R. Meier] was born, we spoke for the most part only German to him so then our German was better with [Q. Meier] as well so I think his German is a lot better than [R. Meier's] and he understands it fairly well. I know he did German school at...how much that counts for, I don't know, but up until grade six and he always did the German stream whereas Steven started with the German stream and he ended up going in the English stream because the German stream, he found it too hard. So I think, you know, you start with the older one, same as in my family. My German is better than my brothers' and I had all those years of German school, but my brothers didn't. My oldest brother only had one year of German school and [L. Meier] I don't think he had any because only my dad could drive, my mom couldn't drive at that time and when I started going there was another girl on our street that went, too, her parents were friends of my parents, so they would take turns driving on Saturdays, and my dad sometimes worked on Saturdays, so if he couldn't then the other dad did and that kind of thing, so...And I'm four years older than [K. Meier] and six years older than [L. Meier] so I had five years of German school, and, yeah, I went up to grade six. Yeah, that's right, to grade six, because grade six they already did confirmation, so I didn't actually take grade six. I think that's how it worked. So [K. Meier] had one year, right, that last year. And [L. Meier] never could...because after that year Dad got so busy and he couldn't always drive so it was really hard to put us in German school because nobody could drive us on a Saturday morning. So I think that's often the case, the older child gets more German than the other ones. But both the boys intend to take German at [their school] so hopefully that will improve their German and we'll see what happens when we go this summer [...] how much of their German they remember. And I know the grandparents make an effort to speak German to them as well, but I think you get lazy and they lapse into the English, too. [...] As time goes on there's more and more English in there and like you said before, that's just looking to happen here because we're not isolated in German-speaking communities and everybody you speak to out there speaks English, so it's easy to lose that German. A lot of people that I know, that their parents were the same as my parents, from similar areas, etc., they don't even speak German. They never did. The parents wanted to learn English, so their kids spoke only English to them except for maybe when they were really little, so they understood German, but they couldn't speak any. My mom did want to learn English, she learned a lot of English...my dad learned it, you know, by being out working, but my mom was at home. She learned it from, you know, from us, but at home we always spoke, you know, at least when I was younger, only German.

14:49 Now going back to when you met your husband, were there any times when you met his family or he met your family and the Germans were too different that you didn't really understand what was being said?

J. Meier: Yes, that happened the first time I actually met [M. Meier's grandmother] and I didn't understand her at all. I understood everybody else, but for some reason I hardly understood her at all. I understood some words. At first I couldn't figure out why, and then I finally figured out she spoke with a bit of a lisp. [...] She not only has the Schwäbian in there, which I understood because my dad speaks it, but she had some, I don't know whether it was Yugoslavian or Hungarian in there, she called some things by some names that I'd never heard of before, like *gabad* [English phonetic spelling] which means coat and *tshishma* is boot. Those were just two examples, but I know there were many other words that would creep into her Schwäbisch and I didn't understand it at first. It took me a little while, but then, you know, no problem, I could understand her. But everybody else I could understand fine except for [M. Meier's other grandmother] would put a few of those words in there, too, but I understood her better than I did [M. Meier's first grandmother], and at first I couldn't understand why because they're all pretty much speaking the same dialect, and then I realized it was the way she spoke, it was that lisp. [M. Meier] said, What? A lisp? I never knew she had a lisp. And then I said, Yeah, she did. It wasn't a really strong one, but it was there. And that made some of the things she said sound different.

[...]

17:15 So obviously you're travelling tomorrow. What reasons are you going for?

J. Meier: Well, we'd like to go before my mom, like, my mom is probably not going to go again, and my

dad actually didn't want to go again, so he stayed home. He hates the hassle of travelling, and the stress, and the driving, and that whole bit. And his relatives are all quite old. And he said, You know, I went two years ago, or whenever it was the last time they went, That was my last time and I saw them and that's it. But we had wanted to see everybody because my dad's cousin, whom I know quite well, they were here a few times, and we visited them when we were there. Really nice people. And they're in the eighties, and we wanted to see them before something happens. We had decided we were going to go either this year or next year. Then this year was going to be too busy, but then your grandfather said, well, he wants to go this year and he'd love to show us where he's from. Especially the boys, eh? Because [R. Meier's] so into history, you know, he's just a real history nut. Everything he gets his hands on as far as history from...well, the last hundred years he's pretty knowledgeable in and previous to that he's got some knowledge. So, he's studied it a lot. And he's looking forward to seeing all these, you know, old, old cities with all these, you know, old buildings. They're really excited about going to Budapest because in Budapest a lot of things are quite old and apparently there's this thousand-year-old church there we're hopefully going to see, that I was told about that we've got to go see. So, anyway, yeah, part of it is sightseeing, we want to see the sights, and the other part is to see and get to know family because the boys haven't met anyone. So my dad has a couple of cousins. The one in particular we're going to and any of the others are going to have to come see us because we don't have room. We've only got two days in Southern Germany. So they all live in that general vicinity so we're going to stop at the one and everybody else will come see us there. And then we're going to go see my mom's sister, my aunt. She only has one sister. And her three kids. And my mom has some cousins in the area where she was born that we're going to go stop in as well. And then sightsee in between. You know, all whatever's worth seeing. When we get there, [M. Meier's father] is going to be waiting for us because we're going to do Hungary first, so we're taking off from Vienna. We won't have time to see anything in Vienna. But before we leave we want to get there a day or two early and do a little bit of sightseeing in Vienna before we leave. [. . .] Well, we're going to be two or three days in everywhere. And in Hungary I'm not sure exactly what he's got at all planned, you know, what he wants to show us. We're going to go first to his hometown and also where he went to school and the church that he and Oma got married in. He wants to take us there and it'll be the first Sunday that we're there for that. And then it's back to Budapest and, you know, sightseeing on the way. I haven't a clue what we're going to see there. We're going to be in Budapest, and then on the way back we're going to be stopping at a place called Hevig [sp?] that has, like, sort of a health spa thing. And we'll be there for about two days. [. . .] So then after that we're right into Austria and then we'll say good-bye to Opa and then he goes off on his own and we're visiting relatives. [. . .] I was hoping, you know, that we could stay four weeks because we're really going to be rushed everywhere especially because of, you know, we're going to Hungary. If we were going to be doing just Austria and Germany then it would be different. But anyway, we can go again. Opa may not go again and my mom probably won't go again, you know. That's what they say, but who knows. But they're in their seventies after all, and who knows what's going to happen and they may not go again. And Mom said they've got to come visit her now. We've had a few people come, cousins and that, but her sister's never made it here. She's really mad at her so hopefully, hopefully they can come. There was always something. They had three kids, and there was this and that and they built another house now and a big house now, and I guess both the boys can live there with their families in their big three-storey house. [. . .]

22:55 With your kids, how have you tried to pass German onto them?

J. Meier: By speaking at home, in the early years we spoke only German to them. The grandparents speaking to them, and sending them to German school.

23:15 Do they read German stuff at all?

J. Meier: They have in the past, but I could probably say recently they haven't done an awful lot of reading in German. [Q. Meier] maybe more so than [R. Meier]. They have a few German books at home that, like, I have some that I probably read to them when they were little. I can remember reading some to them. Grimms Märchen and things like that. But I can probably say recently they haven't done it. Unless they haven't told me, you know, they've done it and haven't told me, but I don't think they've done much since they were in German school.

23:49 Do you see any worth in passing on the dialect that your parents speak?

J. Meier: Not really, anymore. For sentimental value maybe. But for them to use it it's probably better for

them to learn the high German because that's what everybody learns in school and that's how they can communicate with everyone who speaks German no matter what dialect. So I think that there's more purpose to speaking that than there is the dialect because the dialect, I mean, only we can understand. Although, you know, in the past, being able to speak with grandparents, their English wasn't that good, there was some value there, but now I don't think there really is any value except for maybe sentimental value to further the culture that their ancestors came from. But I don't see that's going to stay the way it is. It's going to change and, you know. So I don't think as far as future generations, I don't think there's a lot of value other than sentimental.

25:08 So do you believe that German is slowly dying out then in Waterloo Region?

J. Meier: I would say probably, if you're speaking about the people that have been here, some for some of them, you know maybe 50 years, came here, married, had children. I think there's always going to be some German because there's always some German immigrants that come over because of the reputation of this being a German-speaking area and maybe because of the Mennonites as well because they do speak a form of German, Plattdeutsch or whatever they speak. Maybe in 100 years, I don't know, I could see it maybe dying out, especially if English becomes really popular everywhere, yeah, I could see it, you know, if that were the case. Unless German was going to be the international language, then I don't think it would die out here. But as long as we always have immigrants from Germany there's always going to be some German, I think, but if we don't, then it's possible, yeah.

26:16 How do you feel about that?

J. Meier: Not as strongly as maybe the grandparents would. I think every generation cares less whether they keep the German or not. And for me it's more like because I think it might be better if the whole world spoke the same language, communication, you know, for understanding each other. In that way, except if you're in favour of diversity and everybody being different, then... But I'm not. Oh, I want to keep my German, I have to speak German. I'm quite open to having English be spoken everywhere and that doesn't bother me. Now maybe because I grew up here. I never even asked my parents how they would feel about that. But I know from [M. Meier] that [his parents], especially, I think, [his mother], really wanted the German to continue. That generation more so. I don't think my parents are quite as gung-ho that way. They're more open, I think, to having it, you know, not necessarily have to have German being spoken. Maybe it's kind of sad in a way, I guess. But I just think that's the way things are going to go, I think that's what's going to happen. And I think it's up to each individual to decide for themselves. If you want to have another language, if you want to speak German, then do it. But I don't think that everybody that's from German-speaking ancestry should and has to, you know, further the fatherland and that kind of stuff. That's not my way of thinking.

M. Meier - M, 41, born in Canada

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0:05 Which country does your family come from?

M. Meier: [...] My dad comes from Hungary and my mother comes from Yugoslavia.

0:17 Do you consider yourself Canadian or another nationality?

M. Meier: German-Canadian, I would say.

0:24 And what kind of German do you speak?

M. Meier - Schwäbisch.

0:24 Do you still have family in your family's home countries that you're still in touch with?

M. Meier: No.

0:35 And what was the first language that you learned?

M. Meier: [...] It was probably German. Or Schwäbisch, as the case may be.

0:45 You use it just at home?

M. Meier: Yes. And also at German school and at the Schwaben Club when we would go there. Yeah. So those places basically.

1:00 At the Schwaben Club, you spoke German just with the older generation?

M. Meier: With the older generation, yeah. With the younger generation we generally spoke English together unless there was, you know, an older person present.

1:16 You all spoke German at home?

M. Meier - Generally, yes, because we had grandparents as you know, so their English was not that good, but at home we always spoke German, yeah.

1:26 Do you try and keep up your German still?

M. Meier - Not as much as I'd like to. Life is too busy generally speaking, but we try the best we can, but probably not good enough.

1:37 What do you do to try and keep it up?

M. Meier: Well, generally, when we're German people we try and speak as much Schwäbisch as we can. That doesn't mean they can understand it. But at home we generally don't speak it, we speak English. We started speaking German with the kids at first, but then we found it difficult for them to communicate because all they spoke was German and, you know, when they went out to everybody else, they couldn't understand anything else that was going on because they just spoke German and not English, so that's when we switched to English with them.

2:09 When was the last time that you were in a German-speaking country?

M. Meier: The last time I was in a German-speaking country was probably in 1976 when I was with the dance group while we were on tour.

2:20 Did you notice a difference between your German and their German?

M. Meier: Yes. There's almost like a real German and ours was more like a Newfy German. [. . .] That's the best way to describe it.

2:35 Did that affect you at all?

M. Meier: I do recall that when I came home my mother said that my German was better than it has ever been. It must have affected me because I started speaking better German.

2:50 Do you still think there's any value in learning German?

M. Meier: Oh yeah, of course. Not just from the culture but from having a second language is always good. Well, I couldn't think of a better one than German.

3:04 Just based on heritage stuff?

M. Meier: Yeah. Yeah. You know, traditions, Fiddler on the Roof, that type of stuff. You know, where you come from and your roots, that's very important. So the kids, when they're in high school now, in grade ten, they get to start taking German so they will be taking German now at high school.

3:26 Do you still speak German with your father?

M. Meier: Yeah, we speak both languages, depending what it is. If we're talking, you know, business, then we'll generally talk English because that's the language of business. And if we're talking about other stuff, then we'll, you know, generally speak German.

3:41 When you met your wife, do you recall any instances where your family's German mixed up with her family's German?

M. Meier: Oh, yeah, it's different because her mother's Austrian and her dad's Schwäbisch. So her mother at first, of course, I couldn't understand her when she started schwätzing or whatever it she does. But it was definitely different. The two have amalgamated together, I think, because now she understands a little more Schwäbisch and I understand a little more Austrian. As you, you know, deal with people of different dialects, you pick up part of it, yeah.

[. . .]

4:25 For what reasons are you going to Europe tomorrow?

M. Meier: My dad wants to take us back and visit where he came from. That's the homeland, and show us where he was born. We're doing the same with [J. Meier's] mother because she's coming along, too. And then we're going to go visit where [J. Meier] was born. So to go visit the homeland and visit some relatives.

4:44 With your kids, what have you tried to do to pass on German?

M. Meier: Now we're starting to speak a little bit more from time to time with them. We don't do as much as we should. We know that, you know, but it's sort of there's never enough time to do the things that you want to do, and unfortunately that is just one that falls by the way-side. We'd like them to learn more, but we haven't quite managed to schedule our time better than what we have recently. We want them to learn it in school because then they're going to learn a more proper German rather than the, you know, the Schwäbisch dialect. The Schwäbisch they can pick up afterwards by themselves.

5:24 Do you see any worth at all in passing on the Schwäbisch?

M. Meier: Yeah. Yeah, I do. And I would like them to learn it because it basically is the language of their ancestors. From a tradition point of view I think it is valuable for them to learn that. They'll never, probably, well, unless they go to the Schwaben Club, they can use it there, you know, by the time they get old enough to travel, all the people, all the relatives and all that, they'll be all gone, so there won't be anyone to travel back home to and speak in Schwäbisch. It probably won't even be the same dialect at home anymore that it used to be. Because, you know, I guess languages always migrate. But I think it is important for them to learn the...because, you know, when you learn the language you also learn the culture automatically, I feel at least. So by learning the language, they will learn a little bit of the culture from it.

6:20 Do you think that the dialect spoken in the family as well as German in general are dying out here in K-W?

M. Meier: Yeah. I think as you're going to go into further and further generations it's going to be, you know, more difficult to...because the language here is generally English, you know, sort of just by default you're going to speak more English than German. To keep the dialect going, I think you have to make a conscious effort. I know a lot of friends, they choose not to make that effort at all. You know, we try a little bit, not as much as we should, I guess, but you know, we at least try a little bit. But some people, they just won't at all, so as the dialects keep going...yeah, I think eventually it will die out in this area. But that may take two, three generations until it's completely gone.

7:07 And how do you feel about that?

MA02028: Well, it's sad. I'm not sure that there's anything any particular individual can do about it. I think it's sort of a just a natural evolution of going to another country unless you're in a pocket where you're speaking only that language. If the general language is the language of the country, like if it was, you know, French or German or Italian or wherever you went, you're going to speak the normal language by default because that's what business is and when you deal with other people, but that's going to become the dominant language. First generation it's a lot easier to keep it, second generation is harder, and every generation will get harder and harder. I wish it wasn't that way, but I'm not sure how to change it.

7:56 Interrupted half-way into another explanation

M. Meier: You know, like where my dad came from, like, they were in Hungary but they were in a German

town there, right? They spoke Hungarian, yes, but the general language of the town was German. You know, now throw in the Internet and throw in international telephone calls and television. Throw in all this stuff, that changes automatically. And I think that's a big thing, you know, that changes the languages also. You're not only in a different country now, but there's all these, you know, external influences weren't there fifty years ago. Like, you know, well, look at the Internet, look at television, you know, all these things. They didn't have them back then. So what did you learn? You spoke with your neighbours and with your friends and that was it. You didn't have anything beyond that. Now you've got, you know, a hundred different influences coming from wherever. It's, you know, I think it's more difficult.

8:46 Can also see access to these different types of media as giving access to other languages to people.

M. Meier: But it's a conscious effort, right? It's a conscious effort. I think, English is sort of becoming the predominant language in the world now even more so that it probably used to be. Except in Quebec, of course. I'd be curious to see what it's going to happen in, you know, 100 years. Like, what's it going to be like then? Or in 200 years? [...] How are languages going to change then? Is English going to be more predominant? Are others going to make a comeback? I don't know. Difficult to tell. [...] Probably in three weeks my Schwäbisch will be worse and my German will be better.

J. Schmidt - F, 43, receptionist, Canada
K. Schmidt - M, 46, chartered accountant, Canada

July 8, 2002

0:05 Where do you parents come from?

J. Schmidt: Romania. German villages in Romania. Both parents.
K. Schmidt: My mother's from Kitchener, my dad's from Yugoslavia.

0:23 Do you both consider yourselves Canadian?

J. Schmidt: German-Canadian.
K. Schmidt: Yeah. Ethnic German.

0:32 What was the first language that you used?

J. Schmidt: German for me.
K. Schmidt: I was told I was German first. And then English.

0:40 Do you remember how the switch to English happened?

J. Schmidt: Siblings. With my sister. English. But parents only German. And our grandfather lived with us, so always German.
K. Schmidt: For me, I'm the oldest, so...I don't remember, but I was told I knew German first until, I don't know when you start to speak, I guess once you start to go outside with other kids, then it was English. And as far as parents, some of my grandparents are from Romania, not just Yugoslavia.

1:18 So with your sister then, it was automatic?

K. Schmidt: Automatic English. And with TV. I watched a lot of English TV.

1:28 Did either of you have any German-speaking friends at all? Friends you spoke German with on a regular basis?

J. Schmidt: Actually, in grade one there was a girl who came from Germany, so I always spoke German with her to help her with her English. And she still lives in Kitchener and I still see her a couple of times a year.
K. Schmidt: For me it was always English. I can only remember speaking English. I don't remember speaking German.

1:54 Do you do anything with German culture at all?

K. Schmidt: Well, we're involved somewhat still with the Toronto Schwaben Club. On the business side I do

the audit for them every year. And the ? Society I do also. I go there every once in awhile to their meetings. I am a member of the Schwaben Club here in Toronto. Other than that, our kids, when they were small, both [R. Schmidt] and [S. Schmidt] danced, so we were there quite a bit then. But not very much anymore. You don't go there at all.

J. Schmidt: No. But our local pub is German, so we tend to frequent, because I like listening to the German there.

K. Schmidt: Yeah, yeah. They speak German there.

J. Schmidt: I like to listen to everybody speaking German.

K. Schmidt: They play German music there. It's very German.

2:46 Folk music?

K. Schmidt: Well, umpapa.

J. Schmidt: Yeah, umpapa.

K. Schmidt: Umpapa. Guys there with his accordion Friday and Saturday nights.

J. Schmidt: Polkas and waltzes.

[. . .]

3:01 Do you do anything to keep up your German?

K. Schmidt: No.

J. Schmidt: I buy magazines still when I go on vacation. I always get at least one German magazine to read. And we get Deutsche Welle. I try to watch at least one or two programs a week to listen to the German.

K. Schmidt: We get the Heimatblatt, I don't know if you read that. Do you read it?

J. Schmidt: Yeah, we get the schwäbische magazine. Yeah, I always go through it to look at what's going on at the different Schwaben Clubs.

K. Schmidt: I don't read it at all. [. . .] I don't do anything.

3:29 But you still understand German?

K. Schmidt: Not very well. Not very well. I can get by with what the relatives say because that's the same words over and over, and that's half-English anyway.

3:48 So you've obviously tried to pass German on to your kids. So besides the dancing, what else have you done with them?

K. Schmidt: They've gone to German school. Several years on Saturdays.

J. Schmidt: And I used to only buy German books for them when they were little. I really pushed the German when they were younger. Once the second one comes around you end up with a lot of the English. But I tried to read German books to them and I always bought the German Märchen.

K. Schmidt: They were pretty small. Pretty young.

J. Schmidt: Mhm.

4:20 Do you use German in the home at all anymore?

J. Schmidt: I try, but they make fun of me when I do. Or even in a sentence quite often there's a word that only the German word fits so I'll use it in my English sentence.

K. Schmidt: She'll use it once in awhile. I don't.

K. Schmidt: Nope. And I often do when we're talking about somebody and I know they can't speak [German]. And you do to. You'll speak a little German when-

K. Schmidt: That's rare.

J. Schmidt: Yeah.

K. Schmidt: A few words. Yeah.

J. Schmidt: And on vacation. When we're on vacation we usually help tourists. For some reason he looks German, they start talking to him in German automatically.

K. Schmidt: That's true, yeah.

5:10 So when was the last time that you were in a German-speaking country?

J. Schmidt: Six years ago. Exactly six years ago this summer.

K. Schmidt: That was Germany and Austria.

5:23 *So you obviously got by with your German?*

J. Schmidt: *Yeah.*

5:26 *You used mostly German then?*

J. Schmidt: *Yeah.*

K. Schmidt: *We tried. Even I tried. It was rough.*

5:33 *Did you notice a difference between the German that you learned at home and the German they spoke over there?*

J. Schmidt: *Oh, very much.*

K. Schmidt: *Mostly we were with relatives, so it was our own dialect.*

J. Schmidt: *Yeah.*

K. Schmidt: *Mostly.*

5:46 *So what kind of German would you say you speak?*

J. Schmidt - *Schwäbisch dialect.*

K. Schmidt - *Schwaben, yeah. Ethnic Danube-Schwäbian. Well, that's what the German club here is called: the Danube-Schwäbian Association.*

6:06 *Was it difficult for you then with the two different Germans?*

[. . .]

K. Schmidt: *Well, the hard part is speaking. Reading it is the same. So you can read it and understand it, but the speaking is a little harder. Especially the hard German endings and the die, der, das and all that stuff. That's tough. That was hard for me.*

J. Schmidt: *But we got by quite well with the German.*

K. Schmidt: *Oh, yeah.*

J. Schmidt: *No problem. Everybody understood us.*

K. Schmidt: *Oh, yeah. You can get by.*

6:46 *When you met each other, when you were first dating, and you met each other's parents, were there differences in the Germans between the families?*

J. Schmidt: *No.*

K. Schmidt: *No.*

J. Schmidt: *Pretty much exactly the same.*

K. Schmidt: *They sounded very much the same, yeah.*

J. Schmidt: *Yeah.*

J. Schmidt: *A few exceptions with just words, but we understood the other word anyway-*

K. Schmidt: *She says a few words wrong. [. . .] Ohfang - that's a classic.*

J. Schmidt: *Which one?*

K. Schmidt: *Ohfang.*

J. Schmidt: *For anfangen we say ohfangen. But what do you say?*

K. Schmidt: *Anfangen. There's no oh. Anyways, it's very similar, yeah. There's no real difference. No.*

J. Schmidt: *Yeah.*

7:42 *Do you believe there's any value in learning German still?*

J. Schmidt: *Very much. I think any second language is. For me it's German, because it's easy for me.*

K. Schmidt: *It's more of a thing you do with relatives, especially the older ones. So for our kids, once our parents and cousins, their cousins pass away, I don't think there'll be much, I wouldn't think. So, I don't know. You push more than I do, so...*

J. Schmidt: *I try to keep it going.*

8:25 *For heritage things or also because it's another language?*

J. Schmidt: *For the language. Yeah, second language.*

K. Schmidt: *The only time they do it is with the grandparents.*

J. Schmidt: Yeah.

K. Schmidt: That's the only time. Or sometimes we joke around in the family, even the uncles and aunts, but it's the grandparents only.

8:42 So do you think that the German - this is mostly for K-W - but do you think the German in K-W and in Toronto is slowly dying out?

J. Schmidt: Yeah. Each generation it's definitely...our kids' generation, most of the kids don't even understand any German.

K. Schmidt: Yeah, or they speak it poorly. You can see when I go to the meetings at the Toronto Schwaben Club, it's really old, the people at the meetings, the ones that are there. The meetings are held in English anyway. They vote on it every time if they can do it in English, and they do it in English. Because a lot of the kids don't understand it very well.

9:22 And did you both go to German school?

K. Schmidt: Yeah, I did.

J. Schmidt: Yeah.

K. Schmidt: You did a little bit, didn't you?

J. Schmidt: Yeah, I only made it to grade four, and it was too hard for me.

K. Schmidt: But you took it pretty far in high school.

J. Schmidt: And then I took it all of high school and I took it in university.

K. Schmidt: I took it to grade 11.

J. Schmidt: I took a course every year.

K. Schmidt: I think eleven was the end. Yup. Grade 11.

9:49 Your kids - do they show any interest in learning German at all?

J. Schmidt: No. They don't like it.

K. Schmidt: I wouldn't say that.

J. Schmidt: I want to get them a tutor. They don't like to learn it.

K. Schmidt: It's extra class and they're not interested in that.

J. Schmidt: When I try and speak it to them, they don't want to hear it.

K. Schmidt: I don't think so.

J. Schmidt: Oh, okay.

K. Schmidt: You may make it more of an issue than it is, and that's when they just sort of joke about it. Besides, you don't speak very often.

J. Schmidt: No. It's less and less every year.

K. Schmidt: Hardly at all.

J. Schmidt: Usually when relatives come over, then it clicks in again. I need to hear it a lot in order to speak it a lot. The more I hear it, the more...Even when our relatives were over and we went to your parents' house, all I did was talk German to his dad and he just laughed because he said, 'You've been with your relatives because it just came natural. And that's when I started thinking in German versus translating when I'm around German people.'

11:00 Do you have that same experience?

K. Schmidt: No, because I don't speak German at all. I hear it in German, I answer back in English. I've always done that. Since...that's the way I remember it, even as a kid.

S. Schmidt -female, 14, student, Canada

July 8, 2002

0:01 Do you consider yourself Canadian or of German background...?

S. Schmidt: Canadian but with a German background.

0:09 So the first language you learned was...?

S. Schmidt: German, mainly, and then a mix of both German and English.

0:18 Do you remember when that switch occurred? When you switched to English as your main language? Or did your parents tell you anything about it?

S. Schmidt: I guess mostly German till I was three, then a mix of the both.

0:35 Have your parents told you why that happened?

S. Schmidt: Just because I was raised in an English community.

0:45 So they wanted you to be able to talk to other people...?

S. Schmidt: Yes. But the family was German, so...talking at home and with the family, I guess.

0:55 You use German then?

S. Schmidt: Yeah.

1:04 Do you make any efforts to keep up your German?

S. Schmidt: No, not anymore. I used to go to Saturday German school, but not anymore.

1:15 How long did you go to German school?

S. Schmidt: I stopped about two years ago, so about till I was, like, 12.

1:20 And you started when you were about five or so?

S. Schmidt: Yeah.

1:24 Did you like it?

S. Schmidt: Yeah, it was okay. But then [...] younger kids were joining and [...] I just didn't learn much.

1:40 Do you have any plans to take it up in high school again?

S. Schmidt: Not really. I know the basics.

2:00 In the future, if you have kids, do you think you might try teach them German as well?

S. Schmidt: Yeah, probably. The same way I was raised, I guess.

2:07 Do you think there's still [...] value in learning German?

S. Schmidt: Yeah. Of course. Just because it's been in the family and to have it is good.

2:27 And when was the last time that you were in a German-speaking country?

S. Schmidt: I guess when I was six years old.

2:35 So you don't remember too much from that trip.

S. Schmidt: No...yeah, I do.

2:40 Do you remember: Did you speak German?

S. Schmidt: No. I could understand everything but didn't speak it.

2:49 And do you think you might want to go back to Germany again?

S. Schmidt: Yeah, of course, because I have relatives and stuff.

2:57 And will you use German with them or will you try it in English?

S. Schmidt: A mixture. They can talk German and I'd say a little bit of English and we can communicate.

3:15 Do you still participate in any German cultural events?

S. Schmidt: Yeah. Oktoberfest, the parade, and going to some clubs with the family.

3:30 German clubs?

S. Schmidt: Yeah.

3:34 Do you think it's more important to learn German or French?

S. Schmidt: Well, I guess where I grew up, I guess French more because more people speak French than they do German.

3:52 But would you rather learn German or French if you had to learn one?

S. Schmidt: I guess German. I'm not sure why.

4:00 Just so?

S. Schmidt: Yeah.

4:06 Are there certain things about German culture that you really like?

S. Schmidt - I'm not sure.

4:16 Do your parents still listen to folk music?

S. Schmidt: No.

R. Schmidt - M, 17, student, Canada

July 11, 2002

0:03 Do you consider yourself Canadian or another nationality?

R. Schmidt: Canadian.

0:09 Do you speak German at all anymore?

R. Schmidt: A little bit.

0:13 And what kind of German do you call it?

R. Schmidt: Very broken German.

0:23 Do you still have contact with relatives in Europe?

R. Schmidt: Yeah.

0:25 And do you speak German with them?

R. Schmidt: Yeah.

0:30 Do you find it easy or difficult?

R. Schmidt: Understanding is easy, speaking is more difficult.

[. . .]

0:45 Your first language was German, right?

R. Schmidt: Mhm m.

0:45 Do you remember what contexts you used German in? Or did the switch to English happen really early when you were young?

R. Schmidt: Yeah. By the time I'd started school it was already switched to English.

0:56 So do you speak German with your parents at all anymore?

R. Schmidt: A little bit.

1:05 And who initiates the switch? Is it your mom usually?

R. Schmidt: It depends. It can be her or me. Usually it's just real short. A couple of sentences.

1:13 And then you switch back to English because...?

R. Schmidt: It takes too long to get the German out.

1:22 Are you trying to keep up your German?

R. Schmidt: A little bit.

1:29 What do you do?

R. Schmidt: I try to practice a little reading here and there.

1:35 So do you practice with just the family or do you have other people you practice with?

R. Schmidt: Mostly the family: my grandparents, parents.

1:45 And what kind of stuff do you read?

R. Schmidt: Usually soccer stuff in German. [...] I try, but sometimes I've got to go to the English translation when it doesn't make any sense.

1:59 Do you think there's still value in learning German?

R. Schmidt: Oh, yeah.

2:04 Why?

R. Schmidt: Well, it's good to have more than one language and [...] I don't speak French very well.

2:10 Do you find German easier than French?

R. Schmidt: They're about the same. I find them both more difficult than English.

2:21 And when you went to Germany and Austria six years ago...?

R. Schmidt: Yup. '96, yup.

2:28 Do you remember if it was difficult for you to speak German at all?

R. Schmidt: To have a long conversation, yes, but shorter, like ordering something at a restaurant, no.

2:44 Did you have cousins your age, too, then?

R. Schmidt: Yup.

2:49 And did they try and speak English with you, or did you speak German with them?

R. Schmidt: We did like a mix until we both understood what was going on.

2:59 Now much later into the future, if you plan on having kids, do you think you would pass German on to them?

R. Schmidt: It depends on who I marry, I guess. If it's somebody that's strongly something else, then I don't know if I would make the effort to have them learn German and that other language as well. But if the person was as Canadian as I was, then probably, yeah. At least a couple years anyways. For a

little bit.

3:36 And what would you do, like German school...?

R. Schmidt: Yeah. For two, three, four years.

3:42 And what did your parents do with you then to try and teach you German?

R. Schmidt: They sent me to German school.

3:47 How long did you go?

R. Schmidt: Probably seven, eight years.

3:58 And do you think it helped?

R. Schmidt: Yeah, it helped.

4:05 Do you think German [...] is generally dying out in K-W or Toronto?

R. Schmidt: In Toronto, it's pretty rare you hear people speaking German. But then again, we're not in an area where there's ever been a lot of German. I would say yeah, it's probably dying out. I don't think many young people speak German in Toronto.

4:33 And how do you feel about that?

R. Schmidt: I don't mind when other people speak different languages. It doesn't really matter to me what language people speak. So, I guess it's a shame they're not speaking German, but it's not the end of the world.

L. Schmidt - Female, 44, born in Canada

July 17, 2002

T. Schmidt - Female, 15, born in Canada

0:21 What country does your family come from?

L. Schmidt: My dad is actually from Yugoslavia and my mother was born in Kitchener.

0:29 And do you consider yourself Canadian or another nationality?

L. Schmidt: Canadian. Actually, we say usually German-Canadian, don't we? We say German-Canadian.

0:38 And do you speak any German anymore?

L. Schmidt: A little bit. Only when I want to tell my sister something in private or complain about something.

T. Schmidt: Or tell a joke.

L. Schmidt: Or tell a joke.

0:55 So what kind of German would you say that you speak?

L. Schmidt: Half English, half German. It's definitely not high German. It's probably Swäbisch, like...that's probably the background that we have.

1:09 And does your family still have relatives back in Europe?

L. Schmidt: Yes.

1:13 And are you still in contact with them at all?

L. Schmidt: Me personally?

1:18 Yeah.

L. Schmidt: No.

1:20 Just your parents then?

L. Schmidt: Yes. [...] And we have relatives, too, in Chicago that are German that we're in contact with.

1:30 And you speak with them...?

L. Schmidt: They speak fluent German to me. We got that all weekend, didn't we?

T. Schmidt: Yes.

L. Schmidt: I'm not sure how much [T. Schmidt] got but the ones from Chicago were down and it was fluent German the whole time. [...] And even at the party on the weekend there was a lot of German. I think most people who were German spoke German to me.

1:50 And how'd you get along?

L. Schmidt: It was fine because they're half-English half-German already, these people. I don't think they realize it.

1:57 So would you answer back in English to them?

L. Schmidt: Yes. Yes. Unless the person wasn't getting my English, then I would probably say one or two German words so they get the drift of it.

2:12 [...] And what was the first language that you learned?

L. Schmidt: English. But my brother learned German first. Did you interview [K. Schmidt]?

2:22 Yeah. Last week.

L. Schmidt: Did they tell you they were going to hold him back a year in kindergarten because didn't know any English?

2:27 No.

L. Schmidt: They were going to hold him back a year in kindergarten because he didn't know any English.

2:32 Okay, because he didn't remember speaking any German at all. He knew he did because his parents had told him, but...

L. Schmidt: Yeah. But they stopped because they were going to hold him back, so my parents starting speaking English to all of us, so [...] they started speaking English because they didn't want any of us to be held back in school.

2:55 So was there any German in your household then?

L. Schmidt: Probably. My grandmother always spoke German to us.

2:59 And she lived with your parents?

L. Schmidt: Yeah, for a period. My grandfather spoke German, too. My mom, although she was born here, speaks fluent German. Actually, I think sometimes her German's better than my dad's. [...] So right now, when I get heck, I usually get it in German, don't I?

T. Schmidt: Yes.

L. Schmidt: Yes. [T. Schmidt] can tell when I'm getting in trouble, because the German comes out.

3:28 Grandparents of course are no more...

L. Schmidt: Right. Well, I should say my grandmother's still alive.

[...]

3:59 So do you still speak German with her then?

L. Schmidt: No. I've never spoken German to anybody in my family. They all speak German to me and I answer back in English. It works quite well. Now, when my grandmother, we used to get stuck on something, then I would, again, a word or two in German to help her out, because if she wasn't understanding the English word, I would say it in German if I could.

4:28 Have you ever been to Europe? Like to Germany or Austria or...?

L. Schmidt: Have I? Yes.

4:33 And when was the last time that you went on that trip?

L. Schmidt: With the dance group. Whenever the dance group went. [...] I don't even know how old I was. I went when I was 16 with my parents, so I went after that with the dance group, so, I don't know, maybe 18? When I was 18? [...] Twenty-six years ago.

5:15 Did you use German then? Not necessarily with the dance group, but when you were out and about and stuff?

L. Schmidt: Yes. Well, we got billeted with people from other dance groups. So at the dinner table you had to speak...and when I was billeted, I was billeted with a girl from our dance group that spoke absolutely no German, and she was homesick. So the entire dinner conversation was her telling me in something English to tell them about how homesick she was and missing her boyfriend and whatever else. So, yes, I did have to speak some German there. But when we went out as a group and met with the other dance group, we always switched languages, they always spoke English to us and we always spoke German to them. Each group would have a hardship speaking, but it was usually a lot of fun. They could practice their English and we could get away with our little German.

6:12 Did you notice a difference between your German and theirs?

L. Schmidt: Oh yeah. They would make fun of us, too, with the words because we insert so much English. Like, I mean a German person from this community would always say a picnic and not think anything of it in a sentence. In a full German sentence they'd say the word picnic. Well, it's not a picnic. Like air conditioning. A lot of people here have been awhile don't even know what the German word is for air conditioning and they'd say the word air conditioning within a German sentence. Or at least my family, or the people I've been around with, right? [...] Yeah, because they don't know the German word for it because they probably never heard it.

[...]

7:06 So did you notice that your German improved while you were over there?

L. Schmidt: Yeah, it probably did. Because when you first start you take an English sentence and you translate it word for word into German and then you realize pretty quickly that your sentence structure's off. So by listening to it more you kind of pick up...Even when I travel with my family, I don't think we said two words to any relative until we got to relatives that were our age and forced us to go out and again the deal was, they would speak English and we would speak German back. Maybe it's me that always asks for that: I'll speak German if you speak English, because then we're on equal ground, [...] although their English is always much better than my German.

[...]

8:01 So how long were you in Germany with the dance group?

L. Schmidt: I don't know. Maybe three weeks?

8:08 So nothing really long?

L. Schmidt: No.

[...]

8:13 And do you think there's still value in learning German?

L. Schmidt: Yeah. We want to go to Europe next year, so [T. Schmidt] wants to pick up.

[. . .]

L. Schmidt: We keep saying de, de. It doesn't matter if die, der, das, you've sort of got the de. [. . .] It's like okay if you didn't know which it was.

[. . .]

10:05 So have you tried to pass on German at all to your child?

T. Schmidt: I know a German prayer.

L. Schmidt: I did, you know, yeah, you do. [Her ex-husband] is not German, and he didn't want me teaching German in the house when she was young, and [. . .] he didn't really approve of it. After we separated I started teaching her how to...I think we counted stairs in the morning in different languages.

T. Schmidt: Yeah.

L. Schmidt: So she picked up Russian and German and French and Spanish. We had twelve stairs or whatever.

[. . .]

11:50 Where did the Russian come from?

L. Schmidt: I took that in university. [. . .] Yeah, I wanted to take Chinese. I went to U of W. I wanted to take Chinese and I went to the first class and I was the only person in that class that wasn't of Oriental descent. So I went to the prof and said, This is a beginner Chinese class. I stick out like a sore thumb. [. . .] How quickly do you go? He says, Do you know anything about Chinese? And I said, Nope. The language, the writing? And I said, Nope. It was a beginner class and I thought I'm learning beginner, and he said, We will move very quickly. And he says, I can get you a tutor if you're very interested, and I'm thinking, this isn't worthwhile. So then I signed up for Russian. And the Russian teacher actually came in the first class, spent probably, I don't know, 45 minutes in the first class just saying words and pointing at people to repeat them. She kicked out, I don't know, about ten students out of the class and said, You have Russian background. This is a beginner class, get out. And she kept pointing at me and I kept repeating, and she was driving me nuts, right? Do you know any Russian? I said, No. She says, Do you speak German? And I said, Yeah, I got German background. She said, [. . .] If I discover that you have any Russian or Ukrainian background in the next two weeks, you're out of the class, you're going to lose your money, so you've got your choice: You go now or not. So it was absolutely a beginner class. We learned how to write on a wide-ruled paper. Like, it was the best class ever because everybody was at the exact same level starting. [. . .] See, you can take German 101 when you get to university, since the high school doesn't offer it anymore.

T. Schmidt: They only offered Spanish, but then they dropped that. [. . .] And now I can't even take French anymore.

15:03 What high school are you going to?

T. Schmidt: Resurrection.

15:09 They have that many students and they dropped Spanish and German?

T. Schmidt: Well, I don't think they ever had German. But [a teacher] can speak German and he used to be a German teacher. [. . .] Actually, I can take a grade ten course at German school if I want to go.

L. Schmidt: Oh. I didn't know that.

T. Schmidt: That's what [a friend] was in this year.

L. Schmidt: Like, one year? [. . .]

T. Schmidt: And you can get a credit.

L. Schmidt: Well, why don't you go? I didn't know you could do that. Is it Saturday morning? [. . .] Der Hund.

17:30 Der Hund, die Katze.

L. Schmidt: Radiergummi. That s a good one to learn. That s an eraser.

T. Schmidt: Oh, that sounds like French. The gummi thing: that sounds like French.

17:44 Yeah, but I mean, if you re going to learn it, I know Saturday mornings kind of sucks, but private tutor at home or Saturday morning at school, at least you get the high school credit for it.

T. Schmidt: Yeah, but I don t really need the high school credit, though because I have my extra music and my extra math.

L. Schmidt: It can t hurt to learn something before we go over there.

T. Schmidt: Yeah, I know. But I don t need, like, a tutor would be fine, I wouldn t need the credit.

L. Schmidt: Because I m too tired to translate everything.

18:08 So the German, is it then mostly [T. Schmidt] s initiative?

T. Schmidt: Yeah. Me.

L. Schmidt: You ll ask me. Yeah, I don t know. It s kind of a bit of a push from my parents. When they say something she doesn t understand, so she s trying to pick up.

18:31 On your part then, there was no active have-to-go-German-school, have-to-go-folk-dancing...?

L. Schmidt: Well [ex-husband] wouldn t allow it and after awhile it was like, You know what? There s too much other stuff and driving around. And I just found it too difficult to actually take her. And then I thought, Oh, great. She can t even practice really with me. Because I m not sure where my level is. So do I teach her and then she can t use it? I don t know. I mean, she can probably use it with my parents: They might get a kick out of it. And [S. Schmidt] and [R. Schmidt] would talk to you [. . .]. [R. Schmidt is trying] to keep it up. He was good at it. [. . .] We always said to him, You speak English with a German accent, yet you re not fluent in German, when he was little. Honestly he did. It s too bad they didn t pull out the tapes. It sounded like he had a German accent when he spoke English, but he wasn t fluent in German. [. . .] The other kids are looking at him going, What? [. . .] But it helps because [J. Schmidt] speaks German to her mother, right? I rarely hear her speak English to her mother. So [R. Schmidt] and [S. Schmidt] would have to pick up on it if they were to understand anything, right? So it makes a difference in that family because they re actually hearing it. I mean, when I was married, [ex-husband] picked up German. My grandmother used to say half English half German to her and he would answer her. I d go, Did you get that? Yeah, she told me it s going to rain in about an hour and I d better take my Regenschirm.

20:35 Did he speak German?

L. Schmidt: No. Not a word. Not a single word. Take my Regenschirm. Close enough that I knew what he was saying, right? But then he d go, I assume that s an umbrella. I said, Yes, it is.

T. Schmidt: Well, what did Uncle Rick say to me on the weekend that I could understand? Something about milk or water? And a glass?

L. Schmidt: I don t know.

[. . .]

21:31 Do you see any worth in passing on the dialect that your parents speak? Or any worth in [T. Schmidt] trying to pick it up? As opposed to high German?

L. Schmidt: No. I don t. Because, I look at the age of my parents, and if she has to pick up the dialect there wouldn t be anyone she could really speak to in our family. So it would probably be better to get learning the high German than picking up a dialect and not using it properly. [. . .] Unless she wants to talk to the Mennonites on the street or whatever. [. . .] If I listen to my mother talk, you know, she d gone more the Mennonite way of speaking because she [. . .] hears that more at the market or different places.

[. . .]

23:24 Do you think that the dialect spoken by your family and German in general are dying out in K-W?

L. Schmidt: Yes. I do. Because when you go to the different clubs even, like I know my parents find that they have to switch when they talk, depending on who they're talking to for the dialect, so I'm sure they're losing most of their dialect, anyways because they're trying to, I don't know... Like when you look at the [club] those are all Germans from different areas, right? So depending on who she talks to, I'm not sure she's really keeping up her dialect. Or they're kind of coming up with their own version, which is a mixture of all of them. [. . .] You start to mix them when you're not really right in the country.

24:37 So how do you feel about that in general?

L. Schmidt: Well, at least there's still German around. So, I don't know. I'm fine with it. I mean, we don't live in Germany, at least they're still speaking German, so that's fine. [. . .] I'm not hearing anyone from Bayern, though, that's for sure. At least not around in this area. That's some kind of German they speak. [. . .] That's a drawl.

[. . .]

25:17 So how long do you give it then? Like in town, by the time it's gone within families at least.

L. Schmidt: Well, I will probably never speak German other than trying to tell my sister something in front of English friends that I want her to get the drift of. Other than that, it probably won't remain in my family, unless [T. Schmidt] picks it up and forces me to speak German to her. And then she'll be forever correcting me and then I'll be embarrassed so then I'll stop talking German.

[. . .]

28:38 So do you consider yourself Canadian or another nationality or a mix of both?

T. Schmidt: Canadian-German.

28:43 So do you speak any German at all?

T. Schmidt: Just, like, a little bit. I can say a prayer, and I can count to ten, and, oh, sometimes, my friend at school, she's German, and so sometimes she'll, like, talk to me in German and teach me, like, little things. Not much.

29:00 So just a little phrase here and there?

T. Schmidt: Yeah. We pretend that we can speak German to each other and nobody else can understand it.

[. . .]

29:10 So what kind of German would you say that you speak?

T. Schmidt: I don't know. I don't know. I don't even know the different types of German that there are.

[. . .]

29:34 So obviously you're raised in English then at home?

T. Schmidt: Yeah. Fully.

29:44 Do you understand German, too, then?

T. Schmidt: Like, some parts. Only if it, like, kind of sounds the same as, like, English or French, then I can, like, pick up on it. Like, my uncle on the weekend, he asks me, like, Can you understand this phrase? And he was, like, Go get me a glass of water, or something that I could, like, tell him what it was. But, like, other things, when they're talking really fast and saying a joke, I don't understand it. Just simple things.

30:09 And do you think there's value in learning German?

T. Schmidt: Yeah. I want to learn it.

30:13 Yeah? For what reasons?

T. Schmidt: For fun. Because I want to know another language. And I like being German. Like, I go around school, and everybody's, like, What are you? And I'm, like, Well, I'm German. Were you born there? No, my grandparents were, but I still think of myself as German. So, I kind of, like, want to learn the language to teach my kids. My mom didn't...

L. Schmidt: Actually, she's good at languages. You pick up very quickly. [...] Like, when I was in the dance group, we didn't speak German to one another. Three-quarters of the dance group was English. So there was very few of us that actually knew any German. Okay, a lot of them were fluent, I guess.

[...]

31:27 So do you want to use your German at all for anything, or is it just that languages are an interest for you?

T. Schmidt: Well, I really, like, want to go to Germany, like we're planning on going next summer, but I'd like to keep going over to Europe, so I would kind of need my German to go over there. [...] I don't know, but it just seems that if I know German, French, and English over there, I can basically, kind of get around there [...] because a lot of the people speak more than one language there, so I think that I'd probably be able to get around there and do stuff, so...

[...]

32:23 And when you speak with your grandparents, what language do you use then?

T. Schmidt: English.

32:27 And do they speak German to you at all?

T. Schmidt: No.

L. Schmidt: Do they sometimes forget?

T. Schmidt: No.

L. Schmidt: See, it's hard for me to sometimes pick out that they've spoken German. Because sometimes I don't even realize it unless [T. Schmidt] kind of looks at me and says, I didn't get that. Because I got it, it's like, why didn't everybody else get it and then, I didn't get that. Or, Oh, you got heck again.

32:57 So nothing, no German with you at all then?

T. Schmidt: No. Not really.

33:02 And has your mom tried at all to teach you German?

T. Schmidt: Yeah. [...] My grandma and grandpa got me this little book for Christmas one year and it would have...it has, like, this little sheet and it has pictures behind it that of things and it would have the name in German and you could, like, flip the page so you couldn't see the words but you could still see the picture and you'd have to say what it was. So we used to, like, work with that book. And then we were going to have, like, Tuesday night German lessons, but that only lasted for, like, three weeks.

L. Schmidt: I bought a CD...

T. Schmidt: And we have Learn German, like, CD-ROM. [...] But it's not really a good learning thing because it's already, like, learning sentences...

34:05 And you prefer more the grammar and...

T. Schmidt: Yeah. Like, when I learn a language, I tend to be, like, more technically. When I'm learning French, I don't know, like, I need to know the rules and, like, the grammar thing to understand it.

[...]

34:59 So later on in the future, if you have kids, do you want to pass on German to them?

T. Schmidt: Yeah.

35:04 Just because?

T. Schmidt: It's fun having, a third language. I don't know. Like, I'm just really interested in languages and I want to, like, learn as many as I can. Because I just think they're fun.

35:17 And do you also think that German in K-W is dying out?

T. Schmidt: Yeah, I guess, because all my friends from German clubs, like, a lot of kids don't speak German, and there's not a lot of kids in the German club, so they'll [most likely referring to old people or German-improperly used pronoun] probably, like, die. [...] And I don't think a lot of the kids [at the clubs] speak German.

35:45 But you go there quite often?

T. Schmidt: Yeah, because I used to do German dancing there. Like, I was in a dance group there. So I used to have to perform all the time. And we go there every year for Oktoberfest. And when I was performing I went to, like, every event there, so, like, Easter and the picnic, and...

L. Schmidt: I used to teach the folk dancing. [M. Schmidt] and I got the music and choreographed it and I used to teach it to the girls.

36:15 Really? How long did you do that for then?

L. Schmidt: Two years?

T. Schmidt: Yeah. And then she quit. And then we just used the same dances and started on our own.

L. Schmidt: It was a very good dance group. We had excellent music. Everybody commented the music was excellent and the choreographing was excellent. And the club was very, like, we went to the club at the very beginning and said, We need to know what style of dancing you will approve of, because folk dancing is by, like, the area of Germany, right? [...] Like, Transylvania dancers dance different than the Alpine dancers. They have their different styles, right? And so we went to the club and said, What styles do you approve of? Or what can we do here? Right? And they just said, Whatever because our club is not from one specific area of Germany, so, it's a free for all. You can do whatever type you'd like to do. [...] And when you saw our dance group, too, because Anne-Marie and I had been in the Schwaben Club dance group, right? The style of dancing was similar. But we had gone to my mom and said, When you were a kid, tell us, what's the style, what kind of dancing did you do? And so she taught us quite a few steps that she had remembered as a child that they had done, and we incorporated those into the dances. So even if it was just the basic step, like teaching the basic step and then there was hand movements and whatever, but we wanted the feet. That's what we needed help with. [...] There was a man at the club that actually used to teach it at the Concordia, I think, and he gave us all his notes and stuff on the dance steps. They were all written in German, which we had to take to somebody else and translate for us. You've got your right and left, and whatever else, but what does that mean, right? So somebody translated some of the stuff for us.

38:32 So you think German's dying out?

T. Schmidt: Yeah.

38:35 And how do you feel about that? Do you think it's a good thing, bad thing, doesn't matter?

T. Schmidt: I don't think it really matters to me. Like, I still think there'll be German because K-W is already, like, German. Canada, all of it is multicultural, so I don't think a language can actually die. But, like, there probably won't be as much German. But it doesn't really matter because I don't really speak that much German anyways.

39:00 Are there certain aspects of German culture that you like?

T. Schmidt: I like the food. They have good food.

[...]

L. Schmidt: Good answer. Good answer.

T. Schmidt: I like the food.

39:12 So what do you consider German food?

T. Schmidt: Like, schnitzel and spätzle and goulash and...What else do we eat that's German?

L. Schmidt: We have, like, the cabbage rolls. [...] Some of this is Hungarian. Like, our Hungarian background comes in also, so sometimes it's hard to tell what's a German meal and what's a Hungarian meal.

[...]

T. Schmidt: And what are those little things that [S. Schmidt]'s grandmother makes?

39:39 The kipfel?

T. Schmidt: Yeah, that. Those are good. [...] And, like, all the desserts that we have, too. [...] What are the ones that Grandma always gets mad and grandpa calls it and then farts?

[...]

L. Schmidt: Oh, I forget what those things are called. And then the pigs ears which are the zimmetkreppe. Zimmetkreppe. The English word is pigs ears because they look like pigs ears. They're actually done with this rod and you put the dough on and you wrap this wire thing around and dip into the oil. Kind of like a donough, but it looks like a pig's ear when it's done. And then you put cinnamon around it. And strudel.

[...]

T. Schmidt: And I like the dancing and I like the outfits and that.

40:37 Like dirndls?

T. Schmidt: Yeah. What else? I guess I like the culture. I don't know. Like, it's fun to have something different. Like, spätzle's like my favourite food and everybody at school, they're like, 'What's your favourite food, and I say, Spätzle, and they're like, 'What?' And then they try to say it and, I don't know, it just never comes to me like it's something different. Like, it's always been a part of our household. But everybody's like, Spazels?

[...]

L. Schmidt: When I work at Oktoberfest and people come to the window and they want to order it, that's what say: I want those's noodle things. Or, Can I have the spazels? Yeah, you can have the spätzels. Spazels? [...] I'll give them something for effort.

[...]

42:28 So German culture for you, is that like the older stuff that's been passed down that's around here or is there anything from modern day Germany that you'd consider part of German culture?

T. Schmidt: No. [...] Just the old stuff I guess.

L. Schmidt: She cheered for the German soccer team.

T. Schmidt: My grandpa said they wouldn't win, so he wasn't, like, cheering for them. Our whole school is, like, Portugese, right? And Italian and, like, all these people, right? So we had, like, everybody, like, I've never seen this before, everybody was so into the World Cup, like, people would wear flags, hang up posters, like, around the school, right? And so everybody, like, nobody actually cheered for Brazil at the beginning and everybody's like, 'Oh, Portugal's going to win. And they're like, 'Germany sucks, right?' And look who gets to the finals, like, and Portugal's out. There was a few people who were cheering for Germany, wearing, like, all the German stuff and everybody didn't think they would win. And I was very proud of them. And I liked, when on the TV, they showed, like, the coach and you hear him, like, yelling in German, and it was so funny. I used to sit there and laugh because he'd get so angry.

[...]

- L. Schmidt: When we go on holidays and there's a couple speaking German, I'll usually sit beside them because I'm just totally amazed there's two people actually speaking fluent German to each other. Because, like, if you're not in Germany, it's not like I cannot believe these two people are actually speaking German. Like, I don't know, I just find it amazing. I've helped out quite a few German people when I was on holidays because they wanted something or something's gone wrong and they can't get it across in English.
- T. Schmidt: Fly swatter, fly swatter.
- L. Schmidt: My grandmother's sister, dark clothes, always spoke German, very quiet. I don't think I heard any English out of her, and she went shopping at Zehrs all the time. And I walk into Zehrs and here she has this, I don't know, 16-year-old tall boy, kind of like a [R. Schmidt] type of thing, and this boy's trying to help her. And she keeps hitting him on the head. She keeps hitting him on the head and hitting him on the head, and not quite getting this, right? So I walk in and say, [...] Tante, what's wrong? And she tells me in German what she wants and I turn to the guy and he says, Can you help me? I don't know what she wants. And I said, Okay. She needs a fly swatter. And he goes, I would never have guessed that with her hitting my head. He says, I'll take you over to get the fly swatter. Mickeplätscher. I'm sure that's not the right German word for a fly swatter, but that's what we called them. Mickeplätscher. [...] We always call them, Who's got the mickeplätscher? [...] See, that's a fun word, and my family could pick fun words, right? Like I would probably never say fly swatter in my house. I would look at my sister or anybody in my family and say, Where's the mickeplätscher? Because it's a funny word.

[. . .]

C. Schmidt - male, 70, born in Yugoslavia, Canada 1949

July 23, 2002

D. Schmidt - female, 69, born in Canada

Interview in Swabian, parts translated into standard German to ease readability unless words given in English

Side One

0:13 What country do your families originate from?

C. Schmidt: German.

D. Schmidt: Yugoslavia.

C. Schmidt: Elsaß-Lothringen.

D. Schmidt: Okay. Mein Vater war aus Elsaß-Lothringen. Meine Mutter war von der Schwarzwald, ich denke, und dann Yugoslavia, und in der Zeit was das Österreich-Ungarn. [...] Unsere Mütter - deine Mutter auch, nicht? Sie haben alle Ungarisch gelernt.

C. Schmidt: In der Schule.

D. Schmidt: In der Schule. Weil das war Österreich-Ungarn. Und dann später ist es Jugoslawien geworden und natürlich war's Serbisch.

C. Schmidt: Zum Beispiel meine Mutter ist deutsch, ist in Ungarn geboren und kommt von Jugoslawien.

1:03 Sie hat dann vier Sprachen gelernt?

C. Schmidt: Ja.

1:10 Ich mache das auf Deutsch. Würden Sie sagen, dass Sie Kanadier sind, oder einer anderen Nationalität? Eine Mischung aus Kanadier und etwas?

D. Schmidt: Bei mir, weil ich doch da geboren bin in Kanada, bin ich kanadisch zuerst und deutsche Abstammung. So antworte ich. Bei dir ist es...

C. Schmidt: Well, ich bin deutsch und bin kanadischer Staatsbürger.

1:44 Was für ein Deutsch würden Sie sagen, dass Sie sprechen?

D. Schmidt: Schwäbisch. Donau schwäbisch.

C. Schmidt: Well, ja. Hochdeutsch. Donau schwäbisch und Bayerisch.

D. Schmidt: Er war in Bayern. [...] Da verstehe ich nichts von der Aussprache. [...] Wenn die Baier anfangen, da verstehen wir überhaupt nichts.

C. Schmidt: Die Deutschen verstehst du auch nicht.

D. Schmidt: While ich in Stuttgart war und da haben sie geschwäbel und ich habe nichts verstanden. Und ich bin, sag mal, Schwäbisch, aus Schwaben, und ich habe sie nicht verstanden.

C. Schmidt: Aber in Frankreich, da haben wir die Deutschen verstanden.

D. Schmidt: Ja. In Frankreich.
C. Schmidt: In Alsace-Lorraine.

[. . .]

4:43 Haben Sie noch Familie in Ihrem Heimatland oder in Europa?

D. Schmidt: In Jugoslawien niemand.
C. Schmidt: Aber Verwandte noch haben wir. [. . .] Ich habe noch in Deutschland [. . .] vier Cousins. [. . .]
D. Schmidt: Aber in Jugoslawien ist niemand mehr.
C. Schmidt: Weil uns haben sie alle umgebracht. Unsere Ortschaft ist niemand geblieben und uns haben sie schon angefangen umzubringen, die Deutschen, die noch drin waren.
D. Schmidt: Und meine sind alle im Lager gestorben oder sind halt rüber gekommen. [. . .] Ich habe bloß von meinem Großvater aus [. . .] noch Verwandte in Wien. [. . .] Aber nicht in Deutschland.

[. . .]

5:37 Sind Sie noch in Kontakt mit Ihren Verwandten?

D. Schmidt: Mit Wien bin ich in letzter Zeit nicht mehr so viel. Die [Name] ist jetzt schon älter und allein und so weiter und ich sage, ich habe aufgehört mit der ganzen Schreiberei. So sind wir nicht mehr so viel bekannt mehr. Sie sind die einzigen...
C. Schmidt: Es sind von Deutschland noch-
D. Schmidt: Du bist noch. Seine Verwandten sind noch, ja. Telefonieren und so weiter. Aber meine, ich habe niemand mehr.

6:06 Sie haben beide Deutsch als erste Sprache gehabt?

D. Schmidt: Ja.
C. Schmidt: Ja.

6:10 Können Sie sich noch daran erinnern, als der Wechsel von Deutsch zu anderen Sprachen passiert ist?

C. Schmidt: Ich habe auf der Straße, so wie ich Deutschland gelernt habe, auch Serbisch gelehrt. [. . .] Auf der Straße haben wir Serbisch gesprochen, als Serben rum waren und im Haus oder mit meinen Cousins und Verwandten und alle haben wir Deutsch, in der Schule, Deutsch gesprochen.

6:39 Es war eine deutsche Schule dann?

C. Schmidt: Oh ja. Wir haben deutsche Volksschule gehabt. Ich habe vier Klassen deutsche Volksschule und eine Klasse Oberstufe in Jugoslawien gehabt. Das war alles Deutsch.

6:53 War das Dorf dann auch Deutsch oder...?

C. Schmidt: Das Dorf war 8000 Serben, 1200 Deutsche, und 600 Ungarn. So ich habe es gelernt auf der Straße praktisch als Kind. [. . .]
D. Schmidt: Ich weiß es, because ich bin, ich war als klein immer deutsch. Ich habe gar nicht gewußt, dass es da was anders gibt. Meine Freundin und ich, wir waren noch klein.. wir haben in demselben Haus gewohnt und wir stehen auf und wir spielen und spielen und ein kleiner Junge steht auf der anderen Seite und der schaut uns zu und winkt und lacht und er redet etwas und ich sage noch [. . .] Mensch, der ist so dumm. Er ist so alt und kann überhaupt noch nicht richtig reden. Und da waren wir die Dummen because er hat Englisch und wir haben Deutsch und ich habe es nicht gewußt, bis ich in die Schule gegangen bin. Ich habe ein bisschen Englisch, ich denke, als Dummheiten haben sie mich als Kind.. haben wir die schlechten Englischwörter gelernt. Ich habe nicht gewußt, was ich sage. Und als ich in die Schule gegangen bin [. . .] und ich denke, gleich am Anfang, ich habe eine Mordsangst gehabt. Das habe ich alles nicht verstanden. Ich habe nicht gewußt, was davor geht. [. . .] Die Nanne hat mir gleich geholfen, dass ich ein bisschen langsam [lerne]. [. . .] Das war kein Kindergarten, das war gleich die erste Klasse. [. . .] Ich habe Kamaraden gleich gemacht. [. . .] Aber das war der Anfang, und es war ein bisschen schwer. Meine Eltern haben damals sich stark bemüht, dass sie Englisch lernen. [. . .] Eine Zeitung haben sie ins Haus kommen lassen jeden Tag und sie haben probiert zu lesen. Natürlich die Wörter, die Buchstaben sind nicht alle rausgekommen. Aber sie haben sich bemüht herauszufinden alles, was sie überhaupt können. [. . .] Und das war automatisch. Der Radio hast du nicht so viel verstanden,

aber in der Arbeit, gell? Und dann immer mehr, immer mehr, immer mehr. Und mit der Zeit war das...es war ein bisschen schwer, wenn es kommt zum spelling [Unterschied zwischen deutscher und englischer Rechtschreibung]. So war mein Anfang. Und das Deutsche ist geblieben. Im Haus bei der Tür rein Deutsche reden, Annie, was redest du dann? Ich will das nicht hören. Hat es Deutsch sein müssen. Unser Dialekt. Aber bei der Tür raus, wenn ich mit Kamaraden war, habe ich angefangen, so wie [C. Schmidt] sagte, mit Englisch.

12:32 Und bei Ihnen dann, als sie nach Kanada kam, wie ging das mit dem Englisch?

C. Schmidt: Ich ging zur Abendschule. [. . .] Und auf der Arbeit haben wir Deutsch gesprochen. [. . .] Die Arbeiter haben Deutsch gesprochen. [. . .] [Der Boss war von der Lüneburgerheide]. [. . .] Ich denke, nach dem Krieg war es nicht so schlimm, wie es heute jetzt ist. Heute wird es mehr...das Deutschtum verhasst oder die Reklamen gegen die Deutschen-

D. Schmidt: Ja.

C. Schmidt: -ist so schlimm. Das war früher nicht. [. . .] Die Leute denken alle, das Deutschtum ist schlecht. Aber die media, die sagen alle, Die Deutschen, die Deutschen, die Deutschen. Die Deutschen waren genauso schlecht und genauso gut wie die anderen. Kann man jeden Staat nehmen, wen wir wollen. Jeder denkt die Deutschen sind blöd. Ja, die haben Schlechtes gemacht, aber die anderen auch.

D. Schmidt: That s the media.

[. . .]

20:39 Als Sie die Kinder langsam bekamen, haben Sie auch erst auf Deutsch gesprochen?

D. Schmidt: [C. Schmidt] hat nichts anders können als Deutsch, als unseren Dialekt. Am Anfang bloß nur das. Das war alles, was er gekonnt hat. Und dann bis er, ich denke, so vier Jahre alt war, gell, vier? Sind wir [. . .] in eine andere Gegend gezogen und die Nachbarn waren alle Kanadierenglisch. Und wenn er rausgegangen ist, hat er da gestanden, und ich habe gesagt zu [C. Schmidt]: Ihm passiert es nicht so wie mir. Er muß lernen, bevor er in den Kindergarten kommt. Und dann haben wir angefangen, ein bisschen mehr, schon ein bisschen mehr. [. . .] Mein Vater und ich, wir haben jetzt geschwäbelt, haben unseren Dialekt gesagt, und dann haben uns umgedreht, and then said something in English. Und dann wieder zurück zum anderen. Und er ist reingezogen bei uns, mein Vater, in der Zeit ist meine Mutter gestorben, und er hat es mit [C. Schmidt] angefangen so: Ein bisschen Schwäbisch, ein bisschen Englisch. Und wir haben es nicht gemerkt. [. . .] Wir haben einfach nicht bemerkt, dass wir gemischt haben.

C. Schmidt: Es war normal.

D. Schmidt: Ja, das war normal. Und [. . .] das war ein bisschen mehr, ein bisschen mehr, als er in den Kindergarten gekommen ist, dass er ein bisschen Englisch gekonnt hat. Die zweite natürlich war schon ein bisschen anders. Noch immer haben wir noch probiert, aber es war immer noch schwerer. Er hat seine Kamarade noch gebracht, da war Englisch. Ich habe Englisch, [07] hat Englisch gekonnt, mein Vater hat Englisch, und ohne, dass wir bemerkt haben, ist ein bisschen mehr Englisch. Sie aber in die deutsche Schule gegangen. Die [M. Schmidt] hat am wenigsten gehabt.

C. Schmidt: Ja, aber der [O. Schmidt] hat noch wieder mehr gehabt.

D. Schmidt: [Der jüngste] hat am Anfang ein bisschen mehr gehabt. [. . .] Das Englische ist immer leichter gekommen als das Deutsche. Es hat sich so bisschen langsam mit der Zeit gedreht, dass das Englisch leichter gekommen ist als das Deutsche. Aber mit der alten, der Großmutter...die anderen haben sich noch alle verstanden und sie verstehen noch heute alles. [. . .] Ehrlich gesagt, ich habe es nicht bemerkt. Ich habe ein, zwei, drei Wörter so gesagt und habe mich gedreht und habe die anderen drei Wörter [in der anderen Sprache gesprochen]. Ich habe nicht mal bemerkt, dass ich mische. War es gut oder war es nicht gut für die Kinder, I don t know. Aber sie sind in die deutsche Schule gegangen, alle.

C. Schmidt: Alle drei.

D. Schmidt: Alle drei sind gegangen. Der [O. Schmidt] hat für eine kürzere Zeit, aber das war dann die andere Schule [die Concordia Schule] [. . .] und er hat für eine kürzere Zeit in der High School, but ich denke nicht, dass da zu viel geblieben ist. Er benutzt es aber nicht. [Erklärt die Sprachsituation in den Familien der Kinder: nicht anders als die einzelnen Berichte der Eltern.] [. . .] In meiner Zeit war kein Deutschunterricht nirgends. In der [High School], no, no. [. . .] Du hast dein Französisch gehabt und dein Latein gehabt und fertig war es. Es war kein Deutsche, du hast privat gehabt. [. . .] Dann später ist es erst gekommen. Und du hast keinen Lehrer richtig gehabt bis der Quiring angefangen hat.

C. Schmidt: Da waren schon Lehrer [. . .].
D. Schmidt: Vielleicht in der University, aber in den High Schools, da war niemand, der Deutsch gehabt hat am Anfang.

[. . .]

27:59 Machen Sie irgendwas Bestimmtes, um mit Ihrem Deutsch nicht aus der Übung zu kommen?

[. . .]

D. Schmidt: Du gehst in die deutschen Vereine ziemlich viel und du warst ziemlich viel dabei. Ich nicht.
C. Schmidt: Die deutschen Klubs also.
D. Schmidt: Und dort wird es noch ziemlich benutzt.
C. Schmidt: Da ist alles Deutsch.

[. . .]

D. Schmidt: Wir sagen fridge und garbage. Man denkt nicht mehr daran.

[. . .]

34:58 Wann war das letzte Mal, dass Sie in einem deutschsprachigen Land waren?

D. Schmidt: [. . .] Das war damals in '86 [. . .] Damals waren wir in Deutschland, um die Verwandten zu besuchen. Und die Mom war dabei, deine Mutter. Und dann sind wir später alleine gegangen nach Österreich. [Deciding if this was the last time.] [Went to Berlin]. When was that? In '99?
C. Schmidt: [. . .] We took a cruise in the Baltic Sea.
D. Schmidt: Sie haben uns reingeholt auf Berlin.
C. Schmidt: Ja. Nur einen Tag. [. . .] Vier Jahre zurück.
D. Schmidt: Ja, so ungefähr.
C. Schmidt: [. . .] Das waren zwei Tage.

[. . .]

37:37 Sind Sie mit Ihrem Deutsch zurecht gekommen? Oder haben Sie Schwierigkeiten gehabt?

D. Schmidt: Nein. Nichts bemerkt.

[. . .]

40:30 Glauben Sie, dass es noch wertvoll ist, Deutsch zu lernen?

D. Schmidt: Sprache kommt immer gut. Es ist egal, was es ist.
C. Schmidt: Oh ja. [. . .] Ich denke, jeder Mann soll zwei Sprachen [haben]. Das ist ein Vorteil.
D. Schmidt: Mhm.
C. Schmidt: Ich meine, ich habe gearbeitet auf dem Platz und bin mit einem engineer dahin gegangen. Und die Frau, oder die Putzfrau, [. . .] hat uns nicht reingelassen. [. . .] Wir wollten etwas im Haus anschauen und der mußte was zeigen [. . .]. Dann bin ich hingegangen und [. . .] habe ich angefangen, mit ihr zu reden und sie hat uns reingelassen. Darum sage ich jetzt auch zu [K. Schmidt], dass er...soll der [C. Schmidt] [. . .] Französisch lernen, Englisch und Deutsch. Vielleicht kann er Diplomat werden.
D. Schmidt: Sportscafter. [. . .] Aber eins sage ich. [. . .] ich habe bemerkt, als ich mehr und mehr ins Deutsche reingekommen bin, habe ich mehr gelernt von der Satzbildung, von allem, was in Deutsch ist, wie soll ich sagen, das Lesen, Schreiben, das ganze. [. . .] Wie man sagt Gegenwart, Zukunft, und das ganze, das ich alles gelernt habe, habe ich dann mein Englisch besser verstanden. Und dann als ich soweit gekommen bin, dann als ich Französisch gelernt habe, [. . .] das andere ist ein bisschen leichter gekommen. Die Englischen, die, die bloß nur ihre Sprache gehabt haben, [. . .] die haben es schwerer gehabt. Ich sage nicht, dass ich stark gut war, aber ich habe es besser begriffen, weil ich das andere schon gehabt habe. Darum denke ich, es ist stark wichtig, dass unsere Kinder mehr Sprachen lernen, egal, was es ist. Wenn du die Fremdsprache lernst, lernst du dann deine eigene besser. So bin ich der Meinung. Das hat mir viel geholfen. Ich meine, jetzt später, als die Kinder, unsere Kinder später in die Schule gegangen sind, war das grösste, was ich gesagt habe. Es ist nicht wichtig, dass wir Rechtschreibung haben, nur natürlich

das man bloß nur lernt, nein, nein, nein. Das stimmt nicht. Du mußt gleich vom Anfang die Rechtschreibung haben, spelling, alles, weil das andere kommt. Wenn du immer schlecht schreibst, zehn Jahre, zwei, drei Jahre später, wirst du nicht auf einmal die Umänderungen [machen] und richtig schreiben. Das muß gleich kommen vom Anfang. The grammar, sagt man jetzt in Englisch, your grammar is so important and your spelling in English. In Deutsch ist es doch leicht. Was du schreibst, liest, es ist dort, aber nicht in Englisch.

C. Schmidt: Die Deutschen haben mehr Ordnung drin.

D. Schmidt: Ja, sie haben mehr Ordnung. [. . .] Und durch das lernst du mehr. [. . .] Die Kinder sollen mehr lernen, nicht nur eine. Die Welt ist zu groß und kommt jetzt zu klein zusammen. Mit einmal bist du verloren. Das ist meine Meinung.

[. . .]

44:17 Welche Sprachen haben Sie bisher gelernt und welche sprechen Sie noch?

[. . .]

C. Schmidt: Alle noch. Deutsch, Englisch, und Serbisch. Ungarisch konnte ich nie perfekt, you know. Aber Serbisch...sagen wir so. Wenn ich eine Woche zusammen wäre mit Serben, dann kommt man wieder rein. Aber ich habe auch Arbeiter gehabt, das waren Rumänen auch, die konnten Serbisch sprechen. [. . .] Und das hat mitgeholfen, dass ich es erhalten habe. Manchmal drehe ich den Radio an und höre ich auch das serbische Programm, was sie da haben. [. . .] Aber es ist auch nicht mehr so gut, wie es früher war. Sagen wir so. Gut Serbisch konnte ich nicht, [nur Alltagserbisch]. Aber in der High School, da haben wir nur vier Stunden in der Woche Serbisch gehabt. Das war alles.

[. . .]

46:00 Und Sie dann nur Englisch und Deutsch?

D. Schmidt: Ich habe in der Schule noch Französisch gehabt, aber nicht so gut. Lesen, Schreiben waren nicht so schlimm, aber wenn es dazu kam, dass ich richtig sprechen sollte, dann hat die eine Lehrerin mir, Oh, Anna, sagt sie, You speak French with a German accent. Und dann war ich fertig und habe ich gesagt dann das nächste Jahr [. . .], dann denke ich es war grade twelve, habe ich der Lehrerin gesagt [. . .], Deutsch habe ich privat gehabt, ob es erlaubt ist, und hat sie gesagt, [. . .] dass ich das Französisch lasse, und wenn es Zeit war für die Prüfung, [war es mir erlaubt, die provinziale Prüfung zu schreiben].

Side Two

[. . .]

2:03 Seit wie lange sind Sie jetzt in Kanada?

C. Schmidt: Seit 1949.

2:25 Und nachdem Sie mit Ihrer Familie nach Kanada gekommen sind, haben Sie nur Deutsch zu Hause gesprochen?

C. Schmidt: Ja, nur Deutsch.

2:28 Und es blieb immer so?

C. Schmidt: Ja. [. . .] Eher jetzt tun wir schon. [. . .] Wir tun es halt mixen ein bisschen.

D. Schmidt: Deine Mutter hat auch Ungarisch ein bisschen.

C. Schmidt: Oh, sie kann gut Ungarisch. [. . .] Sie ist stolz darauf. Sie sagt, Ich kann fünf Sprachen. [. . .] Englisch: sie ist surprisingly gut-

D. Schmidt: Sie war gut, ja.

C. Schmidt: Englisch, Deutsch, Serbisch. Kroatisch, sagt sie. Und Ungarisch.

D. Schmidt: Und Ungarisch. Meine Mutter und [mein] Vater: als sie erzählten etwas, was geheim war in unserem Haus, und mein Onkel und [meine] Tante, dann haben sie alles Ungarisch...und die [D. Schmidt] hat nichts verstanden. [. . .] Der [C. Schmidt] hat noch können, aber ich habe nichts.

3:43 Sie waren Zimmermann, als Sie hier gekommen sind.

C. Schmidt: Ja.

3:45 Hat Ihr Geschäft dann vorwiegend deutsche Kunden gehabt?

C. Schmidt: [...] Die waren Englisch. [...] Manchmal wurde ich ausgelacht, aber, you know...man gewöhnt sich daran. [...]

4:32 Und was haben Sie als Beruf gemacht?

D. Schmidt: Natürlich von der High School aus [...] bin ich gleich in die Economical Insurance...da war ich in die accounting department. Da war ich dort ziemlich...was...zwei Jahre? In zwei Jahre haben wir geheiratet? I think until '55 und dann ist meine Mutter so plötzlich gestorben. Und dann natürlich [...] der erste Sohn und dann Haushalt, und dann hat der [07] später, ich denke in '60 [...], seine eigene Sache angefangen, und dann habe ich [...] Büroarbeit gemacht.[...] I retired in, wie der [O. Schmidt] auf der Welt gekommen ist, in '74 I retired, and then in '83 been ich zurück in der College. I was 50. I went back to college, Conestoga College, and I took early childhood education. Graduated from there in '85. And I was going to, ich wollte arbeiten, und dann hat der [07] gesagt, Ich denke, es ist vielleicht besser you retire. I never really used it. But I did get my diploma, I did my college degree.

[...]

6:49 Heutzutage besuchen Sie noch irgendwelche deutsche Veranstaltungen? Durch die Vereine, oder Oktoberfest...?

C. Schmidt: Ja, ja. Aber nicht alle. Ein paar Jahre zurück waren wir in Toronto [...] [beim] Goethe. [...] [Zu] anderen Veranstaltungen gehen wir schon. Zu Tänzen gehen wir, und...

D. Schmidt: Du gehst zum business association. [...] Wie wir in den Fünfzigern waren, haben sie die gegründet. [...] haben sie die Jagt Klub gegründet. He s a founder. [...] Die sind keine Gruppe von irgendwas. Sie haben das einfach so, dass sie Jäger sind, und dass sie also organisiert waren. [...] Und dann von dann sind Familien gekommen und dann von dann ist ein Klubhaus gekommen und dann ist es immer langsam, langsam, langsam...Dass es so weit gekommen ist, ist es doch das Hubertushaus in Oktoberfest. Da waren sie stark dabei. Da ist er noch immer dabei. Concordia, da bist dabei, und wir sind zum Schwaben. In Toronto waren wir ein paar Male, beim Schwaben Club dort. Die anderen Veranstaltungen in der business association...sie haben ein bisschen mehr, dass man andere Sachen in business, oder, wie sagt man, culture, zusammen kommen. Das war in Deutsch, und Goethe...[...] Goethe ist Goethe und es war auch in Deutsch, das war nicht, what s the word, it wasn t the literature, it wasn t the...es hat gefehlt. Es war nicht, wie ich das mir vorstellte. [...] Sie sind in die andere Richtung gegangen. [...] Mein Goethe, was ich gelernt habe, was ich alles gehabt habe, das war nicht dort. [...] Damals haben wir keine Gelegenheit gehabt, als du das Theaterstück hattest. [...] Etwas war dazwischen und es hat nicht gepasst und wir haben nicht gehen können. So etwas sind wir mehr interessiert. Dann sind wir immer gegangen, wenn etwas so war. Aber wenn es gerade etwas ist, dass wir gehen können.

[...]

10:34 Und wie viel Deutsch haben sie in Ihrer Jugend benutzt im Vergleich zu jetzt? Also wirklich viel mehr? Nicht viel mehr? Ist der Unterschied nicht so groß?

D. Schmidt: Ich denke, in meiner Jugend habe ich mehr Deutsch benutzt, also unser Deutsch. Unser Kirchweih, unsere, wie sagt man, festivities. [...] Als Kind war ich stark viel dabei. Es war eine gute Erinnerung. Weinleserfest. Lauter so Sachen, wo...traditional [...] traditions [...] habe ich mehr gehabt und sogar noch wie du gekommen bist, in den Fünfzigern, gehabt. Und dann wie es auch mit Familien gekommen ist, weiter, weiter, weiter, in the sixties, seventies, langsam, langsam hat das sich alles...dann...weg. Und ich denke, du weißt gar nicht, was Kirchweih ist.

11:36 Nein. [...]

D. Schmidt: So, und das Weinleserfest, alles, was wir gehabt haben, die ganze Sitte, das war selbstverständlich. Jetzt ist die Zeit für dies, jetzt ist die Zeit für das. Und ich meine, das einzige ist die Familie. Wir tun noch probieren. In unserer Familie, wenn es noch Oster ist, das unser mit den Eiern, das haben wir noch. [...] Ticksen.

[. . .]

C. Schmidt: Zusammenschlagen. Zwei Eier.

D. Schmidt: Und wer das beste Ei hat, wer am besten aushaltet [. . .]. Wenn du der [C. Schmidt] fragst, weiß er gleich. Die [J. Schmidt] war ein schlaues Fuchs. [. . .] Sie hat die kleinen Eier gekauft und hat sie gefärbt. Die waren wie Stein, so hart waren sie. Und die Kinder wissen. Sie haben getickst und getickst, und sie sind nicht so schnell gebrochen, weißt du? [. . .] In der Familie haben wir probiert, noch so etwas zu haben. Aber im öffentlichen...in Vereinen und Sachen ist das schon halbwegs weg. Der Schwaben Klub probiert noch sein Trachtenwest und Kirchweih. I think Kirchweih ist auch nicht mehr. Haben die noch Kirchweih? In Toronto, ich denke, haben sie noch. Aber mit solchen Sachen bin ich aufgewachsen. Das war schon Spaß. [. . .] Mit unseren Kindern, das ist schon nicht mehr. Als ich der [07] kennen gelernt habe, das erste Mal, das ich Erlaubnis gehabt habe, ich war sechszehn, auszugehen mit jemandem, war praktisch mit dem zur Kirchweih. Und das war im Schwaben Klub. [. . .] Die Frauen waren alle oben gesetzt auf der Bank umherum und die Mädchen haben getanzt, die Jungen bei Champagne gestanden und haben geschaut, wen sie rufen werden. Also bist du hingegangen, hast gefragt [ob sie mit dir tanzen will], hast getanzt deine drei Tänze, da war eine kurze Pause, bist zum Platz gegangen, ist dann wieder ein andere gekommen und hat dich wieder gefragt [ob du tanzen willst]. So sind wir tanzen gegangen. Das war unserer Samstag spaß und Freitag.

C. Schmidt: Die Mütter haben nur da gegessen und gesagt: Mein Junge tanzt, meine Tochter tanzt.

D. Schmidt: Wenn du drei Tänze gehabt hast oder Pause und bist zurück gegangen...aber wenn du nicht zurück gegangen bist und nochmal...dann haben die Mütter alle geschaut, was davor geht, weißt du? Das war selbstverständlich. Und dann als es Zeit war für Kirchweih, das ist meistens so wie Erdedank, [. . .] also der harvest time.

C. Schmidt: [. . .] Kirchweih. Wie die Kirche eingeweiht wurde.

D. Schmidt: Und dann in Herbst [. . .] waren die Früchte, wie soll ich sagen, [. . .] like your Thanksgiving. Meistens um die Zeit war das. [. . .] Damals hat doch jeder Mann praktisch einen Hut getragen. Und dann haben die Mädchen, also, wir haben es nicht mehr gemacht. Die Verein, die Frauen haben es gemacht. Aber ganz ganz früher haben die Mädchen die Hüte mit schönen Rosen und Bandel und alles so wirklich schön-

C. Schmidt: - beschmückt.

D. Schmidt: Beschmückt. Die Hüte. Und die Mädchen haben ihre Tracht gehabt. Wir haben keine Tracht gehabt, aber wir haben unsere, like your gowns, you're going to a formal or so. Und die Jungen, meistens die Jungen, weil sie dann meistens Geld gehabt haben, der hat dem Mädchen ein corsage oder was gekauft. [. . .] Dann ist es schon ausgemacht, der fragt so und so und so und so, weil du hast gruppenweise gehen müssen, du hast nicht allein gehen können. [. . .] Manchmal waren es nur Freunde, manchmal waren es überhaupt gar keine Bekannten. Aber du bist zur Kirchweih gegangen. Und so war es das erste Mal bei mir gegangen sein. Der hat mich gefragt, dann sind wir ausgegangen, und das war das erste Mal. Dann später sind wir gegangen [. . .] das war schon ernst, das nächste war Verlobung. [. . .] Und dann wenn du die Gruppe gehabt hast, also im Kreis, und da war einer, das war wie auctioneer, und der hatte einen Kirchweihstrauß. Und ein Kirchweihstrauß war ein Rosmarinbusch. Und rosemary, das war in der Zeit [. . .] niemand hat gewusst in Kanada was rosemary ist. Aber da waren die Frauen von Verein, haben competed, also ein Busch, dass er wächst. Wer der größte und der schönste hatte - die haben das stark ernst genommen, die Frauen - und wenn [. . .] ihren als der Kirchweihstrauß gewählt wurde, das war eine große Ehre. Und der Kirchweihstrauß [. . .] der war ganz beschminkt [. . .] so viel, wie sie konnten. Wirklich schön beschminkt. Dann ist die Zeit gekommen, dass der Junge, der [auctioneer] [. . .], der hat das versteigert. Und wie er es dann versteigert hat, also wer hat gesagt so und wer hat gesagt so...manchmal haben die alten Männer von hinter gerufen und haben dann es dann probiert, hoch zu bringen. Die jungen Kerls haben es nicht gewollt [. . .].

C. Schmidt: Wir haben nur zehn Prozent bezahlt. Die alten hätten hundert Prozent bezahlt.

D. Schmidt: [. . .] Und so ist es weiter und weiter gegangen. Dann meistens derjenige, [. . .] der was das ernst gemacht hat, der hat probiert, den Strauß zu kriegen. Das war nur ihr Geschenk. [. . .] Und jetzt versteht ihr alle, wir wollen zusammen ernst gehen. [. . .] Wir haben in '53 geheiratet, das war in '52 hast du es nur gekauft für mich. Und hat jeder gewusst, dass das ist ernst. Er hat aber schon mit der Sache schon halbwegs gehandelt: Gib Obacht, dass es nicht so weit geht. Aber jeder hat das schon gewusst. Das war der Spaß, gell? Manchmal die Alten, waren sie ein bisschen betrunken und haben sie ahhh wieder hoch, weißt du? Und natürlich die Mütter alle, um Gottes Willen [. . .]. Das war Spaß, richtig Spaß. Und das war für Jahre haben wir das gemacht. Alle waren dabei. Ich meine, dass ist Jahr für Jahr gegangen. [. . .] Und später haben sie nicht mehr genug Jungen gehabt, die interessiert waren, und das ist immer mehr [. . .] und jetzt gibt es überhaupt niemanden.

Jetzt ist es vorbei. Weinleserfest war meine grösste Sache. Da haben sie in den Vereinen dort gemacht noch. Da haben sie, so wie die Zeit war für die Trauben, haben sie die alle in the hall, wo sie es gemacht haben, haben sie die Trauben alle hingehängt, so wie als wenn man in einen Weingarten geht. Und haben sie getanzt. Und da waren manche, die so wie...nicht die Polizei, aber so wie-

C. Schmidt: Ja, die Polizei.

D. Schmidt: - die Polizei. Und dann während des Tanzens hat der Junge irgendwie [eine Traube] gestohlen. Wenn er erwischt ist, hat er zahlen müssen.

C. Schmidt: Zum Richter gehen und zahlen.

D. Schmidt: Zum Richter gehen und zahlen, weisst du? Das war für Spaß, gell? It s like a fundraiser. Und als Kind kann ich mich erinnern, mein Vater hat mich hochgehoben und hat gesagt, Dort, hol das. Und ich war ja noch ganz klein. Das kann ich mich noch gut erinnern, weil [. . .] ich habe hingegriffen und habe es runtergeholt und dann natürlich war [die Polizei] dort und ich habe Ängste gekriegt. [. . .] Wir haben es im Jagdklub einmal gemacht. Aber der große Sach war, [. . .] wir waren jetzt soweit fortgeschritten, dass wir hatten ein so guten Tanzboden, kannst doch nicht die Trauben, dass sie auf den Fußboden fallen natürlich. Und dann haben wir mit der Zeit alles ganz weg, nicht mehr. Niemand hat es mehr gemacht. [. . .] Unsere Kinder haben es nicht mehr gekannt [gekonnt?]. Es war schon vorbei. [. . .] Die Sachen haben doch heute noch ihren Mardi Gras. Das hat es bei uns nicht gegeben. Sie haben es aber gemacht. Maskenball-

C. Schmidt: Concordia.

D. Schmidt: Ja, Conrdia hat es gemacht. Maskenball haben sie alle gehabt. Die Sachsen haben viel gehabt mit Theatre. Meine Mutter war in der ersten Zeit, als ich klein war, war sie viel dort bei im Theater und im Sängchor. Die haben stark viel solche Sachen gehabt. [. . .] Die Concordia hat ziemlich viel zugeschlossen alles. Die haben Ängste gehabt während des Krieges-

C. Schmidt: Ja. [. . .] Alle zwei Kriege haben sie zugemacht.

[. . .]

21:13 Würden Sie sagen, dass Sie mehr Englisch oder mehr Deutsch am Tag benutzen?

D. Schmidt: Ich denke, wir mischen alles zusammen. [. . .]

C. Schmidt: Ich denke schon mehr Englisch, nicht? Fünfzig Prozent.

D. Schmidt: Es handelt sich wer bei uns ist, because wenn der [O. Schmidt] da heim ist, tun wir mehr Englisch. Wenn wir allein sind und unsere Bekannten, dann kommt das Deutsch mehr raus. Aber wenn ich bemerke, sage ich, unsere Kinder und unsere Enkelkinder, dann tun wir mehr Englisch, so dass sie alle verstehen.

C. Schmidt: Ja. [. . .] Ich habe schon immer sechzig Prozent, sage ich, sagen wir auf Deutsch.

D. Schmidt: Ja, ich denke.

C. Schmidt: Ja.

21:57 Bei welchen kulturellen Veranstaltungen haben Ihre Kinder mitgemacht?

D. Schmidt: Sie waren in der Deutschschule. Und dann später in der High School waren sie doch...ich denke, der [K. Schmidt] hat ein deutsches Sacher gekriegt doch von der Deutschschule, nicht? Und die [M. Schmidt] auch. [. . .] Sie waren bei der Verein. Sie waren in der Jagdklub Verein eine ziemlich lange Zeit. Waren beim Schwaben Klub. Die [M. Schmidt] war doch Miss Schwaben ein Jahr. Wo wir gegangen sind, sind sie gegangen.

C. Schmidt: Oh ja. Der Concordia Klub.

D. Schmidt: Wo wir gegangen sind...sie waren dabei, als sie Kinder waren, wenn et was war: Maskenball, [. . .] Weihnachten, Feier -

C. Schmidt: Wir sind in mehrere Klubs gegangen und nicht nur in eins.

D. Schmidt: In den Concordia sind wir gegangen...sind wir in den Schwaben Klub gegangen, und beim Jagdklub warst du mehr, weil du Präsident ein paar Jahre warst, und ich war von der Frauenverein Präsidentin. Da waren wir vielleicht ein bisschen mehr, Picknick und alles, was sie gehabt haben. Da waren die Kinder dabei. Sie waren immer dabei. [. . .]

C. Schmidt: Well, die [L. Schmidt] hat immer die Tanzgruppe gehabt im-

D. Schmidt: Im Jagdklub.

C. Schmidt: Im Jagdklub. Sie hatte die Tanzgruppe für, waren es zwei Jahre oder drei, haben sie die Mädchen gehabt. [. . .] Volks things. Und die [M. Schmidt] war dabei. Die [M. Schmidt] und die [L. Schmidt]. Die [M. Schmidt] hat die Musik und alles zusammen und die [L. Schmidt] hat die Unterricht und alle, haben gelernt, dass sie tanzen. Und da waren sie beim Oktoberfest. [. . .]

D. Schmidt: Der [U. Schmidt] war auch dabei [. . .] und die [T. Schmidt] auch. [. . .] Und die ersten, der [C.

Schmidt] und die [S. Schmidt], die waren in Toronto dabei. [. . .] In der Tanzgruppe im Schwaben Klub sind doch der [N. Schmidt] und die [M. Schmidt] nach Deutschland gegangen mit der Tanzgruppe. Dein Vater war doch auch dabei, schon früher. Und sie waren später, sie sind später gegangen.

24:46 War das alles freiwillig?

D. Schmidt: Ja. Das haben sie von allein gemacht. Der [K. Schmidt] ist nicht gegangen. Müssen wir sagen, das ist freiwillig. Er hat nicht tanzen wollen. [. . .] Musik machen war er dabei für eine lange Zeit war er in der orchestra. [. . .] He had saxophone and...

C. Schmidt: Clarinette.

D. Schmidt: Clarinette. [. . .] Als Kind hat her getanzt. Und dann Schluß.

25:30 Und mit der Sprachschule? Wie ging das?

D. Schmidt: Von Quiring sind sie in die High School gegangen und haben Deutsch in der High School gehabt. Von einer Miss Braun. Alle haben sie gehabt. Sogar der [O. Schmidt] hat sie gehabt.

[. . .]

26:30 Wann haben sie angefangen?

D. Schmidt: Gleich von der zweiten Klasse? Dritten Klasse, als sie gegangen sind? Ich weiß es jetzt nicht mehr. Du mußt sie fragen. Ich weiß nicht mehr richtig. Ich denke, es war die dritte. Aber ich weiß es nicht mehr.

26:57 Und was machen die Kinder jetzt mit ihren Deutschkenntnissen?

D. Schmidt: Ich denke, wenn sie die Gelegenheit haben, benutzen sie es. [. . .] Der [K. Schmidt], ich weiß nicht, wie viel er es benutzt in der Arbeit oder so. Ich denke, als er in Deutschland war, hat er es ziemlich benutzt.

C. Schmidt: Wenn er ein paar getrunken hat, kann er es auch besser.

D. Schmidt: Ja, dann kann er es besser.

C. Schmidt: Einmal kann er sogar Baierisch können auf einmal.

D. Schmidt: Ja, er hat. Ja, ja. Ich weiß nicht. Ich kann nicht sagen von den Kindern. Und der [O. Schmidt] benutzt es gar nicht. Gar nichts. Gar nichts in Deutsch. Da ist auch keine Gelegenheit für ihn. Die [M. Schmidt] vielleicht [. . .] Die waren in Österreich. Da haben sie es benutzt, und der [N. Schmidt] auch. Aber die Kinder sind auch mitgekommen. [. . .] Sie benutzen es so in der Verwandtschaft, in der Freundschaft. Der [N. Schmidt] ich denke, natürlich von der Bank, er hatte die Gelegenheit überhaupt, als er in Elmira war. Oh hat er es benutzt.

C. Schmidt: Oh ja [. . .].

D. Schmidt: In Elmira mit unserem Dialekt, da ist er prima mitgekommen.

C. Schmidt: Manchmal da waren Deutsche, die Farms hatten und so und dann haben sie von einer Bank zur anderen angerufen, dass er mit den Leuten reden soll [?].

D. Schmidt: Die [L. Schmidt], ich denke, hat nicht so viel.

C. Schmidt: No, weil in der Arbeit-

D. Schmidt: Da war keine Gelegenheit, wo sie es gebraucht hat. [. . .] Ich weiß es einfach nicht.

C. Schmidt: Weil [while?] der [K. Schmidt] hat schon deutsche Kunden auch.

[. . .]

D. Schmidt: Ich kann bloß für mich selber... [. . .] als ich in die High School gegangen bin, einmal habe ich beim Photograph gearbeitet [. . .] da ist es stark gut gekommen. Wir haben Mennoniten gehabt, die gekommen sind für [. . .] Hochzeiten und so. Hast verstanden. Mein Chef, der hat ein paar mal gesagt, Was haben sie gesagt? Ich habe nicht immer gesagt, was sie gesagt haben. Und dann habe ich eine lange Zeit in Eaton's gearbeitet [. . .] und da sind viele, viele in der Zeit gekommen, Deutsche, weil die haben nicht richtig English gekonnt und dann sind sie zu mir gekommen. [. . .] Wenn jemand gekommen ist, der Deutsch gebraucht hat, wo sie nicht mitgekommen sind oder nicht verstanden haben, dann sind sie [. . .] zu mir gekommen oder ist der Chef zu mir gekommen und hat gesagt, [08] come over. [. . .] In der office und im insurance habe ich es nicht benutzt. Einmal ist der treasurer zu mir gekommen und hat gesagt, er hat einen Brief gekriegt, wo etwas unter dran war, was das war. I translated it. Es war nicht so groß wichtig, aber er war neugierig. [.

. .] Später habe ich gearbeitet in Goudie s, da habe ich es wieder benutzt. In der college habe ich es gar nicht benutzt.

31:52 Was empfinden Sie darüber, dass Ihre Kinder nicht so viel Deutsch benutzen?

D. Schmidt: I don t know. [. . .] Mich stört es nicht. [. . .]

C. Schmidt: Was soll man machen? Man nichts ändern. Die Enkelkinder, die, was Deutsch können, ist fein [fine?]. [. . .] Vielleicht am Anfang hätten wir schon mehr machen können. Aber wir haben auch zu viel gearbeitet [. . .].

D. Schmidt: Aber [07], wenn ich jetzt so zurück denke, die Verwandtschaft, viele in der Verwandtschaft haben die Kinder stark streng, das sie alle Deutsch gelernt haben und so weiter, und wenn sie mal erwachsen sind und ihren Weg gehen, in die Schule, die university, und weiter kommen mit den anderen zusammen. Schau mal in den Staaten, wie viele von ihnen, die haben alle Amerikaner geheiratet. Und die können kein Wort Deutsch mehr. Und es ist weg. Höchstens, dass die Kinder vielleicht dann [. . .] das als Sprache nehmen in der High School und so weiter. Aber es ist weg. Wir haben Glück gehabt, die, die geheiratet haben in eine Gruppe hinein, wo noch Deutsch war. Dass es nicht fremd war. Dass sie es doch noch benutzen können und die Enkelkinder wissen doch noch ein bisschen, wenn sie es auch nicht benutzen, aber sie ein Verständnis. Aber viele von den anderen, von meinen Verwandten in den Staaten, da kann niemand mehr Deutsch. Niemand. Das ist weg.

[. . .]

34:42 Und haben Ihre Kinder Deutsch an deren Kinder beigebracht oder gelehrt?

D. Schmidt: Ja. Der [K. Schmidt] und die [J. Schmidt] haben ihre Kinder.

C. Schmidt: Ja. Die [J. Schmidt] hat.

D. Schmidt: Ich denke der [N. Schmidt] und die [M. Schmidt] haben stark probiert. Die Großeltern. Da waren noch Uhr Großeltern dabei, und da haben die Kinder noch gekonnt. Ich denke, jetzt weiß ich nicht mehr. Und die [L. Schmidt] hat nicht gekonnt mit [T. Schmidt].

35:09 Und mit dem Deutsch, das Ihre Enkelkinder können, wissen Sie, was sie damit machen?

D. Schmidt: Die Enkelkinder? Ich denke, die Interesse ist dort. [. . .] Der [U. Schmidt] ist gleich, als er zurück gekommen ist von Österreich, hat er gleich gesagt: Ich will Deutsch, ich will Deutsch, because ich will zurück. [. . .] Und er war ganz Feuer und Flamme. Wenn er die Interesse noch zeigt, das weiß ich nicht. Die [08], die war auch, die war stark begeistert. [. . .] Sie kommen ein bisschen mit. Die [T. Schmidt] hat gesagt, sie hat gleich gesagt, I m going to take German. You re not going to talk in front of me. I ve got to take German. In der High School jetzt. [. . .] Ich denke, die Interesse ist dort. Die Gelegenheit ist vielleicht nicht [da].

C. Schmidt: No. Die Gelegenheit ist schon da.

D. Schmidt: No, no. Ich meine, wenn sie jetzt, sagen wir, einen Kurs besuchen irgendwie, und das passt nicht in ihrem Kurs, dann können sie es nicht machen. Ich meine, sie gehen jetzt nicht von der Sprache alleine. Ich meine, sie wollen jetzt was lernen und das noch nebenbei.

C. Schmidt: Oh. Was du noch nicht vorgebracht hast: Du hast noch Gotisch gelernt.

D. Schmidt: Oh yeah. Das habe ich gar nicht gesagt. [. . .] Ich habe meine Briefe in grade thirteen here in Canada - this is in 1951 - habe ich, mein Lehrer, der war stark streng. Der war noch von der alten Schule. So richtig Deutscher. Alles, das ganze Schreiben, alles in Gotisch. Weißt du was Gotisch ist? Das ist die alte Schrift. [Deutsch in der normalen Schrift konnte sie nicht.] [. . .]

C. Schmidt: Das hat man in Deutschland nicht mehr gebraucht.

D. Schmidt: Ja. Aber der alte Professor, der hat es nicht gelassen. [. . .] Und dann als die Prüfungszeit war, ich meine, ich bin [nicht?] neugierig, was die in the education thing, als sie meine Prüfung gekriegt haben für grade thirteen, ob die das alles haben lesen können. Und dann ist die [Kusine?] von Deutschland rüber gekommen und hat gesagt, [08] jetzt ist es aber Zeit, dass du das veränderst. Niemand schreibt Gotisch mehr. Das war hart, because wenn ich geschrieben habe, ist mir das Englisch reingekommen. [. . .] Das hat eine lange Zeit gedauert, bis ich das umgedreht habe und angefangen habe mit der anderen Schrift. [. . .] Ich habe das alles gelernt [. . .]: Heine, Schiller, Goethe. Oh Mensch, ich habe die ganzen alle gehabt. Ich weiß noch gar nicht, wenn ich daran zurück denke, du. Und ich habe von Siegfried und die ganze und the Niebelungenlied, das ganze, alles, die ganzen Sachen, das habe ich alles lernen müssen. [. . .] Zweimal in der Woche ist er gekommen. Ich bin von der Schule pünktlich heim gekommen, und er war schon dort.

[. . .]

42:32 Glauben Sie, dass Deutsch in K-W langsam ausstirbt?

- D. Schmidt: No. Ich denke, der Dialekt [C. Schmidt], unser Swäbisch und die Sachsen bleiben noch. Ich denke, das bleibt noch.
C. Schmidt: Wie lange?
D. Schmidt: Ich denke, es bleibt [C. Schmidt].
C. Schmidt: Schau mal die ganzen Deutschen in den Dörfern. Die Jugend, die in meinem Alter waren, die Kinder, die konnten alle noch Deutsch. St. Agatha und die darum.
D. Schmidt: Aber das war der Dialekt.
C. Schmidt: Conestoga und dings da, die konnten Deutsch.
D. Schmidt: Ja.
C. Schmidt: Deitsch.
D. Schmidt: Deitsch. Nicht Deutsch. Deitsch haben sie gekonnt.
C. Schmidt: Und das ist auch vorbei.
D. Schmidt: Vielleicht.
C. Schmidt: Ja, ich denke schon.
D. Schmidt: I don't know.
C. Schmidt: Englisch ist jetzt die Weltsprache [. . .].
D. Schmidt: Okay, wenn du so weit gehst. Du brauchst bloß nach Deutschland zu kommen. [C. Schmidt], das erste Mal, als wir gegangen sind, da habe ich bemerkt, da war es mehr Deutsch. Ich meine, alles, die Musik und das andere [. . .]. Aber jetzt wenn du dahin gehst, [. . .] links und rechts wo du drehst, ist schon Englisch. Ehrlich gesagt, Frankreich macht sich schon Sorgen. Sie haben eine große Sache gehabt, das andere raus, weil sie Ängste gehabt haben, es kommt zu viel rein und es bleibt nicht mehr french. Und ich denke, ehrlich gesagt, die große Sache ist, kann Deutschland noch Deutsch bleiben. [. . .] Zu viel anders kommt schon rein bei ihnen. Vielleicht bemerken sie es auch nicht. Das Amerikanische und das andere kommt schon rein. [. . .]
C. Schmidt: Aber schau mal jetzt. In China, der tour guide, den wir hatten, ich habe nicht gewusst, er konnte Deutsch. Die haben alle Deutsch gelemt in China. Sagt er, die Deutsche, die nach China kommen, die können alle Englisch. Schau mal wie viel Englisch in Deutschland...die können alle Englisch. Canada bringt es nicht mal fertig, Französisch und Englisch zu reden. Ich meine, die Kinder, die haben in der Schule vier Jahre, fünf Jahre und reden immer noch Englisch. Aber in Deutschland nicht. In Deutschland, die haben Englisch. Die Jugend, die können meistens Englisch.

[. . .]

Die Kasette war schon zu Ende, bevor die letzte Frage gestellt werden konnte.

*U. Schmidt - male, 18, Canada
W. Schmidt - female, 15, Canada*

July 26, 2002

0:10 Where does your family come from?

- U. Schmidt: [. . .] My grandparents came from Europe. And their ancestors came from Germany. But they migrated to Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, that area, in and around there. Then they moved to Canada. My grandmother moved after World War I to Canada and my other three grandparents moved to Canada after World War II, and my parents were all born in Canada.

0:45 Do you consider yourself Canadian, or Canadian-German or something else?

- U. Schmidt: Canadian with a German background.

0:54 Do you speak any German at all?

- U. Schmidt: No.

0:58 But your parents speak German.

- U. Schmidt: Yes. My dad fluently and my mom fairly fluent.

1:03 Do you know what kind of German they speak?

- U. Schmidt: It's a dialect. Donauschwäbisch. I know that's really bad pronunciation.

[. . .]

1:20 Do you still have family back in Europe that you're still in touch with?

U. Schmidt: Yeah. My uncle Jöri. He lives in Austria. We were there in March Break we saw him. And his son and daughter, Martin and Gabi. We still talk with them on a regular basis.

1:38 Your dad has a brother?

U. Schmidt: No, it's my grandfather's first cousin. They lived together before World War II. So they were always pretty close.

1:47 So when you talk to them, you talk to them in English then?

U. Schmidt: When I talk to them, we talk to them in English. If they talk to my parents, it's usually by e-mail, and the e-mails are all in German. Actually, it's usually his daughter doing it because he can't use a computer.

2:20 Have you ever been to a German-speaking country?

U. Schmidt: Just Austria and Germany.

2:25 And how did you get around?

U. Schmidt: I was with my parents. They took us to non-touristy areas, but the people there still spoke some English. So I could still ask questions in stores and didn't have to be around my parents all the time.

2:43 Do you think there's any value in learning German?

U. Schmidt: Yeah, I do.

2:50 What reasons?

U. Schmidt: Well, my grandparents, I know, would probably be quite proud if I learned German. My great grandmother, she's turning 90 tomorrow. We're going to see her. She has Alzheimer's, so she doesn't know English anymore. German was her first language, so it would be nice if I could...I don't know, she probably wouldn't even know or remember me, but it would be nice if I could just talk to her.

3:18 So just for family purposes then?

U. Schmidt: Mhm m.

[. . .]

3:28 Have your parents made any attempts at teaching you German?

U. Schmidt: When I was a kid, I was in German school. That lasted all of a year. Before we went to Europe, my mom was all on a German hype, so she tried to teach us a little bit of German. That sort of dropped off. Various attempts, but none of them have been successful.

3:52 And would you like to continue it yourself?

U. Schmidt: Yeah, I would. I'm going to take next semester, fall term, I'm going to take German 101.

[. . .]

4:35 So you want to take German at university.

U. Schmidt: Yup.

4:38 But that's obviously not going to be your major.

U. Schmidt: No. My major s geography.

4:41 So just out of interest then?

U. Schmidt: Yeah.

4:46 Now, later on in the future, if you ever have kids, do you think you ll pass it on to them?

U. Schmidt: Yes. I think, you know, it s been in the family. It s something they should know. And also, if my mom s plans go right, she wants to live in Austria. So I m going to need to know it to go and visit with my parents.

[. . .]

5:10 Do you think that the German spoken in Waterloo Region is slowly dying out?

U. Schmidt: Yeah. I know a lot of people who have German-speaking parents that are like me and know nothing. I think it s being replaced not just by English but by a lot of other languages as well. I guess, like, German people aren t coming to Kitchener-Waterloo anymore. It s more other people. Like, I see a lot of Polish people, a lot of Chinese people. It s not being passed on and there s no new German speakers being added to it.

5:42 So how long do you give it then?

U. Schmidt: Like a generation or two, maybe.

5:48 How do you feel about that?

U. Schmidt: Kind of sad, but, I mean, German was never too, too close to me seeing as I ve never spoken it. I get sad that the culture s not around anymore and you have to go so far to Europe to get it again, but I think some things will never die. Like, Oktoberfest will never die. It can be all Chinese people and there ll still be Oktoberfest.

6:13 Did you ever do any German events when you were young?

U. Schmidt: A couple years ago, my sister and I did German dancing. And when we were kids we used to dance at the Schwaben Club?

W. Schmidt: Yeah. Oh, I don t know.

U. Schmidt: Yeah, it was the Schwaben Club.

W. Schmidt: No, it was somewhere in Toronto.

U. Schmidt: Yeah, that was the Schwaben Club in Toronto.

W. Schmidt: With [S. Schmidt] and [R. Schmidt].

U. Schmidt: Yeah, with [S. Schmidt] and [R. Schmidt].

W. Schmidt: When they were a little older.

6:39 So do you like German culture in general?

U. Schmidt: Yeah, it s fun. The food s good. It s just sort of laid back. I find some Germans can be a little loud and obnoxious, but it s all in good fun. So a laid back culture, but they have a lot of motivation, a lot of drive. I like that.

7:05 And do you think your parents passed on any values to you which you would consider German?

U. Schmidt: Yeah. Well, the food. I know a lot of good recipes now. A lot of old stories. I talked to my grandfather and I talked to my father. I know a lot of my grandfather s life back in Europe, so they passed that on to me - and my dad - through the stories they ve told me. So they ve passed that on.

7:38 So what do you consider German food then?

U. Schmidt: Well, you ve got a lot of Schnitzel. And my mom makes a really good Schmo de [Schmaren]. [. . .] And Goulash. And my mom s favourite, Chickenpaprikasch. A lot. My grandmother, I don t know what she makes, but it all has some German name.

8:10 Do you listen to any German music at all?

U. Schmidt: Not really.

8:17 So for you, is German music more like the folk music you hear here?

U. Schmidt: Yeah. When I was over in Austria, I heard a couple German bands that were pretty good. But most of the music you hear over there is like American music. So you don't really hear a lot of German music.

[. . .]

8:47 So what countries does your family come from?

W. Schmidt: [. . .] I think my grandma's from, like, Czechoslovakia. I have some relatives in Austria. I'm not too sure about my grandpa. But I know, like, all, like, Germany, like, all the German-related countries in Europe. All around there.

[. . .]

9:22 Do you consider yourself Canadian or German-Canadian or something else?

W. Schmidt: Canadian.

9:26 Do you speak any German at all?

W. Schmidt: Not very much. Like, please and thank you and, like, I know some prayers in German. And just, like, average words. Like, when we were, like, with family or something, like if they're talking German, I won't really understand, so I have to, like, get [S. Schmidt] to translate.

9:50 So do you still have family in Europe that you're still in contact with?

W. Schmidt: My dad's, I think, uncle, lives in Austria and we just went to visit him. So, yeah. We're related that way, but I'm not too sure exactly how related.

[. . .]

10:17 So when you were in Austria, did you try to speak German at all or was it mostly English that you spoke?

W. Schmidt: Well, I had to, like, most people, like, they spoke in German, so I had to kind of, like, just sit there while they were speaking, so I had to, like, I picked up, like, a couple words. And I had a German-English dictionary which I didn't use, but it was still there, so, like, if, like, someone, like, said something, like, I don't know, like, I think my uncle, was, like, trying to teach me how to say the body parts like the hand and the elbow and stuff like that. But I don't remember it now.

10:46 Was it a long time ago that you went to Austria?

W. Schmidt: In March.

[. . .]

10:57 So do you want to learn German later on?

W. Schmidt: Yeah, like, I want to, like, learn more German. Like, I'm not really too sure, like, which dialect, but it's, like, I want to, like, learn the German that, like, my family speaks. But I think that's, like, a different German or whatever.

[. . .]

11:17 So you just want to learn it for family purposes?

W. Schmidt: Yeah. Like, just to, like, know it, because, like, my family is, like, basically, like, from around

Germany and around there, so, just family.

11:34 So do you think there's still value in learning German?

W. Schmidt: For me there is. Like, I don't really know. Probably for, like, each individual person, like, they would have value, like, from what their family's, like, from. Like, if they're from China, then obviously they're... But for me there's, like, value in German.

12:02 So you were raised in English. So with your grandparents, do you try to speak German with them? Or how does that work?

W. Schmidt: Well, my grandparents, they don't, like, really speak German, like, to me, but they will, like, just around the table or something. But my dad will, like, say something in German and he'll, like, try and have me guess what he's, like, saying. And I have no idea. But, like, I don't know. They'll speak German but not directly towards me, and if they do and they, like, still know it's, like, me and, like, not [S. Schmidt], they'll rephrase what they said in English. But they'll, like, talk more German to [S. Schmidt] and [R. Schmidt] because they actually know German.

12:48 Have your parents made any attempts to teach your German?

W. Schmidt: Yeah. I think, like, awhile ago. My mom wanted us to learn German. But I don't think we really learnt anything. But I think me and my brother and [T. Schmidt] want to learn, like, German, like, now, like, pretty so on just learn some German.

13:18 So when they were trying to teach you German, did you have to do any German events? Club things, stuff like that?

W. Schmidt: Well, not really. Basically just learning words from the dictionary and, like, probably, like, start at that level because we don't really, like, know much German. Just words from the dictionary. And we were in a dancing group for German. But that doesn't really have anything to do with the language.

[. . .]

13:48 Do you think culture and language automatically go together?

W. Schmidt: Not necessarily. Like, if you're in a club, like, we were dancing at Hubertushaus, but, like, we had no idea what the language was. We were just there for, like, fun and, like, dancing and the culture. But I don't really think that culture and language necessarily have to be together. Because, like, a lot of, like, German people in Waterloo, and they might not know German, but they still, like, carry on the culture and stuff.

14:27 Now, later on in the future, if you have kids, do you think you might try and pass German on to them?

W. Schmidt: I'll probably try. [. . .] Well, I don't know. I kind of want to. But, like, when I have, like, kids my parents will, like, be their grandparents, so they'll probably try more because they know more.

14:48 And do you think that the German spoken in Waterloo Region is dying out?

W. Schmidt: Yeah, because, I don't know, like, out of, like, all my relatives, only, like, the older people really know how to speak German. And I, like, know, like, some kids in Waterloo that are my age who are German and they have no idea. Like, I know more German than they do, and I don't know that much. So I don't really think that, like, people my age really know much German yet at all.

15:14 So how do you feel about that?

W. Schmidt: Indifferent. I don't really know. It's kind of, like, on a personal basis, like, it depends on, like, how much you value, like, that you're German or, like, if consider yourself more German or if you consider yourself more Canadian.

15:40 Do you like German culture?

W. Schmidt: Yeah, it's fun. We used to, like, dance at Hubertushaus. That was fun. It was, like, for Oktoberfest, but it was, like, family day because we weren't allowed at Oktoberfest. But, yeah, it's pretty fun. At Easter we play Tickse. [...] It's, like, with eggs. [...] It's fun.

16:10 If someone asks you, What is German culture? What would you tell them? What would you consider it to be?

W. Schmidt: I don't know. Probably, like, the culture would just be, like, I don't really know, but, like, the different events that you do. Like, I don't know, like, what you do together as, like, a community, like Oktoberfest, or, like what we do in the family, like Tickse.

16:45 And do you have a favourite German food that you like?

W. Schmidt: Not really. I don't think so. Like, my grandma cooks, like, a lot of German food. But I'm not too sure actually what she's just made up and what's German. Schnitzel, I guess.

17:02 Or Spätzle?

W. Schmidt: Oh, yeah, but that's Bavarian.

17:07 Is that different?

W. Schmidt: I don't know, it's like [mumble] because we have it with, like, Goulash.

17:17 And do you like the German costumes? Like dirndls and lederhosen?

W. Schmidt: Not really. Like, in the dance group we had to, like, wear dirndls and they weren't the greatest. I don't really like them, but some people do.

M. Schmidt - Female, 41, Canada

July 28, 2002

N. Schmidt - Male, 44, Canada

0:05 So what countries do your families come from?

N. Schmidt: Yugoslavia. My father is Yugoslavian and my mother is from what is now Czechoslovakia. So it was Sudetenland. Acreland [English phonetic spelling] in the early 1900s. And Sudetenland is the name of the province. Her community is Czechoslovakia. And my dad is Danube Swabian and his province [...] is in Yugoslavia now.

M. Schmidt: And my dad is from what is Yugoslavia now [...] what was the province of Banat. And my mother was born in Canada and her family, my grandparents, were from the Banat as well.

0:59 Do you consider yourselves Canadian, Canadian-German, something else?

M. Schmidt: Well, I always said in high school, when everybody asked me, I always said German-Canadian.

[...]

N. Schmidt: I still do. Or if somebody asks me, I say first generation Canadian. I'm a Canadian citizen as is [M. Schmidt].

1:21 Do you still speak German?

M. Schmidt: Yes.

N. Schmidt: Well, again, when we talked earlier just before the tape was on, Danube Swabian. So we speak our dialect. I would speak German more than [M. Schmidt] would because I do have occasion. I'm thinking about renewing it again, but I am part of the German Canadian Business Association. So whenever I go to meetings there that's usually Concordia German we call it or higher German. And some of the other things I do go to, some of the other functions I've become involved with, is more higher German. Some of the people that we also know that I come in contact with also speak more technical German. So, for example, if we ever have a chance to speak with Klaus from ATS and those people that we see, it's more of a technical German. So I would probably speak that more than [M. Schmidt]. But generally in family situations or whenever we speak together it's Danube Swabian, Donauschwaben. So our dialect.

2:22 And you speak German with each other sometimes?

M. Schmidt: Our dialect, yeah.

2:26 And for what reasons?

M. Schmidt: It used to be so that the kids wouldn't know what we were saying. So we could talk about things that we didn't want them to hear. And sometimes it used to be books [?]. They're older now, but sometimes it still arises. And now it's, I don't know. We'll just start up a conversation and try to speak about different things, whatever.

2:56 So just more casual...?

M. Schmidt: It's often just one-liners, too. You know, you'll be in a store and you'll say something or we'll be walking along and we'll say something.

N. Schmidt: There are triggers, though, too. Most recently the trigger was that we've just come back from two weeks in Austria. So that was a trigger. [M. Schmidt] fell in love and now my job for the next twelve years before I retire is to work on how we're going to live in Austria. Salzburg. She's already picked the apartment out. So that was a trigger. Another trigger may be anytime we spend a little bit of time either with my parents or her parents because it's always German. My parents have just come back from a visit in Colorado with my aunt, and she's a retired high school teacher in German. So whenever they come back they speak a lot of German, so we find now [...] my mom's been calling on the telephone she's been speaking more German to me. I've noticed more. So there's a little trigger.

M. Schmidt: So it comes and goes.

N. Schmidt: Yeah.

3:52 So you still have relatives in Europe that you're still in contact with?

N. Schmidt: Correct.

3:56 And you use German then, too?

N. Schmidt: Correct.

3:59 And how often do you get in contact with them?

N. Schmidt: About six times a year.

M. Schmidt: Yeah.

N. Schmidt: Email mainly.

M. Schmidt: Yeah. Through e-mail or telephone, depending on who it is. If it's younger, like, cousins, then it's e-mail. If it's aunts and uncles -

N. Schmidt: And they'll go English, too. Like we find sometimes, like last time, that it'll be German and then it'll be English. So we'll be back and forth.

M. Schmidt: Yeah.

N. Schmidt: Sometimes Gabi writes back in English and then we go back in German and then she writes back in German and we write back in English.

M. Schmidt: Well, they want to practice their English.

N. Schmidt: Yeah. [...] But yeah. [M. Schmidt] is right. When we go, there might be cards, too. Like, Martin just had a baby and the card we sent was in German. You can buy a German gift card. You were asking me the other day where you can find a German gift card. So that we can do and that'll mainly be German.

4:46 So what was the first language you remember speaking when you were really young?

M. Schmidt: Well for me actually it was German. One of the questions was, What's your mother tongue? I used to write down German. Now I've switched and write down English. But when I was little we spoke German at home. Probably [K. Schmidt] had it longer than I did because he was older and [L. Schmidt]. And [...] when I was four, we switched to more English.

N. Schmidt: I haven't got a clue. I'm a mixed up piece of garbage. [...] If you're talking baby first words it would've been the German and English combination. And then childhood playing in outside as a three-year-old in the backyard it would've been between English, French, and German. I was born in Montreal. So I also spoke French. When we came here I came to St. Joseph's grade school [...]

.] I went into grade two. It was a fight to keep me into grade two so they kept me in grade two because I spoke German and French better than I spoke English. But I did pass grade two and stay in grade two and went into grade three from there. So I don't know what the first word would've been, but definitely it would've been combinations of all three.

6:06 So were there certain contexts when you were young when you used English or German or French?

N. Schmidt: Well, definitely for me. We were in Montreal, so whenever we came back to visit it was a big thing. There was no 401 in those days, so it was an eight hour drive, sometimes a ten hour drive, so with the family it was very much more German. I have only one cousin on that side of the family, and he doesn't even speak German at all. And so does my dad and his sister, my aunt: That side of the family, they didn't speak German. So whenever we came to visit it was probably only German.

M. Schmidt: English.

N. Schmidt: German.

M. Schmidt: I thought you said he doesn't speak German.

N. Schmidt: Correct. He doesn't speak German. They don't speak German, so when we came to visit - to my grandmother. My grandmother only spoke German with my dad because she wouldn't speak with Tante Vicky and Onkel Bill, right? [. . .] So she wouldn't have been able to speak German with her daughter and her son-in-law because they didn't speak German as much. So when we came to visit and we went to the other side, it was almost always German. So my environment itself during those visits in the earlier years would've been only German. In Montreal it would've been the [three languages], probably German a little bit less. Mom and Dad would've probably said a lot more-

M. Schmidt: Thought you would've said a lot more English.

N. Schmidt: More English and French back in those days.

[. . .]

M. Schmidt: It would've been in family situations. With grandparents or with aunts and uncles.

N. Schmidt: Yeah. You were different, though. When you were growing up your parents only spoke German in the house.

M. Schmidt: They spoke German. When we were very, very little they spoke German. But already when we were in school we answered back in English.

N. Schmidt: But they spoke German to you.

M. Schmidt: They spoke German to me.

N. Schmidt: They initiated the German.

M. Schmidt: And we spoke back in English.

N. Schmidt: Correct.

M. Schmidt: We responded in English. It was understanding and comprehension.

N. Schmidt: With me it was more, if they spoke German then I would respond in German. But [. . .] the first ten years were more English/French, so there wasn't that reaction until we came back to Kitchener-Waterloo. And if they spoke English, I responded in English. Whereas [M. Schmidt]'s family, even today, your mother and father will generation more German [. . .] and your response will be English.

N. Schmidt: We just don't think about it. That's just how we communicated as a family then.

8:38 Did these contexts then ever change? Although I guess with you [M. Schmidt] you said they don't. They still speak to you in German and you answer back in English.

M. Schmidt: They do. Though I've noticed over the years that they speak a lot more English, even for them.

N. Schmidt: We came here in '66 and by '72 my dad was president of the Schwaben Club. So then my involvement started then. In '68 I was ten, I started in the dance group. And from that point on my contexts would've changed. I started to learn it more aggressively. Not in school. I never had any formal - I had one year of high school and it was a joke. [. . .] My German teacher as a side bar actually got thrown in jail for mail fraud and I was part of that. Unbeknownst to us we were mailing all this stuff and he was doing mail fraud. It was really cool. So that was my grade nine German course. So the context itself then became the Schwaben Club. I was doing a lot of things in the dance group. There were maybe only two or three boys, so they were always coming to talk to us - and everything was German. Then there were youth clubs started, there were youth groups started. There wasn't really a lot before that. Just around the time of your mom and your dad - they were really the pioneers of the youth group. Well, I was a little bit under that. They were already in the big dance group and I was in the little dance group with [J. Schmidt] so the context then changed. They came to you and they said, So, was gibt's heit? Was macht ihr heit? [. . .]

You had to respond [in German].

[. . .]

M. Schmidt: I responded in English, as I recall. That's how I think, that's how I communicated. In the Schwaben Club they often asked in German and I responded in English.

N. Schmidt: Okay, so then let me ask you: How involved did you get because of that? Very little. Because in the response back in English, they either walked away from that or a lot of them wouldn't know how to respond to that. And I'm thinking of the Joe Schmidts and those in the higher hierarchy.

M. Schmidt: Oh, I never even thought of it. It was just a subconscious, automatic -

N. Schmidt: Right. And somebody who wanted to get involved with the Vorstand, with the youth Vorstand or for other things like that - seeing your mom and dad, they were kind of our role models, Nick Beck, those people. If we wanted to get involved more with that, we did have to start to respond back. We did have to respond back in German. Back in those days I remember your dad was one of the ones, one of the first youth, because they were just going to Germany. They were going to Germany before us. And they were coming to the club. The club, again, you can hear when a Donauschwaben opens his wallet. You can hear it ten miles away because of the squeaking of the hinges. And so they weren't giving any money. And I remember your dad, Nick Beck, and Dirk Erdberg [sp?] had to go to the Vorstand and ask for money. And they would only allow German. You could only speak German to the committee. Like if you were going to the Vorstand for any kind of request, you weren't allowed to speak English. It was only when I started to join, when I became older that they started to allow a little bit of English in the meetings. So, again, if you ever wanted something or wanted to do something or you started working behind the bar or carrying bottles off - I worked for Toni Bauer as the janitor - you had to start to speak, at least understand it, at least understand what they were saying to you, and then slowly start to be able to respond.

M. Schmidt: Well, I think my German replies, if you want to call it, in conversation probably started a lot more when I was certainly dating you, when we got married because all his grandparents all spoke German. And whereas I only had one grandmother, well, my grandfather as well, but they were the same part of that family. They would speak to me in German and I would answer back in English. But in yours, because their English was not that good. I liked that because I got back into speaking it more than just listening. And then the same thing with the Schwaben Club in Toronto as well. So I just sort of carried that on. When I started speaking a lot more -

N. Schmidt: As a young married couple.

M. Schmidt: As a young married couple.

N. Schmidt: We went to Toronto when the two of us were maybe 22 and 24 years old and we joined...it was a youth dance group and we were the oldest. [. . .] And it was really good there, too, [J. Schmidt] s husband, [K. Schmidt], [M. Schmidt] s brother [. . .] they got involved with the kids and everything, too. So we found that, as young married couples in our early 20s, also speaking German with each other, we started doing that a little bit more. So it evolved. Your question I believe was the evolution of it. Well I think it evolved from familiar or family-type relationship. To me it became more the social aspect within the Schwaben Club. And then that ran its way through, you know, doing various things in the Schwaben Club. I also was on the Vorstand for the Dachverband. I was the youth committee chair. And the Dachverband is the Verband der Donauschwaben. It's just a bunch of clubs together in Canada. So again, whenever you're going to kind of a meeting it had to be presented in German. And then we moved to London, which kept us away from that family context. But then we went to Toronto and joined the dance group again, the Toronto dance group. Then we would start to talk. We would go to Cleveland and we made a lot of friends with the group from the Detroit area. [. . .] Whenever we were together with this big guy named Kirk, he would only always only speak German. All the songs were German, all the party was German. So then that became a new dimension for us. It was important for me, and I think [M. Schmidt] might feel the same way. Because in that context you can make mistakes. You can say something really stupid. We started speaking Hoch Englisch. Like, our grandparents all speak it. Ich muß einkaufen gehen, weil ich brauch milk, bread, and butter im shtore.

M. Schmidt: As if shtore is a German word. I thought shtore was a German word. I honestly did. They would always say -

N. Schmidt: Wir gehen ins shtore. So we could do more of that because it was more of a relaxed context. So I think that brought [M. Schmidt] s conversational German out a little bit better. When we were doing your questionnaire she is stoic in her reading, interpretation, and communication in terms of the understanding of it.

M. Schmidt: Yeah.

N. Schmidt: But doesn't like to easily talk.

M. Schmidt: Well, because I didn't get much practice. [. . .] I didn't do it often.

N. Schmidt: But we did it with the younger crowd.

M. Schmidt: But that also happened to be our fortune to be in that social situation. [. . .] It really depends a lot on your social situation. Like, had I married somebody who wasn't of German background or vice versa, or had your grandparents not, or had we not moved to Toronto, our social situations would've changed. We probably wouldn't have revived it again.

N. Schmidt: Take a look around you. Like where are Kristins and her boyfriends coming from? Not necessarily from where your mother came from to your dad. I mean, you look at [K. Schmidt] and [J. Schmidt], Gerda and John, you and me -

M. Schmidt: [C. Schmidt] and [D. Schmidt].

N. Schmidt: [C. Schmidt] and [D. Schmidt]. All of that whole thing came from that social aspect.

M. Schmidt: And the need for our parents and their parents to...it was always because they came together. That need. When they were all immigrants they came together. And that stayed for a generation or two.

N. Schmidt: Yeah.

M. Schmidt: Once that moves apart, right?

N. Schmidt: And the language is the same. Like, whenever we were together, we started dating, whenever we were together, I've basically been with her since she was 14 years old. And what was that? When she started hanging around her big sister in the dance group. And so, that we would go out for parties and it would be singing the German songs. We would go out, when she was a little bit older, we would go out. Our social weekends weren't really Grand Bend and Sauble Beach and getting drunk and then doing it and throwing up. Although we did a little bit of that. It was usually that weekend was Windsor, the next weekend was Milwaukee, the next weekend was Cleveland. Just like your mom and dad. And it was those kinds of environments that were specifically German. Yeah, there were the old farts there, too, because they would have their own thing going. But our own group in itself, the songs, the fun, and the merriment, at least until we were married, was basically involved in that German language setting. That's what I'm trying to say. It wasn't a formalized, you know, der, die, das. It was whatever comes out. And that's why I think we spoke it more. Because there was no inhibition to be correct, grammatically correct. As long as we got our point across.

17:40 So do you do anything now to keep up your German?

N. Schmidt: Well, slowly when we went this past March, right? Then we started to.

M. Schmidt: Yup.

N. Schmidt: And now that we think we may go back again, we're definitely going to keep it. And that's more on the [M. Schmidt] and I level. Plus, as [M. Schmidt] was saying, as all of my grandparents are passed away now, but as they were in their final stages of life, it became only German. Conversationally.

M. Schmidt: Yeah, because they couldn't remember the English.

N. Schmidt: My mom, along with her mental disabilities, is starting to speak more and more German, we're finding. And that perhaps may get to a point where we'll be doing that. [M. Schmidt]'s dad, it's more, finally we get a chance to. But when we get together, I think he likes to speak it and he sings it and everything like that. But it's maybe a tenth of what it used to be when we were younger.

M. Schmidt: To keep it up, I probably don't as much anymore. I probably don't read and stuff anymore.

N. Schmidt: Yeah, well, there was a time when, maybe three or four years ago, before I got real busy and life gets real busy, that I had *Kicker* and *Die Deutsche Presse*, just like [J. Schmidt] does. And I don't do that anymore.

18:57 *Kicker*?

N. Schmidt: *Kicker* is the soccer magazine and the *Deutsche Presse* is the German [. . .] Southwestern Ontario-

M. Schmidt: I used to read the *Heimatbote* all the time from the Schwaben Club.

N. Schmidt: And that kept us in touch with the Toronto, southwestern Ontario -

M. Schmidt: Maybe just hearing it. I have no problem hearing, understanding the Schwowisch. But when I get into the higher German setting, I probably don't experience that as much as I used to. You know, neither from German school or from whatever. So that's what I need to do again. Freshen that up a little bit.

N. Schmidt: Well, we both said, if this moves further, looking at the financial aspect of spending six months of the year in Austria. Definitely, both of us said we'd go back and study it.

M. Schmidt: There's no doubt.

N. Schmidt: We would actually take courses at the university and get proficient.

M. Schmidt: German as a second language. Hey! That's what we need.

N. Schmidt: As far as the technical language, you know, taking that a step further, just investigating right now, we may think of opening a Konditorei somewhere or something. Then you'd have to.
M. Schmidt: Oh, yeah.
N. Schmidt: But at this level, it's probably more conversational and we'd just pick it up as much as we can.

[. . .]

20:16 So how did you find it in Austria with your German?

M. Schmidt: Well, initially we were with family, so it was Schwowisch again, right?
N. Schmidt: Yes.
M. Schmidt: His uncle still spoke the same.
N. Schmidt: Österreichisch is close, too.
M. Schmidt: I like the Austrian. It's much more pleasant than German German. Even some of the words are more pleasant. The sounds, the tones are more similar to ours. So I found it very easy to understand. Like, no problems there.
N. Schmidt: And they understood us.
M. Schmidt: And they understood us. We could make ourselves understood. At least they could recognize that we were trying to, you know, speak more High German or whatever we had to, but there was no problem getting around or asking a question, you know, at airports, restaurants or any of that, you know, asking directions, there's no problem.
N. Schmidt: We made the decision, instead of taking the tour to rent a car. And so we basically drove to St. Johann in Tirol in the first place and skied. And [U. Schmidt] and I went up a ski lift and said, "Where are we going tomorrow?" And kind of made conversation with other people and came back. [M. Schmidt] always had maps with her. We brought the one lady back to the Bierstein place, like, the beer place and I said, "There, I've picked up a brood on the ski lift. She told us [where to go] and that's how we hopped across instead of being pigeon-holed into having to go to this place or this place, and I think the language was really beneficial."
M. Schmidt: Yeah. I was thinking, I know how to say that. So I go over and I say it, right? And I didn't say anything beforehand. I went over and I said it in German, and they answered back in English. And I said, "Now how did they know? Is my German that bad? How did they know? Why didn't they answer me in German?" I was a little offended. I realized, okay, obviously I'm a little rusty, but, you know.
N. Schmidt: Or the one thing they'd say to us was - and they wouldn't do to me. They would answer right back in German to me.
M. Schmidt: They couldn't figure out where his accent was from. We said, "Canada."
N. Schmidt: But they thought I was more of a fluent German. And the reason was the accent, the pronunciation. And again, hers was scholastically learnt. Her German was the der, die, das, I always call it out of the book. Whereas mine was just, you know, the Schwaben Club, you know, at ten o'clock at night when we were cleaning up. So, I learned an accent. I learned a dialect, and I do not speak High German very well. But I also learned an accent behind it. So, because of that I believe some of the communication becomes more Germanic across. They think, "The guy's fluent. But it really is. And a lot of times, the only difference between being fluent in a language, you asked a little bit on that questionnaire, is, [M. Schmidt] and I are both in the same way, and we actually find it hard now sometimes to get the English word. I sometimes lose, when I'm speaking to you, and I know the German word comes to my mind, and I can't think of the English word. It's more like that in German. When we're speaking, we're translating the English way of saying this thing into the German way."
M. Schmidt: Well, at first. After we'd been there long enough, it was starting to -
N. Schmidt: It was starting to flow.
M. Schmidt: Yeah. I mean, you know how your brain switches, right? I mean, you start to translate, and then you're already thinking in German. So that was coming.
N. Schmidt: By the end of the trip, we'd be driving in the car and the two of us would be speaking German to each other while the kids were in the back. Just like, "Sollen mir hin? Welche nächstes?" You know, and all of the sudden we'd be saying, "Well, wait a minute. We don't have to speak German. Even the kids would say, 'You don't have to speak German now, you know.' But it started to come a little bit easier towards the end of the trip.

[. . .]

24:22 So do you still think there's value in learning German?

M. Schmidt: [. . .] Oh, definitely. [. . .] For my kids, for myself, to still perfect it, I guess.

24:39 So what value do you see in it then?

M. Schmidt: Either through communication, for my kids, through, I don't know, understanding grammar, even English. Like, I think learning that other language helps you understand your own language a little bit better. For them, I'd like to give them the ease of being able to communicate in another language without having to struggle or think about it. And for myself to be more at ease with it, so when we return, it's comes a little bit more natural; I don't have to work as hard at it. So that's why I'd like to keep it up a little more.

N. Schmidt: My answer would be a little different based on how you define value. Definitely there's a value for me. As [M. Schmidt] just said, if we go back and all that other stuff and I think it would be good for the kids. I sometimes compare [U. Schmidt] and [W. Schmidt] to [S. Schmidt] and [R. Schmidt]. [S. Schmidt] and [R. Schmidt] went through the very formal process to a fairly high level and are fairly more proficient than our children, but never use it. So I don't know in terms of value, I think now - and you know we've contacted you and we're definitely going to pursue that, too, especially for [U. Schmidt] and [W. Schmidt] and [L. Schmidt]'s daughter [T. Schmidt]. We get into that area. We think now there's a value of a second language. So the next logical step to me is the German. French is not going to be a business language anymore. It's dying. We've always spoken, and we'll keep this up more and more. French is more of a romance language, and they're very, very difficult to learn. Whereas with German, Hand is a hand, Finger is a finger, so we think there's a little bit easier of an application for that next language. So the value, I think, is more we would like them to have another language and would like it to be German. In terms of how we need it, [M. Schmidt]'s been doing some genealogy work and things like that. And plus just to normally communicate with our grandparents, we needed it. We had to be able to speak German. Kids don't have that need. So the value there is lost. Because my parents and [M. Schmidt]'s parents easily communicated in English.

M. Schmidt: And their cousins all speak English.

N. Schmidt: And their cousins all speak English. And all the relatives. And if they go over to Germany, they all speak English over there. So the value in terms of needing that for communications type thing has been lost one the third generation Canadian - second generation Canadian. [U. Schmidt]'s second generation Canadian. So I was a little disappointed in that. I think you're going to see by the time [U. Schmidt]'s my age one German club in Kitchener. And again, the Dachverband and the Verband der Donauschwabens and all that stuff is going to be rolled into one very small nucleus. And all their meetings will be conducted in English. So the value of that for our culture I think has diminished for that one generation. The value again, that's why I said at the beginning, the definition of that word, we place a high value on it because we would like it. I don't know if we could transform that value down to the kids because it's going to be ultimately their decision whether they keep up the studies, whether they phone you or they phone somebody to say, Hey, I want to learn. So I don't know if they have that same value. It's not the same as it was with us.

[. . .]

28:46 When you met each other, do recall instance of where the other's parent would say something you didn't understand?

M. Schmidt: No, we understood everything.

N. Schmidt: Well, you want a story. You're looking at first meetings and going through. They would be our Germany trip. Obviously the parents had to come together and do some support. So there were a couple of parent meetings. And we did a dance kind of thing at Eastwood, and they all came in to see that. That would've probably been the most time we would've all been going back and forth in German because we were so interested and excited about going. And the parents would've been in turn involved with that. But I think the biggest impact for me, I think, with the two of us together would've been the courtship, engagement, and marriage. That time frame. Because everything was German. Like, the shower -

M. Schmidt: Like, yeah, we understood everything. There was no problems with communication.

N. Schmidt: All the showers and all that stuff except our friends. I think it was mit and mitout at the Schwaben Club. You know, Mit onions and mit Zwiebeln and mitout. Those were the jokes.

M. Schmidt: The only thing, I think, was your mom, because her dialect is so different.

N. Schmidt: Yeah.

M. Schmidt: So, if ever I heard just her and her parents, then I had to listen closely.

N. Schmidt: Yeah.

M. Schmidt: It was a dialect thing. Sometimes I thought I wasn't sure because their words are slightly different.

N. Schmidt: But I think with your questions, in terms of your question, with [C. Schmidt] and [D. Schmidt]

and then with my dad, and myself, I guess, because the influences through my role models [. . .], through the Schwaben Club. That kind of stuff for us together was more Schwaben Club based. So with my mom, she just happened to be married to my dad, so she went. So we didn't really get a lot of the Sudetendeutsch. Their language, their cooking and all that stuff is completely different. I guess we can get into the cooking at some point in time. We still cook very much Donauschwaben. So any of the kids, they'll know the words [. . .]. So they might not know what the word is of a specific meal or food in English, they just know the German word for it. We didn't get a lot of that from the Bavarian side, from my mom's side. So again, then, the courtship and all that was basically Schwaben Club oriented. Our friends, the wedding party, all the stuff. The music was the Romeros, like, everything was from the club setting, right? So when you're talking about the language and the interaction - I remember having to propose to her. The easiest part was asking her. The toughest part is, we were at Rockway Gardens right by the little garden thing and I told her to open the glove compartment, right? She opened the glove compartment and I had the ring all kind of hidden in there and she opens the ring and she's crying and she looks at me and she said, Now you've got to ask my dad. And I thought, Oh, shit. That was the tougher part. He was, of course, at the hunting club. Her family was more hunting and fishing club in Mannheim than the Schwaben Club back in those days. So he of course was at the hunting club talking and playing cards and everything. So when he came back I had to wait, and I'm sure he drove the back roads on purpose, nice and slow to watch me sweat. [. . .] There was no doubt that the mass was half in German and half in English. The reception was German, the band was the Romeros. The wine had to be in a green bottle because that's German. There was no doubt that all of that was going to be a major part, right? So I can guess that it was mainly the dating scenario and things like that. And again, the context was always within the club. That was just our social group.

32:41 So have you tried to pass on German to your children?

M. Schmidt: Mhm m.

N. Schmidt: Mhm m.

32:46 And what happened?

M. Schmidt: We didn't speak it, because I didn't speak it as much. I understood but always spoke in English. I didn't feel I had enough experience in just speaking it to my kids on a regular basis, you know, in general conversation, because that wasn't my experience. So they weren't spoken to in German. [. . .] We didn't speak German with them. Plus I often felt that my German wasn't very good. So I couldn't really teach German because what are you teaching? You're not teaching a proper language. So I always sort of struggled between my German school studies and the German I understood, the dialect. And that was a very, very hard struggle because I knew that I wasn't saying the right words. So when I said something, I knew it wasn't right. We never really spoke it with each other.

N. Schmidt: For the first two years after [U. Schmidt]'s birth I was away. I was never home, right?

M. Schmidt: Yeah. So it was always English. When [U. Schmidt] was younger then, when he was five, we put him in the German school -

N. Schmidt: Start first with the dancing. First was the dancing.

M. Schmidt: Schwaben Club. He was about the same age. Because [W. Schmidt] was just walking. And he actually started first in the German school before [S. Schmidt] and [R. Schmidt] did, so [U. Schmidt] was there for about two years. And then [J. Schmidt] was looking for a German school, and we told her about that one German school. Frau Schade. Because they lived there, their kids carried on, right? What happened to us is that we moved all the time. So we moved and we couldn't get to that school all the time on Saturdays. It didn't work. It was the only thing available. And then we moved again and we moved to Waterloo. We put [U. Schmidt] into the school here, [. . .] the Concordia whatever-it's-called and he was there for a year. [W. Schmidt] would've gone the next year, but then Saturdays was a really bad time. We had hockey and other sports that they were interested in and half the time they couldn't go. What's the point? He's not learning. He's not even there. It didn't work out. It didn't work out well at all. And then we moved again. So when you move to places like Mount Forest -

N. Schmidt: There's not a lot of German schools there. You went to the Legion and they'd say, Did your parents or grandparents fight in the war? Yeah, but not for you guys.

M. Schmidt: So we were removed from that social environment that offers those facilities. Okay, that's one thing. Second of all, I didn't feel qualified enough to actually teach it. Through that German school, the Goethe Institute? I ordered some books and things and thought that I could teach them, you know, like home school. And we went through a couple of things. And you know

what? I wasn't very good. It just wasn't clicking, maybe it wasn't structured enough. I don't know. It didn't work. Last year, a year-and-a-half ago, I found some of my other books, because I couldn't go to those kiddie books anymore. They were already teenagers. So I got some of my other books. And again, we'd go through it, and I'm reading the words and they're asking me, 'What is it?' I don't know. So I didn't know half that stuff that was in the book that I was supposed to be teaching them [. . .].

N. Schmidt: But to a degree, we've really found, as much as we've wanted to and instigated and the grandparents to a degree more so [M. Schmidt]'s dad and perhaps my dad, with [U. Schmidt] especially, there's the German connection. You're only going to practice hockey three times a week if you want to win the game on Saturday. Well, they're not going to practice another language, whether it's German, French or whatever if they don't see a need for it, if they don't see that there's actually going to be an end to the road. They're now, after we've come back from Austria, are saying, because we definitely are going back, we may end up living there, who knows. There are other places to go there in Germany, and relatives that they'd like to see. [U. Schmidt] and [W. Schmidt] have made the connection, I need to know a little bit more. It was the lacking.

M. Schmidt: They felt sometimes that they were left out. So they'd like to be part of it, included. So that's great. So more the desire's there, so it's a ripe time to do it.

N. Schmidt: I think the two of us are both comfortable in saying that we have done a more than adequate job in passing on our culture and the reasons we've done certain things. Where the Donauschwabens went so Prince Eugen could give them the money. Where they went to and why. Why their grandfather talks so funny. Why things look like they do. Why we have these stupid thatch hut pictures all over our house. We've passed that culture on more than adequately well. The failing was the language. We have not been able to pass the communication of that language on. But they understand, like I said before, the meal. They know food, they know location. Like, [U. Schmidt] knows better than any of his friends why it's now Yugoslavia and what it was before. He understands that. And now that we were able to go back and actually, we were at the Danube. We said, 'That's the river we're talking about.' And they can make that connection.

M. Schmidt: Well, the only thing, actually, that they do have that I taught them right away when they were little is they say their prayers in German. [. . .] I would translate what they're saying, so they understand what they're saying in German.

N. Schmidt: Well, not only that, but all the little customs. Like, 'Ich bin ein kleiner König. Gib mir nicht zu wenig...' All that stuff.

M. Schmidt: Christmas and Easter.

N. Schmidt: Christmas. They all understand our cultural reasons for doing certain things. But the language is the one that's not there.

38:54 So do you see a difference between culture and language? That the two can be separated?

N. Schmidt: I think the separation has been done since...well maybe it started in 1922, but specifically since 1949. When they came here, off of the boat, and the establishment, the first necessary establishment was social. They didn't have anybody else they could go to and dance with. And then the Kranken- and Sterbeverein. They needed an Unterstützung so they could have something to take care of their needs. So then they got into these clubs. The Schwaben Club was basically founded as a Sterbeverein.

39:28 The what Verein?

N. Schmidt: The Sterbeverein. The death benefit. That's how it was started.

[. . .]

M. Schmidt: Well, in the 30s there was no help for any of the widows. So what they had was...it was like an insurance, right? Like an insurance.

N. Schmidt: Like a Mennonite co-op.

M. Schmidt: As the man was working, they would put in a little money, so if anything should happen to him, there was money for the widow. So it was a Sterbeverein.

N. Schmidt: A Sterbeverein and Kranenunterstützung.

M. Schmidt: So if they were sick, right? That was their source of insurance.

N. Schmidt: Ask your grandpa. He's still got his books. That's how they first started.

M. Schmidt: That was the original premise of the Schwaben Club when it first was founded in the 30s.

[. . .]

N. Schmidt: The social dancing, where was it? You ask your grandpa. Sunnyside. That's where it was. That's where the dancing was. They called it Sunnyside. [...] The Schwaben Club was the Sterbe- und Unterstützungsverein. So the difference then, you're asking, between culture and language I think since then has become more accentuated. They tried to make the two the same. That's why [M. Schmidt] and I really needed to learn German. To be part of the culture. Women were never allowed anywhere near the meetings, the Vorstand. To all of the Monatsversammlungen, they weren't allowed unless they had food with them, and then we would let them in because we were hungry. But if they didn't have food or a pretzel with them, they had to stay outside. That has all changed and part of the change has been the language as well. So their culture is still very strong. The culture, the mind set behind who we are, where we've come from. Don't forget, you're only [...] second generation, so we're still very, very close to the beginnings of it. But the thing that has been set aside is the language. So when you're asking, are the two interrelated, they were more so interrelated for the first generation than they are for this group now. There are still very many second generations who are learning and applying the language. You will find in a meeting when we're all half drunk, sitting around the couch with seven beers in our hands, the language of German that they're speaking, the second generation, is more schooled German, more formalized der, die, das German. [...] I speak it everyday at work [...] because the Mennonites speak exactly my dialect. Why do you think I'm so successful in dealing with them in the financial services?

[...]

M. Schmidt: It's German culture, but it's not really what German culture is. It's Schwowisch, it's Schwaben. But there will be no more feeders. In many cultures there's always - okay, let's look at Portuguese as an example. The Portuguese that came over, you still have Portuguese that come over. There are no more feeders for [...] the Donauschwaben.

N. Schmidt: We're all here.

M. Schmidt: We're all here. We're all over the world and there's no more people coming to keep that culture alive.

N. Schmidt: That's a really good point.

M. Schmidt: So when you say culture, is it Schwaben? Is it German? Now, there's lots of German people coming and those will feed into some of the things, but it's not necessarily Donauschwaben. So the next generations, even us, you know, I could've married English - I'll call it English - and you could've married English, so therefore you're going to lose the language. You might still have some of the culture and some of the traditions, you know, with the grandparents, but as you lose those other generations, you will lose those cultures and traditions because it's not being fed, I guess.

N. Schmidt: And as a sidebar - that's an excellent point she makes - as a sidebar, my cousin - this is my third cousin, Martin - is the [...] deputy registrar for the University of Vienna. Like, he's huge. He's the next highest in command. So he speaks very good German. And his father is my dad's cousin, that's who we stayed with. So Uncle Jöri [sp?], first generation - like, they're in Austria now, that's why [M. Schmidt] says they're not coming to Canada anymore; they've left Yugoslavia for Austria, so they're staying there. Martin has no culture of the Donauschwaben whatsoever.

M. Schmidt: He's got the Austrian.

N. Schmidt: He's Austrian now. So as you ask, does he speak German? He speaks pretty good German. But he has none of the culture I believe...I believe [U. Schmidt] and [W. Schmidt] have more Donauschwaben culture than Martin has. And Martin's first generation. We went back to a little Gasthauses in a couple of little places before we left. And Martin, and Gabi, his little sister, too, but Martin more so, was completely out of place. This is fremd. This is komisch. This is small town, hick town thing. Which you would get over here too, right? If we all of the sudden make [U. Schmidt] go to Harrison for lunch, he's going, Oh my god. But in the context of the culture, getting back to the point, has the language, the lack of language in our children been a divisive nature into the culture, I don't believe it has been. I think we can still have the culture of the Donauschwaben, which is evidenced in Toronto and evidenced in Kitchener, without the perfection of the language.

44:38 And with your cousin in Vienna, why do you think that is that he has so little Donauschwaben culture?

N. Schmidt: Because it's not important to him. There's no need. I mean, the assimilation: -

M. Schmidt: It's old-fashioned.

N. Schmidt: Yeah. It's old-fashioned.

M. Schmidt: Sometimes when I said a few things, he would laugh, and I would say, you know, his English is perfect, and I would say, Did I say that right? He said, Oh, you said it just fine, [...] just like

my grandmother. So our language is very old. It's a very old language. And that's exactly how our people felt when they went to Germany. So even the ones that made it out and got to Germany, Germans looked at them and said, "What are you backward people? Because you speak such an old German. Because they were collected for, what, a couple hundred years all on their own. Some of them had never been to Germany proper. So it's hard for me, when you say German, yeah, okay, we're German. But when people think of Germany, they think of Lederhosen and, you know, and that's not us.

N. Schmidt: It's almost easier for us to say we're Mennonite.

M. Schmidt: Well, no, I wouldn't say that.

N. Schmidt: No, but to get a sense of how my grandfather lived. My grandfather lived the way the Mennonites lived. And so did your great grandfather live that way. They had horse and buggy, and they were a shoemaker and they were a farmer.

M. Schmidt: And they had a black vest.

N. Schmidt: We take my dad. My dad can take my son, he can take his grandson to the Elmira Golf Club, and on the way home he can stop the car. When I had my leg, and now I've got this stupid hand and my arm and I'm not driving, my dad's driving me, I take him back roads to get to some of my customers, and he stops and cries. On the side of the road.

M. Schmidt: Grad so wie da haam.

N. Schmidt: Grad so wie da haam. [. . .]

M. Schmidt: Grad so wie da haam. Now if you went over to Germany and said that, they would think you were, like, a schmuck, a backwards...

N. Schmidt: Hick.

M. Schmidt: They probably wouldn't understand you, maybe, maybe not, right?

N. Schmidt: So I think what I was trying to say is, Dad can show his grandson the culture. My father can show his grandson his grandfather's culture today in 2002, 20 miles outside of his house.

M. Schmidt: But once you lose that generation...

N. Schmidt: No, but the Mennonites won't, [M. Schmidt], that's what I'm saying. [U. Schmidt] will be able to take his grandson out back to the Kitchener-Waterloo...and show them that. What Lori asked is why can't Martin? Well, Martin doesn't have that in Austria proper. There is none of that. There is no resurrection of the Donauschwaben. They don't have dance groups. They don't have clubs or anything like that. They have the language, but they don't have the culture. And I believe your original question was, was the lack of language divisive towards the culture. [. . .] The Portuguese and those, they are keeping that. You're completely right because it's being fed all the time.

M. Schmidt: We have nowhere to go back home.

N. Schmidt: They have their clubs. And if you want to use a Canadian example, in Cambridge, Galt, the Newfoundland club. They do the exact same thing. And there's a language there, too. Don't fool yourself. There's a complete language that they speak and that you wouldn't understand half of what they say when you go in there. And they have that same feeding system. From the rock home. From the rock home back down here. So, we still have a bit of an ability to keep the culture as long as we're telling. But the feeder system comes from you, from your children, from our children. That's the only place it's going to come from. So again, when you're looking at the whole side of it, there can't be a language. There won't necessarily be the same type of undiluted language like you might get from the Portuguese or whatever because of the fact that it's got to be us. So some of the sacrificing, hockey and everything that we talked about...we've decided as a family unit, the two of us, we've decided that culture has been paramount in importance. The cooking, some of the reasons we do things. Sometimes they will ask us, "Why do we do that?" And then we'll try to explain.

M. Schmidt: I mean, that's part of it. You could pack up and go to Germany, and it's still German. You could pack up and go to Austria. You could get a sense of Germanness or Germanic. But you can't go back to Donauschwaben. So it depends. For us, we make a distinction between German and Donauschwäbisch. So maybe that's not quite the aim of your thesis. It's kind of hard to describe. If you were speaking more to a German family from Germany, you might get different answers.

[. . .]

M. Schmidt: I also think the German-speaking people, if you will, will assimilate, I think, if you want to use that term, quicker than some other cultures. And that's a cultural thing, I think. So I think the Germans will adapt and assimilate easier than some other cultures will, right?

N. Schmidt: But don't forget. [. . .] What we went through as a group has been so different in very recent history, specifically World War II, that it has been more difficult for us as a group - a certain group of a certain race - to call ourselves German because of the way we were treated by the Germans as well. So the things we do, continue to do, and did, like [M. Schmidt] said, our language, some of our customs, are older. And now, we had a girl two years ago stay with us

from just outside of Düsseldorf, and she just thought we were hicks.

M. Schmidt: But I knew that was coming, because I could see her, you know, Hochdeutsch, here she comes. I could see her coming already. And that's fine.

N. Schmidt: We called her our little princess. [. . .] And that wasn't in a good way. But it made us, at points, see that we have a little bit of a deficiency. Maybe a we-re-the-second-class-cousin kind of a deal when it comes to Germanic. I always say I'm not prejudiced or racially discriminatory against any but one group. It's the frickin' Germans. I hate them [chuckle]. Other than that everybody's fine. And that's why [M. Schmidt] would say we are more Donauschwaben -

M. Schmidt: And we are more Austrian.

N. Schmidt: And more Austrian, maybe than German.

M. Schmidt: But, too, also when they came over, they came over because of a crisis, and it was very important for them to get along. They had to earn income, they had to learn the language. So they needed to learn English very quick. They needed to become part of the culture quick. And they wanted a good life for their children. So your grandparents encouraged your dad to study, so he studied. He went to Ryerson. That kind of thing. So, yes, you know, keep your heritage, but there was almost a need to not have the German anymore. Not that they were ashamed, but it was different. Different than...I know some friends of [U. Schmidt] and even in [W. Schmidt]'s class, they're from Portugal. The parents speak absolutely no English. And they've been living here forever and the children, too, and say everything for them. And they don't feel any need at all. Whereas ours, it was a completely different reverse. Economic situation, social situation, and they felt, as coming off the boat with nothing, you know, completely different than other cultures coming into Canada.

[. . .]

53:06 So do you see any worth in passing on the dialect itself to your children? Or would you try to aim to do more Hochdeutsch?

M. Schmidt: We're trying to aim to do Hochdeutsch first because that's the reading, the reading and the writing. But in terms of the dialect, I like it more for, I don't know how to describe it, more for the cooking and the words you use to describe things is unique and very familiar, and you don't get that when you study German. You don't have familiarity, the closeness. Something as simple as Kwetscheleckwar [sp?], for example, I mean, how can you describe that in German? It's Zwetschge-I don't even know how to say it. Do you know what I mean? So there's the familiarity, and there's almost, like...I can pass on what my grandmother taught me.

N. Schmidt: Marmalade.

M. Schmidt: Marmalade. I mean, who calls it Marmalade, right? [. . .] So those are things I wouldn't even think of, but yet they need to know the correct German. And I think that's what I always felt I was lacking. That's why I couldn't teach them. They need to be able to read, they need to be able to write, and so they have to have that part to speak it and know the language. [. . .]

N. Schmidt: So this is the second time in, it'll be 21 years of marriage in September, second time that we've differed, ever. Because I disagree. I really don't care about the Hochdeutsch. When we were in Austria, and the guy across the street we became friends with, the young couple, and he's with the EU [. . .] and he said all the meetings, we were in halls that had to be at least 80 feet long because all the glass rooms were beside each other for the interpreters. And the language is English. And he said, The German language is dead. He said that in terms of the broader economic union, because the French and the Italians, they have the romance languages, and they say, Screw you. The French are still speaking French. And the Germanic type, like even the ones that have two, like the Swiss, and the Belgians, and the others, Luxembourg -

M. Schmidt: Norway, Sweden, they're all English.

N. Schmidt: They're all going to English. So the need for German, even a formalized German, I just don't see that anymore. So if I have to do two, plus go to my golf board meetings, my Knights of Columbus meeting, my Lions Club and all that other stuff, it's not going to happen. So if I've got to water down my options, I'd rather him and her get the dialect and the culture from me, from the Donauschwaben side, because I think Donauschwaben is going to be more an impact to them. When they go to visit my mom's side, which is the next troop, in Augsburg, High German would be that more beneficial because it would be closer. But they also have a [demonstration], like when they speak [. . .]

55:55 But Augsburg is still considered part of Schwaben, isn't it?

N. Schmidt: Schwaben, but not Donauschwaben. Don't forget - completely different.

M. Schmidt: They [12's mother's side] came from Czechoslovakia, so they have more the Bavarian [. . .]

- N. Schmidt: Munich is the capital of Bavaria, right? Augsburg's less than an hour outside of Munich, so it's still very Baiserisch. So High German wouldn't benefit [U. Schmidt] anyway.
- M. Schmidt: Not the high, but the proper - you need to be able to read the language. It doesn't matter what the dialect is.
- N. Schmidt: Correct. [. . .] You're going to get that. What Lori's question is, what would be my more prominent prong towards the learning side of it, and you said it very well. You said emotionally and heart-felt. I would be leaning towards my culture. And I don't care about the language yet. My culture. And because of my culture, you've got the dialect. Like, [U. Schmidt] is amazed - [W. Schmidt] is still [W. Schmidt]. She's fifteen years old and she wants to put on blue eye shadow and go to the mall. But [U. Schmidt] is now learning and understanding a lot more, especially when he gets into the university dynamic. And part of that is definitely he'd need to be able to read and write and communicate in...not in Donauschwäbisch, because that's what a lot of the text is in. But, however, we're finding more and more, my mother-in-law is giving us some books and there's more and more Donauschwäbisch stuff coming up. People now are saying, Hey, you know what, I'm going to die in three months, I'd better write a book.
- M. Schmidt: They're also allowed to.
- N. Schmidt: [. . .] But there's some pretty neat stuff coming out now. That Stefan [last name?] just wrote a book about my dad's village. Your dad, your father, your grandfather would love to see that book. I think he met Stefan when he was here. But that stuff's starting to come out now and I would like [W. Schmidt] to be able to understand that and see that. So again, my perspective is less on the high German because I think the focus of that Germanic language, economically, globally economically, is going to become less. Depending on what [U. Schmidt] wants to do, his field may take him to other countries because he's looking at the geography type, and wherever that leads him, whether it's historical geography, like rocks and stuff, it may take him to the continent. If it does, then yeah, another language would be very beneficial. But for today, like in the context of your question, my answer would be: I would rather see him learn and understand our culture and the dialect that comes from that as opposed to the high German.
- [. . .]
- 58:46 So you keep talking about passing on German culture to your kids, and you mentioned the food, you know, dialect to a certain extent. What other things have you tried to pass down to them?
- N. Schmidt: One of the neat things they get, and [M. Schmidt], when I say Mennonite comparable, we're not speaking religion because we haven't talked religion at all in a tape and a half [side and a half]. So the religious aspect of it doesn't have to come into play. But the Mennonite comparative is a very real one. When I bring [W. Schmidt] out to a couple of clients and some people we call friends now, and she sees the - when my dad talks about the summer house - like we have the cottage and we have the summer kitchen, like the house and then the kitchen was cooler. And some of the paintings and all the crap that we have all over our condo and our house, right? [W. Schmidt] can actually go and live in one and actually walk in one. And that is a cultural representation. It's not passing on the culture, but it's a cultural representation. And I believe my children, much more than me and much more than [M. Schmidt] need that physical link. Really to smell it, to touch it, to see it. To understand it. They're almost like Thomas in the Bible, right? They have to put their hand in the wound. Because it's harder for them with all this other stuff they've got going on in their life and with all these other things that become more important than their parents' heritage, like social obligations and dancing and going to hockey games and playing ringette and all that other stuff, it's been easier, I think, for us to make that link. First and foremost with my parents and with [M. Schmidt]'s parents. The traditions at Christmas and at Easter and all those things -
- M. Schmidt: There are certain family traditions, too. They're part of the culture, too.
- N. Schmidt: - have made it. The way we cook has made it. When some friends come over from our dance group past - and your mom and dad are included in that - when we go to [K. Schmidt] and [J. Schmidt]'s and they're there - [U. Schmidt] and [W. Schmidt] see that kind of a link. Christmastime, for a big joke, we pulled out the old accordion. We've got it on video, [J. Schmidt] playing accordion. It was just hilarious. [. . .] I've turned down job opportunities in other cities because I think it's important to have that link. So it's not just food. The culture itself has to be an understanding.
- M. Schmidt: Yeah. It'll be hard, though, because again, you can't go back to seeing others living that culture.
- N. Schmidt: Except with that Mennonite experience. It comes close.
- M. Schmidt: I mean, I think Austria's as close as we're going to probably get. Even going back to Yugoslavia, you won't. It's gone.
- N. Schmidt: Yeah. The difference, again, is when they go to a Mennonite farm, and that is closer than Austria,

it's closer to proximity and it's closer in reality, that is the exact way they lived. The first thing that [W. Schmidt] will say is, God, why would they do that? So it's not like you said before it's romantic-type kind of need, like my dad and his tear in his eye. It's, Why the hell are they doing that? Don't they know?

M. Schmidt: I didn't say that when I was young.

N. Schmidt: So I believe [M. Schmidt]'s right. It's going to become paramount that there is something to take. And for us, today, the easiest link has been the German relatives, because it's cool. [W. Schmidt] snowboarded on the glaciers.

M. Schmidt: I think they got a good sense of the culture, though. I think it was perfect.

N. Schmidt: I think they did. One of the most important parts of it - and we've done this as a family for 21 years - we all eat together. Supper is always, all four of us, together. It's none of this McDonald's garbage. Like, we're always together. I would say out of seven days a week, we at least six suppers together. Oh gosh, more than that. So when we were over with Uncle Jöri [sp?], he's got this beautiful new house, it's only him, as his wife passed away a couple of years ago, and we were always in the kitchen. We were always around this kitchen that wasn't any bigger than the area we're in now, with a table and everything, you know?

M. Schmidt: If you went into Germany, if you went to a store, you probably wouldn't find Palatschinken, right? When we went to Austria, and I make Palatschinken at home, right? And we went there, it was, Oh, look, Mom! They've got Palatschinken. Now how are our kids supposed to know what Palatschinken were, but they knew exactly what they were.

N. Schmidt: Kaiserschmarren.

M. Schmidt: The food was very similar. So that in itself was a reinforcement of -

N. Schmidt: And [U. Schmidt] said, too, the way they talk.

M. Schmidt: The way they spoke.

N. Schmidt: That's right.

M. Schmidt: So I think Austria's as close as we're going to get to sort of relive some of that, because when your parents are gone, you know, we're no longer really, fully...we're Canadian, right?

N. Schmidt: Right. [. . .] And like I said, with the language, if any of the language they pick up now, it's going to be the der, die, das. And even when you asked about the dialect and that, I think that is more important, but I'm not the one that would be able to do that. I don't have that ability.

M. Schmidt: The dialect will be gone. I'd say with your parents' generation, it's gone.

N. Schmidt: No, with us. I still think we have it.

M. Schmidt: Yeah.

N. Schmidt: Look at the Weiners. They still have it.

M. Schmidt: But even still, then it's gone.

N. Schmidt: Yup. Then it's gone.

1:04:23 And are there any Donauschwaben values you've passed on to your kids?

N. Schmidt: God, I hope not.

M. Schmidt: Oh, I think so. I don't know. I couldn't name them, but definitely.

N. Schmidt: Well, there's being meiserlich. That hasn't been passed on.

M. Schmidt: Oh, come on.

N. Schmidt: Over abundance in eating, and that has been passed on. I don't know if it's that easy to put a finger on that. The biggest part of it, and that has been passed on, definitely, is my stupid father-in-law at seven o'clock in the morning at the cottage, getting up and singing. Oh, what a beautiful morning. And they know that. Like I have been so welcome in their family and [M. Schmidt] welcome in mine that that's part of a small group anywhere. Like Portuguese, whatever, or the Vietnamese, when you're together as a community -

M. Schmidt: Well, I think if it's anything, it's probably that.

N. Schmidt: The Gemütlichkeit.

M. Schmidt: And family first. I mean, you take care of grandparents.

N. Schmidt: You don't take a job - like I was offered a job to look after the Ottawa Senators in Ottawa. And I turned it down because my dad's going to be 73 and my mom's 70 and my father-in-law just turned 70 and my mother-in-law turned 70. We're all here. [K. Schmidt] and [J. Schmidt], the furthest away is Toronto. We just need to be here. And I think [M. Schmidt]'s right. When we show pictures from home, and now with all the Omas, we were at Oma's birthday yesterday night. Ninety years old. That's [U. Schmidt] and [W. Schmidt]'s great grandmother. The need to be there. Like, my dad, when he lived on the [?] back home, he lived with his grandmother in town, and went home on the weekends to his parents in the country, right? And it was only ten miles away, five miles away. It was like living between here [Uptown Waterloo] and Kitchener. But still, I think the kids, we've been able to share why we do that kind of stuff. So, like, [M. Schmidt]'s right. It's the family. It's the getting up at seven o'clock in the morning and having Speck and Eier

and having that singing going through it, and he always puts his German CDs on and everything. And I think that, they definitely have a part of, because she tells her friends that. You know, she wants her girlfriends to come up and meet me - four- and fifteen-year-olds and to the cottage.

M. Schmidt: The church traditions as well that, you know, Donauschwaben probably do or Austrians did as well.

N. Schmidt: A lot of the things they're seeing now, the funerals - [name] just passed away and I was a pallbearer. And the kids were involved in the German part of that. And so they see that side of things. And I think that's always going to stay with them. But when you're talking about dancing in the dance group, well that's never going to happen, because that's just not there for them. Socializing on Saturday night instead of going to the pool hall - going to the Schwaben Club - that's just never been a part of them. So that's not going to happen now. Their friends are not German. Their friends are all English.

M. Schmidt: And that probably could be as well because of our unique situation that we did move around a lot.

N. Schmidt: [K. Schmidt] and [J. Schmidt]. [R. Schmidt] and [S. Schmidt] danced a long time and still went to Germany and they don't have anything like that. They don't belong to a dance group now.

M. Schmidt: But that's what I'm saying. But they did for a lot longer. And I think if we would've still been in Toronto, they would've stayed. We danced ourselves in the group.

N. Schmidt: No, but what I'm saying is, it would've been Kindergruppe. It wouldn't have been like what we had. Look at that picture on the wall.

M. Schmidt: Well, okay. But the youth groups.

N. Schmidt: That came from the Schwaben Club, right? Like, this came from the Schwaben Club. That just wasn't happening. The youth groups are more the YWCA or the CYO, the Catholic Youth Organization, that stuff. Not from the German club. So, I think you're right. The thing that we've passed on in terms of our culture has been the familiar type, family experiences and stuff. And if you want to include food in that, then great.

1:08:04 So do you think that the dialect spoken in your family and German in general in K-W are slowly dying out?

M. Schmidt: The dialect spoken, definitely. [. . .]

N. Schmidt: Again, except the Mennonites, because they speak our dialect. So you have to sort of remember that. German itself, and I've said this before, again because I think I have a bit of a knowledge from it being the community base for the TCA, which is the Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians. And also my dad's still involved with that. And also with the German Businessmen's Association. There are the Paul Turers, and are those people, Ja, wie geht's! Na komm ja mal her! Your grandfather, your father and your uncle now, very prominent parts of the German community, of the business community, but less and less German parts of the business community. Heffner Lexus Toyota is part of the K-W symphony. Willy's part of the board there, and I'm on the board now, the volunteer organization. But not because we're German, right? It just so happens we're descendants of Germanic. But we're not there speaking German and doing German. Look at the Oktoberfest parade. Now it's one float that's allowed, basically. And just have a few Germans in there so it looks almost German so we can go ziggy zaggy ziggy zaggy hoy, hoy, hoy. I believe you're going to find still - the Unterstützungs- und Sterbeverein has been very important, and the other clubs have those kinds of things, so that's why you still have the Transylvania and Alpine. Go to a dance. They're all 85 years old. And the amalgamation of the need will probably be towards one. They will die off. The first generation's done. We're the second generation. There's less and less. The third generation, there's even less and less.

M. Schmidt: But as more and more people come, there will be more, let's call it high German speaking.

N. Schmidt: Correct.

M. Schmidt: So the dialect will naturally die out. There's no question.

N. Schmidt: But it will also be an amalgamation of resources. Like, we'll have to have it. You'll have to take your best or what's left and amalgamate it into the most efficient delivery. And that will be the Concordia Club. It will be more high German based because the TCA obviously isn't going anywhere. The feeder from the TCA will be - there are still more people from Germany coming. A lot. But not Donauschwaben. So when those people come in and take over on the TCA and take over in certain aspects of the business German community, it will be more on the high German level and more on the technical German level, economically and business functions.

M. Schmidt: Right, that's true.

N. Schmidt: So that won't die out. But the Donauschwaben type approach, I think is pretty much already there.

M. Schmidt: The same with the Alpine club.

N. Schmidt: The Alpine Club. Transylvania.

M. Schmidt: Well, I don't mean the clubs. I mean their dialects, their cultures. [...] How many Transylvanians are there? The Siebenbürgensachsens? You know, they're not coming anymore to Canada. And they're not going to feed those.

N. Schmidt: And the people who go to the dances and who go to the meetings and all that are the older generation. And that's the kind of thing that's happening now. And we're seeing diversity amongst that as well. I think you're right. The word 'die out' is always a hard one to comment on because it sounds so final. [...] It will change. It won't die. It will be different. You know, when you speak Donauschwabisch, you will not be understood. But when you German at a high German level, it will be understood. There are just going to be fewer of you. The meetings will be in English.

1:11:45 And how do you feel about all this?

M. Schmidt: Well, there's a sense of sadness. A sense of loss, right? It's not just a matter of being the last of a generation, you're actually the last of a cultural group. The last of a heritage. Sort of a point in history that's gone. When you see some of these Indian tribes, you know, the Last of the Mohicans or whatever -

N. Schmidt: Johann: The Last of the Schwabens. That could be the title of your thesis.

M. Schmidt: You know what I mean. You're still going to have Mohawk Indians, but you won't have from that original tribe, speaking that language. And the same thing with Donauschwaben. You do not go to Yugoslavia and Hungary anymore. [...] But in terms of German, you will still have that aspect.

N. Schmidt: You're still laughing about Johann: The Last of Schwabens. The names. You're not going to be called Jöri and [?] and that anymore. You're going to hear Hans and the specific German names of calling people, and it's not going to be our dialect anymore.

M. Schmidt: Even aunt and uncle.

N. Schmidt: Godel and Godi [sp?] and stuff like that, it's just going to be gone. But that's okay. It's the way it's supposed to be. We still have 'budtschi', that's more Italian, and 'boss' [sp?].

M. Schmidt: That's more Hungarian, Croatian, I think.

N. Schmidt: But that's because of where we were.

M. Schmidt: Where we were. Exactly. So if you think about Donauschwaben, right? Donauschwaben made it's own culture.

[. . .]

N. Schmidt: But that's all going to go. It's going to be Tante Mary. It's still going to be German, it's still going to be culturally effective. It's not going to be Mary boss [sp?] anymore. And that's okay, too. I don't know if I'm saddened by it. I'm really glad I was part of it. That's more important to me. I don't know if I'm willing to bear the responsibility of the loss, although it probably does rest on my shoulders. I could always explain it away. I was too busy. I had a life to live.

M. Schmidt: You want to explain the loss. I mean, if [the immigrants] wouldn't have had to flee...

N. Schmidt: No, but we could've done a better job of maintaining it. We could have had the kids go longer. We could have gone in and said, 'Okay, I'm not going to be the Knights of Columbus, the volunteer organization for the K-W Symphony, Lions Club. You know what? I'm going to be president of the Schwaben Club. I could've made that decision like my father did. He didn't go off into minor sports and coaching. He was at the Schwaben Club. I ended up getting my double coaching certification in both baseball and hockey and took [U. Schmidt] to the pee wee championships. And I didn't go to the Schwaben Club. So, yeah, it is my fault. But because of that, though, too, certain other things have happened, and have opened doors up another way and so I'm willing to say, if it does drop off - I won't use the word 'die' - if it drops off in relevance, I think there will be still pieces that can be salvaged. So there's no way that German is ever going to leave Kitchener-Waterloo. There is just no way. And I also feel strongly that there will always be part of the Schwaben Club which is the Donauschwaben heritage into that German equation. I just don't think you're going to see it like we have in the past 30 or 40 years. It's going to be less recognizable. It already is now. The Schwaben Club is a bar as opposed to a meeting place.

M. Schmidt: Well, because the English-Canadian's never understood what the different German groups were.

N. Schmidt: Right. [...] So there is going to be, like the dances and all those other things, they'll be centralized. They'll just be held at one place because of resource needs.

1:15:49 Well, those are all the questions I have. [...] But was there anything else that you wanted to add at all?

N. Schmidt: When we go back the next time to Austria, it's just going to be the two of us, and we're probably

going to - well not me, I'm going to drink - but [M. Schmidt] s probably going to spend two to three days at the archives. And one of the things that we're doing is we're - we did this with the tapes and everything. We were lucky and we got my four. And we pretty much, though there are some gaps on [M. Schmidt] s side. We've got a genealogy. But somebody said something at church today. The priest, and he was talking about something that was happening in Taiwan, and the fellow could go back 26 generations. I mean, we can go back four. Maybe at the most. And we got so close and it's very frustrating. We needed to get to 1766, right?

M. Schmidt: No. I only need to get one more generation back from yours.

N. Schmidt: We're trying to get back to when they left.

M. Schmidt: We're trying to get back from where they came from Germany. Where they come from Alsaß-Lothringen [. . .]. Well, they come from the Pfalz, right? A lot of them came from those areas and [. . .] went to Vienna and registered. And that's what I have to - from Yugoslavia back to when they registered.

N. Schmidt: But my point was going to be that we're going to try and do that and get as close as we can. And even if we don't get that last little leg, we're kind of proud of ourselves that we were able to do this anyway. And it's been good for [J. Schmidt] and [K. Schmidt]. They've been able to see it and get that. I don't have any brothers and sisters, but it's been good for my mom and dad. They've seen all that. [U. Schmidt] and [Nicole] have no desire for any of that. Mainly [U. Schmidt] s interest stems from, where does everybody in this area come from in Canada. And that's understandable because he is truly Canadian. So, I guess as a recap, this is really neat, and truly really important. But you used the word "value" earlier on. I think the relevance is going to be that generation to put the value on it and the relevance to it, not us. We can sit here and dream and wish and wonder and say, "Hey, you guys should. But our impact will be less and less. And I feel very much like my mom and dad must have when, after university, I found this good-looking blond and married her and ran away and never went back to the Schwaben Club again. They must've been sitting around and saying, "What happened? What did we do wrong?" And I think more so now there will be that need. They don't have that desire or that will or that need to find out exactly where it all started, because for [U. Schmidt] and [W. Schmidt] it really did start when grandpa and papa came over to Canada. That's in their mind where it started. And it doesn't really matter how papa's uncle died in the war.

M. Schmidt: But you know, they want to know about the old country. They ask your dad all kinds of questions and talk to my parents. That's their heritage.

N. Schmidt: That's their heritage, but it's not as burning as it is with us. It's more of a conversation. Nice to know. For us it was a need to know. For them it's more of a nice to know. And their kids, even, there'll be less of a need to know, more of a nice to know. They may not even...

M. Schmidt: But you'll find that everywhere.

N. Schmidt: Yeah. [. . .] That was the Hoopers and the Müllers and those people. If you look at any of them, and I said to [M. Schmidt], "Where's Müller's kids? Where are the Hoopers' kids now? Kids that I grew up with in the dance groups. Where are they now? They're doing what we're doing. They're raising their kids, their families. Rob Hooper is now a member of Deer Ridge Golf Range, and he's trying to golf as much as I'm trying to golf as much as your uncle, your dad, and that kind of stuff. And the part of that that may have suffered was the part of the cultural Schwaben Club heritage. And I don't think that's a bad thing. You said, you know, it's sad. Yeah, but it's not sad.

M. Schmidt: Well, no. That's not sad. It's sad that - sure there's a sense of loss when you...

N. Schmidt: But there's also a sense of gain by sacrificing that. So it's a two-way streak.

M. Schmidt: Yeah. Gaining the Canadian culture.

N. Schmidt: Yeah.

M. Schmidt: It depends on how you look at it.

N. Schmidt: Yeah. It really does depend on how you look at it.

*I. Bauer - female, 48, Canada
MC0202 - male, 50, Canada*

August 12, 2002

0:11 What countries do your families come from?

J. Bauer: My parents were born in Romania, in Siebenbürgen is what it was called at that time. Nowadays it's Romania. And they were there till the Second World War and they left Romania when they were actually being moved out by the Russians into Austria. And from Austria they came to Canada, where I was born.

I. Bauer: And that's roughly the same for my parents.

0:42 And do you consider yourselves Canadian or German-Canadian? Or do you have another definition for

your nationality?

I. Bauer: Canadian.

J. Bauer: I was born in Canada, so I'm Canadian. But I'm obviously of German descent, so there's the German part of us as well.

0:58 And what kind of German would you say you speak?

J. Bauer: We speak the High German, or the written German, not a dialect or anything like that. It's not like, for instance, like the Schwabisch German. What I speak is the written text German, where [I. Bauer]'s father is of Schwabisch descent and he has the dialect, the Schwabisch dialect, in his German language that he speaks.

1:27 And for you?

I. Bauer: Same thing, except, like you said, for my father, he's the Schwaben dialect. I speak the High German.

1:43 And do you still have family in your families' home countries that you're still in touch with? Or in Germany, if they've moved, or Austria?

I. Bauer: I still have an aunt, my father's sister, living in Romania. And then from there, relatives from my mother's side in Germany.

J. Bauer: And my mother still has a brother and sister that live in Germany, and they each have a boy and a girl, so I have four cousins, and of course they have children as well that are in Germany.

2:15 And you're still in contact with them. Fairly often, or...?

I. Bauer: Yeah. We just saw them a few weeks ago over there.

J. Bauer: My side of the family.

I. Bauer: His side of the family.

J. Bauer: [I. Bauer]'s aunt, she exchanges cards. Christmas cards.

J. Bauer: Yeah.

2:33 So do you talk to them in English now, or German?

I. Bauer: German, or the Saxon dialect.

J. Bauer: The Saxon dialect also has different dialects of the Saxon. And depending on whether you're from northern Siebenbürgen or southern Siebenbürgen, there is a change on how you speak the Saxon language. It's almost like when you compare the German language, as the High German, or the written German compared to the Schwabisch German, there's different words. And so in Saxon it's the same type of thing that happens. So, my father was from the northern Siebenbürgen and my mother is from Südsiebenbürgen, the southern part. So when we speak to my mother's sister and brother and their families in Germany, we do speak Saxon to each other, but quite often we just speak German to each other because on the German, we're on the same level because they speak the High German just like we speak the High German. When we speak Saxon, they have a different dialect of Saxon, slightly different dialect. It doesn't bother me too much. I understand it. But [I. Bauer] has some difficulty with the Südsiebenbürgen Saxon because here in Kitchener and where we live right now, most of the Saxon that's spoken, especially in the Transylvania Club is the Nordsiebenbürgen Saxon, from the northern part, so sometimes she's a little bit lost with the language there. But she gets it.

I. Bauer: Yeah. After a week of speaking the southern Saxon, you know, you get into it. I don't enter that Saxon too often enough. That's why.

[...]

4:22 You both said when you were filling out the questionnaires that you learned German as your first language then?

J. Bauer: German and Saxon.

I. Bauer: And Saxon.

J. Bauer: A combination.

4:33 Could you describe to me the different contexts in which you used German and Saxon and later on English? Do you remember what contexts? School, family...

J. Bauer: Well in the family at home, we spoke Saxon, and I had an aunt that lived in the same house that was German so we spoke both languages. And I only started learning English when I started going to kindergarten actually, because at that time my parents both worked and my grandmother looked after myself and my sister, so we always spoke the German or the Saxon language. Although we were out on the street, you know, playing with kids on the street, there wasn't that much contact in the earlier years. So when I ended up starting school right across the street from here at Alexandria Public School there, finding my first years in school, kindergarten and grade one, were kind of tougher years because I had to learn the English language as well.

5:26 And you?

I. Bauer: We spoke Saxon. My grandmother was with us, my father's mother. With her we spoke Saxon and with my father we spoke the German. And my mother went to work at that time, too, so with my grandmother we basically spoke Saxon all the time until my father came home. Then it was German. The English I learned roughly the same time. Going to school.

5:55 And was there a time in your homes where English slowly took over or was it always just German?

I. Bauer: It was German. Saxon, German.

J. Bauer: With our parents we've always spoken the Saxon or the German language. In our own home we speak English to each other.

[. . .]

6:16 So do you do anything right now to keep up your German?

I. Bauer: [J. Bauer] probably more so, but we're involved with the club and various other clubs over the years and...well, you can explain.

J. Bauer: We're of course members of the Transylvania Club and have always been involved with the Transylvania Club. In my youth, as youth leader at the club, and then later on I actually became president for seven years of the Transylvania Club. Now I'm chairman of the Alliance Transylvania Saxons in Canada, and of course the official language of the Alliance is German. So of course all of my official business doings are in the German language, although of course the English language is used a lot as well because the younger people coming along don't understand the German language. Or even if they do understand it, they're not very fluent in speaking it and therefore they feel reluctant to speak it and it makes it difficult for themselves unless you can communicate in English with them as well. Of course we see that in a big way in the United States where we also have some of our Saxon people living in the United States. There's many more Saxons in the United States than Canada, but they came to the U.S. in the 20s already, so they're a couple of generations ahead of us and their language is not the German language anymore. So although they call themselves Saxons, their official business language is the English language, but they still have the German customs, or the Saxon customs that they follow and participate in.

8:00 Did you have anything else to add to that?

I. Bauer: No. He's doing quite well. It's parallel. Whatever he says I'm basically the same.

J. Bauer: Well, [I. Bauer] is the president of the ladies' auxiliary at the Transylvania Club at the present time. And at the Transylvania Club, although the official language of the Transylvania Club is still German, again, because of the younger members that are now becoming the board of directors and because they're not as fluent in German as their parents were when they did it, although they all still know the German language, a lot of the business meetings and stuff like that are in English. But [I. Bauer] is part of the committee there and obviously she attends a lot of those meetings so therefore she still has a good background in German.

I. Bauer: Our basic meetings with the ladies are still in German.

8:56 Now, when you were filling out the questionnaire, you said it was difficult to decide how much time you spent in German, your average week with newspapers and talking to people. Can you describe that a little more in detail? You said it goes in spurts quite often.

J. Bauer: Well, listening to the radio, when we come home from the cottage on Sunday nights we listen to

the German hour coming home. So if you've been at the cottage and you're coming home, then you can spend two hours listening to German music. Certainly at home, if we're home on weekends and sometimes we have friends over and we're playing cards or something, we might have the German hour on in the background and listen to it that way.

I. Bauer: I've made a few CDs of nothing but German songs. Like nice, peppier, like, the old songs where you can just sit together and sing together. This type of stuff. And we listen to all those CDs a lot.

9:49 And reading at all?

I. Bauer: Lately not as much. If anything, it's just the newspapers that come.

J. Bauer: I get different German newspapers of course that I get. Depending on what my time available is, sometimes you just breeze through a paper very quickly, other times you can spend sometimes an hour or an hour and a half reading the paper. And of course then when I have to prepare for speeches or something like that then of course I've got a number of speeches of people from years ago and things that I've done that you have to reread and you have to start putting things together. And of course anybody that's ever made a speech recognizes that, you know, to put something together for three or five minutes or 15 minutes isn't just a half hour job. It almost takes an hour a minute if you're figuring, you know, it takes an hour to write what you're going to speak in a minute or a minute and a half, especially if you're doing research on a project or something like that, you can spend hours and hours.

10:58 So you just came back from Germany.

I. Bauer: Austria and Germany.

J. Bauer: Yes. We had the opportunity as part of our Saxon exchange program. The countries that are involved are Canada, the United States, Austria, and Germany. And we have an exchange program where every second year, one of the countries, either Canada or the United States, would send a group to Germany or Austria to visit, and then Germany would come and visit Canada, then the U.S., or Austria would come and visit Canada, the United States, as well. And these are cultural exchange groups and what we did this year is we took the brass band, 25 members of the brass band from the Transylvania Club as well as 15 youth members from our Transylvania dance group to Austria and Germany. We started in Austria, in Vienna, and worked our way through Austria in the first week to Salzburg, and in the second week we started in Munich and ended up in Düsseldorf [. . .] and in those two weeks we did four concerts in each Austria and Germany. So we did the concert, or the presentation, which was the brass band of course with the dance group doing their presentations would have lasted, depending on the audience and the program time available, was anywhere from one and three-quarter hours to two and a half hours [. . .]. And of course, that's all in German then. That sure brings your language back up to speed again.

12:36 So did you find you had problems at first when you got there, trying to live in Germany?

J. Bauer: Not for myself. I didn't because I use German enough here in Canada. But the total group was 46 people that went, and the youngest would've been 16, and the oldest, I believe, was 72, so we had a broad range. Obviously, a lot of the older ones were originally from Romania, Siebenbürgen, or Germany and Austria. But we also had some of the older gentlemen that were part of the band were actually English people from Kitchener-Waterloo that just play in the Transylvania Club band because they enjoy music that much and were part of this tour. So for them it was really an eye-opener to go to a country - some of them spoke very little German, some spoke no German whatsoever. And the same with the youth group. The youth group were all of German heritage. The children, the kids, are all of German heritage. And depending on how much German they spoke with their Oma and Opa at home in advance of going over there, some of them were pretty green at it, and others that went over there felt very comfortable in speaking German, although they may not have been a hundred percent in German, they still felt that they could communicate and it made some of them feel very proud of the fact that they had the basics of the German language, that they could join in on conversations or at least understand 99% of what was going on. Whereas some of the other ones that had very little or no exposure because the grandparents or parents never spoke to them in German here in Canada, felt very foreign when they were over there. Not in the sense that they didn't appreciate what was going on or they didn't feel comfortable with the people. It's just that, you know, if you were in a room with five people or 50 people and you're the only one that can't understand the language, it might get a little bit boring, too.

14:38 And you also had no problems with your German when you were over there?

I. Bauer: No.

14:40 Or transitional things?

J. Bauer: I don't have a problem with the German language, but after two or three weeks when you're over there, you mentioned before about dreaming in German, and I didn't dream in German, but all of the sudden you're thinking a lot more in German than you had been before.

I. Bauer: I know for me, you'd be speaking in German, you know the word in English and the German word will not come to you. And after the three weeks, you were doing pretty good in German and then you could not think of the word in English. It was quite interesting. But we're back on track again.

[. . .]

15:23 Do you think there's still value in learning German these days?

J. Bauer: There's value in learning any language these days. The more languages you know as an individual, the more versed you are to travel throughout the world and appreciate what other countries and other cultures have to offer. And certainly as far as the German language in particular is concerned, just in our travels, I can say that if you know the English language and you know the German language, you certainly have all of North America covered and you have all of Europe covered as well because the German language is very broadly spoken over there. Mind you, the English language in Germany and Austria, all the younger people that are still going to school, they take English in school and they all speak English. I guess the one comparison could be that the German and Austrian children certainly know as much or more English than any one of our Canadian children or the group of kids that went over know the German language. In some cases, some didn't know German at all, where I don't think we ran into anybody that, once they were passed 12, 14 years of age, I'd say between 14 and 25 or 30 that didn't know enough English that you could have a half descent conversation with them. So certainly there is value in the German language. To me and to us it's our heritage value, which is very important, and we believe our children feel that way about it, as well. But the further importance is of course to be able to travel in the world and have another language at your disposal. When you are travelling, you can enjoy the country more because you know what the language is and some of the customs as well that go along with it.

17:17 The same for you?

I. Bauer: Ditto. He's better at explaining.

J. Bauer: You do the next one.

I. Bauer: You're doing quite well.

17:27 So with your family, your children and your parents, do you still speak German? Or how would you describe the situation there?

I. Bauer: Today we probably speak more English. But when they were younger, growing up, we always spoke Saxon or German. Probably more Saxon than German at the time.

J. Bauer: You're talking about our children.

I. Bauer: With our children, mhm.

J. Bauer: But certainly with our parents, my mother and [I. Bauer]'s mom and dad, we always speak either our Saxon dialect or we speak German with them. We don't speak English to them. At least I don't.

I. Bauer: I sneak the odd sentence to them in English sometimes, but I speak German to them.

18:14 So you spoke Saxon first off with your children. Do you recall what changed and made it more English then?

I. Bauer: When [J. Bauer] and I grew up, we spoke English to each other all the time. The kids, when they were in the house, we'd be speaking Saxon German to each other. And as soon as the kids, let's say, go to bed or do something else, between the two of us, we spoke English.

J. Bauer: So we spoke Saxon and German to our children. I guess you could say that as long as the children are young and within the four corners of your property and that you're speaking with

them, you're speaking the language that you want. But as they grow up, they become three, four, five years of age, of course they are outside of your property and communicating with children that are in your neighbourhood. And unless you were living in a German neighbourhood, of course the children can't speak other than to learn to speak English. And of course in realizing when I started public school and my wife somewhat, too, we ended up in public school not knowing very much English at all, and that gave us some difficult years in the beginning. We felt that our children should certainly be able to speak the English language when they start school. So there's no doubt that they learn the English language playing with friends and learn it that way. But they still, when we were in the house, we still spoke German and English to them, and especially, even to this day, when they visit their grandparents, they speak either German or English. Or at least the grandparents speak to them that way. Our sons, in most cases, they'll answer the grandparents in either German or English. In German or Saxon, I should say, but then sometimes of course the English language is a lot easier for them. But our youngest son who was in Europe with us, who's 20 years old, this is his second trip to Europe, he was over on a youth exchange back in 1999, and he felt like a little bit like a king when he was over there because, first of all, he'd been there before and he knew some of the places we went to and visited, and he speaks German fairly well. I guess on a scale of one to ten, I'd say is in the neighbourhood of seven or seven and a half. So he can get along very well in German. And some of the youth group that was there, those who couldn't speak, they kind of looked up to him and said, 'Hey, you know, it really is nice that you can speak the language because you are able to participate more and you are able to enjoy more because you're participating. So he felt pretty good about that. So I guess that makes us feel good, you know, that at least he's learned enough of the German language that this is payback time for all those Saturdays that they had to go to Saturday school, just as we did when we were kids, and they hated it. Why do we have to do this? and Why do we have to do that? If you were to speak to them right now and say, 'Was it worthwhile going to German school?' He would probably say, 'Yes. Just the two trips that I have done to Germany, being able to communicate with the friends he's made there, plus being able to communicate to my side of the family that lives there, that's very important because if you go to another country, and in this case of course, we're talking about Germany, and you can't speak a word of German, how can you talk to your cousins or how can you talk to your aunts or uncles over there, and how can you really say you had a good time if you're sitting in the living room and looking at each other and sort of using hand signals? It makes a big difference.'

22:07 So how often would you say that you go back to a German-speaking country?

J. Bauer: We don't do it on a regular basis. In my lifetime, I was there in '65, '71, '76, and then there was a long span until '99 and then again this year that we've been there, so, you know, five times. But I imagine as we get older and have a little more time on our hands, we'll travel a little bit more. There's, you know, of course the finances, and the timing, and everything else. It all comes together. I know that for the younger, for our sons, all three of our sons, have had the opportunity to spend at three weeks in Germany in the youth exchange program that the Transylvania Saxons have. And because of our family being over there, having family over there yet, they would spend at least another week with family over there and really get to know that side of the family and get to know a little bit more about Germany. So, you know, time will tell how many times we do travel back and forth. And I imagine if you had a mother or a father over there or grandparents over there, you'd spend more time travelling back and forth. In our case the relationship's a little bit more distant.

I. Bauer: I've been over there about five times, too, except I was over in '68 the first time and that was with the Transylvania Club when they had the exchange for the very first time.

J. Bauer: The first tour-Austausch was in 1968 and that was when the choir from the Transylvania Club went. And [I. Bauer] was part of the choir.

I. Bauer: A lot younger then.

[. . .]

24:06 What attempts have you made to pass on the German or Saxon culture to your children?

J. Bauer: Well, as I mentioned, they did go through German school, all of them, the Saturday morning German school. In the years that [I. Bauer] and I went to the German school, it was at the Transylvania Club, where we had our own German school in the 60s. In my case it took us to German confirmation, German school confirmation at Bethel Lutheran church. The Transylvania Club German school basically closed up in, I guess it would be the late 60s, when the Waterloo county school board started up the German program at Crestview and Grand River Collegiate I

guess it is. And that's where all our boys, all three boys participated and went to the Saturday morning German school there, and they also all carried through and took German in high school, as well. So for a lot of us, including myself, even when I went to high school, you could take German in high school and that was a pretty easy credit because we already had the German language, so why not take advantage of it? You know, get the credit, and you get to learn a little bit more of the language as well. So certainly in our family, the two of us having done that and all three of our boys having gone through the thing, so we certainly feel positive about it and would encourage anybody to continue doing that, as well.

25:48 So all three went up to OAC then?

J. Bauer: To grade 12.

I. Bauer: To grade 12. [R. Bauer] has the OAC.

26:00 And now in terms of culture, what have you done to try and pass on your culture to your children?

J. Bauer: Because we're involved in the Transylvania Club and basically have grown up there, my father was one of the founders of the Transylvania Club in 1951 and has always been involved. My grandfather was as well. So our family has always been very active in the Transylvania Club. And the Transylvania Club being a German club but of Saxon heritage, that's the culture that we promote through our brass band, our choir, our Kindergruppen. We obviously also have bowling groups and things like that as well, but the cultural aspect is the big thing, especially in the 50s, 60s, and 70s, although now it's very difficult to have young people continue and to participate in just cultural activities because there are too many other activities open to them, including the sports and the hockey and all this kind of stuff, which all have their own merit, as well. But I always say that sports is only with you as long as you're capable, healthy and young to play in sports, where culture, you can start to learn at a very young age and basically, culture is with you for the rest of your life because you can use it in different aspects of it. You can always say you maybe get too old to dance, but you never get too old to sing, until your voice and your vocal cords are completely gone or something like that. Or Lieder, or whatever. So we, having been very active ourselves through our youth years in the youth group and later on for myself and also for [I. Bauer] through the ladies auxiliary, our children of course haven't had a lot of choice in the matter when they were younger because if we were at the club, they were at the club. They did all enjoy it, though we don't want to say you never had to force them to go or tell them to go, but they always enjoyed going and it's like all children, if you leave a decision up to a child to make a decision, or a young person, they'll always say, No, I'll stay home and watch TV and play games on TV or something like that. But if you insist they participate, when they come home at the end of the day and you say to them, Did you have a good time? Well, yeah, I had a good time. But, you know, maybe they didn't want to go, but they did come back with a smile on their face and enjoyed it. So we hope that they will continue being involved. And sometimes with young people, they are involved into their teen years, and then all of a sudden, certainly when they are young adults, they have other things that are more important to them, like their jobs and immediate young families and stuff, but then they do come back again, and hopefully they will still be involved with their German culture in the future. And that German culture of course is extended through our community here, especially in Kitchener-Waterloo through our Oktoberfest programs that we've had, and the German Pioneers Days that we're still involved with and things like that. So in some cases, especially with the German Pioneers Days that are being held right now, I think this is to be the third year right now coming up, it's bringing the German culture, giving it some rejuvenation, and it's bringing it back up, highlighting it a little bit more, and we'll see what happens in the future.

29:19 So do you think there are any values that are specifically Saxon or German that you've passed on to your children?

J. Bauer: I think so. I think that German culture, Saxon or German culture, we're talking about the same culture here, there are some very positive things about our culture and I think we've done that in passing it on to our children. It's a way of life. German culture is a way of life, and it's a good way of life. It's got the music aspect. It certainly has the literary aspect, the poetry and things like that that go to it. And that's part of the problem that we have nowadays with young children or people coming along that don't know the German language that part of culture is the language, and if he's talking about a German culture, the language has to be German to reflect that poetry. I guess the easiest way to describe something is if you know a good joke in German and you try and translate it to somebody in English, your punch line just isn't there. And of course in English it's

the same thing. It can be a really funny joke, but how do you translate it into German? Especially with German, there are so many words in the German language that...like you say, Heimat or Gemütlichkeit. Give me one word in English that describes those two words I just gave you. You have to write a whole paragraph to try to communicate what is Gemütlichkeit, what is Heimat. Homeland and Heimat just isn't the same thing. Heimat has a whole different, broader meaning than just saying, homeland. So that's where the culture, in any culture, I guess, if you don't have the language anymore, you lose part of that culture. We see that with our association with Saxons in the United States that don't understand the German language anymore, that they're missing, they're losing that part of the original culture that we had because of that.

[. . .]

31:36 Now do you see any worth in passing on the the dialect specifically to your children?

J. Bauer: The dialect, our Saxon dialect, to pass it on is not that important. It's more important for them to know German, which is the bigger part of the culture of it. The dialect is a unique thing. It gives you a special feeling of heritage, of our Saxon heritage. You could say the umbrella is of course the German language, the German heritage, and the Saxon is just a little corner of itself. Our heritage, the Saxons actually came from Germany 850 years ago. There was a Hungarian king who wanted people to come to Romania and work the land, and build a culture there. So the Germans moved into Romania and they were of the Saxony background. That's where the Saxon language came from. So it's a long heritage. When you say 850 years, that's something to be very proud of, to be able to carry a dialect for that long. And certainly when we get together with some of the people that can still speak the Saxon language we speak it because it's just nice, it has a special ring to it. It's just like for anybody that's German, German has a very nice ring to it, just as it does to us that speak the German language. But the Saxon also has a very special place in your heart. When you're speaking especially with older people and stuff like that, and you speak that language, it's just like if you were speaking German and you're speaking a Schwabisch German and you can speak to an older person who has that, who speaks that, it makes them feel better. This is good to have. So we feel the same way, although, you know, if we're going to lose anything, then sure, lose the Saxon language, but don't lose the German language. The German language is an international worldwide language and is something that will definitely go for years and years to come, and that's why it's important for Canadian youth, especially of German background, to learn that German. So if they have the opportunity to visit Germany or even in future years in business they might run into that some German company is going to move to Kitchener-Waterloo or even if they don't move into here, you might have an opportunity to work in Germany or some place else simply because you do have that German language and you may not know it 10 out of 10, but if you can speak German at a 6 or 7 out of a scale of 10, you're still going to be pulled a head and be the cream of the crop of people wanting to deal with you. It gives you an advantage.

34:25 The same for you, right?

I. Bauer: He just says it a lot better than I do, that's why. He can do the talking unless I don't agree with him. But I've agreed with you so far.

34:48 And do you think that German and the dialect you speak are slowly dying out in K-W?

J. Bauer: I think to a certain extent yes, it will, because Kitchener-Waterloo, when our parents came to Kitchener-Waterloo in 1948-49-50-51 when most of our Saxons came to this area here, the reason they chose Kitchener-Waterloo was because it used to be called Berlin and it was a German community. And of course, if you're going to go some place, then go where some of your fellow Germans are and you'll be probably accepted better and then feel more at home. Right now, with the immigrants that are coming to Kitchener-Waterloo, there are many new immigrants still coming every year, but certainly there are very few of them that are of German background that are coming. It's other countries, Asian countries and things like that, and we see that in the bigger city of Toronto. Look at the bigger communities built in there, the Chinese communities, the Vietnamese communities. They're growing continually and yet the German community does not grow anymore or very little if it's growing at all. Sometimes some German people actually have been, maybe not so much now, but in the 70s were perhaps actually ashamed of the fact that they were of German background because it just wasn't politically acceptable or something like that or maybe within their own mind it wasn't. I feel that any culture, any language, anybody that has language should be very proud of their language. But I also feel that if we as Canadians have to

recognize first of all that we are Canadians, this is our country and yes, the English language is our number one language for us here and we should be very proud of that. But Canada also gives every culture the opportunity to promote their culture within, and I think that's very good. They should continue doing that, but they should still remember that they are first of all still Canadians and secondly they would be of German descent. We're living in Canada, and that's great. Have your German culture and various activities that you put on and continue to promote them and be proud of that.

37:08 So you think that German is slowly becoming less and less here.

J. Bauer: I think it would become less and less here because there just aren't enough new immigrants coming in. And those that are here, especially of our age and certainly younger, the baby boomers... There are a lot of baby boomers that had the opportunity to learn German, but their parents were even shy at that time to teach them German because they felt that, Hey, now you're in Canada, now you should speak English. That's not right. You can be in Canada and speak English, but you should still know German or you should still know Chinese if you're of Chinese descent or background or whatever else you are. But I think in general the German will certainly not increase in Kitchener-Waterloo.

37:49 So how do you feel about that?

J. Bauer: I don't have a problem with it because I think we are in Canada and I think we do have to recognize that the English language is the dominant language for us here. But I certainly don't have a problem with somebody trying to promote German activities, German cultural activities, I guess I should say, within our community, and certainly as a member of the Transylvania Club, not only of the club, but personally, I would certainly support that. And I know that the university is working hard and building up some of the German archives and the various things that they do. The Concordia Club, for instance, I know has their archives at the university now. I know our own Transylvania Club is thinking about doing the same thing in the future years, as well, and that'll give a more central German core for us here in this area to allow students like yourself and in future to research how the German community actually grew in Kitchener-Waterloo. Although it'll never be a predominant community again as it was back in the 50s with the amount of German that was there. And it wasn't just the Germans from Germany that just came at that time, it was the Germans that were already in this area, the Mennonite Germans from Pennsylvania, and this just was a German community.

39:27 Well, those were all the questions I had, unless there's anything else just has popped in your mind?

I. Bauer: Just as far as the German language is concerned, even our generation, when we got married, some of the others married somebody that had no German background, so obviously they would be speaking English to each other. And then the German-speaking parents of whoever obviously had to just speak English to know which ever was the English partner got married, so the language is going to die out that way, too. Because I'm sure when they have kids, they will not be talking to them in German. It'll be English.

K. Bauer - female, 48, Canada

August 20, 2002

0:11 What country does your family originate from?

K. Bauer: From the province of Transylvania in Romania.

0:22 And would you consider yourself Canadian, or German-Canadian, or something else?

K. Bauer: I guess German-Canadian.

0:33 What kind of German do you speak then?

K. Bauer: I speak Hochdeutsch, which is what we learned in German school and what we spoke at home.

0:47 Do you still have family in your family's home countries or in other German-speaking countries?

K. Bauer: They're in Germany now.

0:51 Are you still in contact with them?

K. Bauer: Yes, we are. With my mother's family.

0:56 And roughly how often? Just around Christmas, or once a month...?

K. Bauer: No. We phone each other. Well, my mother phones probably weekly, and I probably talk to them maybe once a month.

1:10 In German then?

K. Bauer: Yes, in German.

1:16 The first language you learned was German?

K. Bauer: That's right.

1:20 And were there certain contexts that you used German in or English, like school, family...?

K. Bauer: Well, when we were young, before we went to school, it was just at home speaking German and our dialect, which is Saxon, and once we, you know, started playing with kids outside, it was English and once we went to school we learned much better English. But we always spoke German or Saxon with my parents. Because my father would just not allow it the other way.

2:12 Did these contexts ever change?

K. Bauer: No.

2:19 Do you do anything at all to keep up your German?

K. Bauer: Not schooling-wise or learning-wise, but just in general, speaking with our German relatives. At the Transylvania Club we have meetings and things, and there's a lot of German spoken there. It's more mixed now. And [Q. Bauer]4 is learning German in high school, and so he and I speak German periodically. Like, actually more so now than we ever did before.

[. . .]

3:03 And when was the last time that you were in a German-speaking country?

K. Bauer: In 1991.

3:10 In Germany?

K. Bauer: In Germany. Actually, no. We were also in Korfu, the island of Korfu, and there was a German resort where we were at. A lot of German-speaking people there. I'm not sure if that counts or not.

3:24 Where is that?

K. Bauer: Just off the coast of Greece. Off the west coast of Greece. It was quite surprising.

3:33 So you used your German there, too?

K. Bauer: A lot of Germans there, yeah.

3:37 In both contexts, then, did you find your German was different from the German that was spoken there?

K. Bauer: The German that we learned here is the basic German. And that's what we speak. There are a lot of words that the German people use in their everyday language which we don't. Kind of like Hochdeutsch. I mean, we pretty much understood everything that they were saying, but sometimes you have to tell them to slow down or something so you can understand what they're saying.

4:18 Is there any example that sort of springs to mind?

K. Bauer: Well, especially when you're talking about...say you're at a restaurant and you're talking about menus or foods and stuff like that that might not be familiar words to us. That's the kind of stuff. Or, you know, when you're on a tour or something and they might be saying something you don't really understand what the huge words is that they say. You know how they put all their words together to make one huge word. But anyhow, that's about the only time.

4:53 So how did you get along then? You just asked what it was?

K. Bauer: Yeah, I just questioned. There was really no problem.

5:03 Do you think there's still value in learning German?

K. Bauer: Yes, definitely. There's value in learning any language. It doesn't matter whether it's German or whatever, it helps you out. Whether you're traveling or whether you're studying something or learning something, you can never, never know enough languages. That's what I've always thought. I had an aunt who was Hungarian, and when I was a child, we always went to the farm. They had a farm. We went there in the summer when we were little, and I picked up so much Hungarian just from listening to her and talking to her that when we went over to Hungary then to visit her relatives, I was able to communicate with them and nobody else was. So no matter what language it is, it's worthwhile.

5:53 Do you still speak Hungarian?

K. Bauer: Yup. I don't speak it fluently, but I know some sentences and the basic words and I could, if I were over there, get along. I would know what I would need to know to communicate.

6:10 And now within your family, do you speak German with all your family members? Or how does that work?

K. Bauer: Yeah. German and Saxon, yeah.

6:18 And also with your brother?

K. Bauer: Well, my brother and I usually speak English because it's just the way it was. I would only speak German with him if we were amongst other people that were also speaking German.

6:36 And with your husband?

K. Bauer: English. Again, the same idea. If we're with others, in a group or whatever, and somebody is definitely speaking German, then we would communicate that way, as well, but otherwise it's English.

6:54 And with your sons? With [Q. Bauer] you said you're speaking a bit of German.

K. Bauer: Yeah, just because he enjoys it. He really picked it up so quickly. Of which I was really glad because he didn't really get a lot of that German background when he was growing up. And with [P. Bauer] my older son, we spoke German with him for three years. And we moved, and then he had some friends next door and of course then the English started and he didn't want to speak German anymore. And also, he only had a few years of German school that he went to, because then we moved to the London area and didn't go to German school anymore. But [Q. Bauer], [P. Bauer] was always speaking English at that time when he was born, and we didn't enforce speaking German at home anymore, and he only had kindergarten in German school, so he really didn't have a lot. But now since grade 10, now he's going into grade 13, he's been taking German and he's just excelled in it. He loves it. There's so many words with that that he uses to kid around with. He's a very humorous person. It's just been great teaching him and speaking with him. Whereas [P. Bauer] is different. He understands everything, but he doesn't speak it much. He can speak it when he has to, but otherwise he doesn't. [Q. Bauer] is different. He'll speak it, he understands everything.

8:39 And do you know if he plans on taking German when he goes to college or university?

K. Bauer: He wants to go to university. And actually, this past year in German, he was so excited about taking business German, like, German for business. He wants to go to Laurier. Hopefully he'll be able to do that. And possibly even go over to Germany and learn business over there because...I don't know. For some reason he just got so into this German class this year, which is really good, which we're really pleased with. So hopefully he'll do something with business. He wants to take business and then incorporate German into it, as well.

[. . .]

9:45 You and your husband, your families, do they speak different dialects, or is it all the same?

K. Bauer: No. It's all the same. Yeah.

9:55 And when you go back to Germany or Austria or Korfu, is it a regular pattern when you go back?

K. Bauer: No. We haven't been over as a family ever. I've been over with my parents twice before I was married, and then I went over once and that was just an emergency trip because my father was over there and he was sick. But we're hopefully going to go over next year. Because there's a Jugendlager in Germany that the Landsmannschaft is putting on, the Landsmannschaft der Siebenbürgen Sachsen, and hopefully [Q. Bauer] will be going to that, so we want to incorporate the trip so we can go and when he's done that go sightseeing. Go to Austria and stuff.

10:46 The Jugendlager, what is that?

K. Bauer: It's not really an exchange, but it's a youth gathering. And the kids come from Canada, U.S.A., Austria, Germany, and Romania, those five countries. And it's a two-week Jugendlager where they sit together, learn from each other, go sightseeing and touring. It's kind of like an exchange program. It's just every four years. It's in either one of those countries. So three years ago it was in Austria. And now next year it's going to be in Germany.

11:54 So have you made any active attempts to pass on German to your children? Like German school, or dancing at the club or anything?

K. Bauer: Well, they participate at the Transylvania Club in the dancing. Actually, [P. Bauer] is finished now. He's going to university in Michigan, so he's not participating anymore in the dance group, but [Q. Bauer] still is. With regards to German school, just what they had when they were little, here before we moved away. And then just [Q. Bauer] is German in high school.

12:36 So when you moved back then there was no German school?

K. Bauer: When we moved back, [P. Bauer] was in grade 12, so he wasn't about to start. They don't offer German in high school in London. There's no German courses. They do have a German school on Saturday mornings. I think it's at the Dutch club or something. But we ended up not participating there because the boys were in hockey, and we can't be everywhere. So hockey took precedence. And [Q. Bauer] just didn't...you don't want to go to German school when you're in grade 8 and all your other friends that would be in German school would be years ahead of you. In the Saturday German school, of course. So he started in grade 10 at high school. That was good.

13:36 Do you see any worth in passing on the dialect that you speak and that your parents speak to your children?

K. Bauer: I do. But it's hard, because my parents come from two different villages, and every village has its own dialect. My husband's parents come from another village and they have their own dialect. So the Saxon dialect, the words are pronounced differently and it's kind of difficult. To me it's important, and the boys do know some Saxon. Like, they can understand it. They'll understand whatever their grandparents who whoever's talking to them is saying. But they don't speak it as such. They speak words here and there. I don't know. I would much rather they learn German properly and speak that because German is worldwide, whereas Saxon is not. And unfortunately, it's going to die out eventually.

14:40 So how long do you give it before it dies out then?

K. Bauer: I would say probably another three or four generations. Because, like, my generation still knows

it, and like, my nephews still speak it, [R. Bauer], [S. Bauer], [O. Bauer]. One hundred percent. But that their children would speak it, I don't know.

15:15 And do you see it that when the dialect dies out, the culture will go with it? Or do you think that the Transylvania Club will keep going?

K. Bauer: No. I think the Transylvania Club will keep going because of just how active we are within the club. We've kind of drilled into the kids, you know, Without roots, you really are nothing. And these are your roots and this is your heritage, and this is what we have to try to keep going. And we have a lot of members that they don't speak German and they don't speak Saxon, but they're still there and they're members and they want to keep this going, too. So I don't see why, even though the Saxon language is gone, that the club would dissolve as well. I don't think so. At least we're hoping not.

16:08 Are there any Saxon values that you try to pass on to your kids?

[. . .]

K. Bauer: Well, values, it's more traditions. You know, our Christmas traditions, our Easter traditions, foods. That's the kind of thing that, if you let all that go by the wayside, then you don't have much left.

16:56 So what kind of Christmas and Easter traditions do you have then?

K. Bauer: Well, basically, at Christmas time we have the annual Weihnachtsfeier, the Christmas pageant. We have a children's group at the club that does their performing, and the youth group does something as well. Most of our cultural groups within the club will participate and do something. And it's basically everybody coming together. You know, to celebrate Christmas, we have the advent wreath, you know, something that we've kind of brought back. And that's, you know, that's a tradition from way, way back that...I don't know. I guess it's not Saxon, but it's German. What else? Just the songs. The German songs. The music. I mean, without that, it's not much of a celebration. And at Easter, well, we have this custom where the boys visit the girls and they call it Schämen [?] and that means they go and they spray the girl's hair with perfume and they give the girl a kiss and in return, the boy gives the girl an Easter egg and a drink. It used to be, when I was still in the youth group, the boys would gather together and they'd go from one girl's house to the next girl's house to the next girl's house. But then after you have a few drinks, that's not very good. So what they do nowadays is that the girls get together at one or two girls' homes, and then the boys just go basically to two places instead of 15 places and just visit and wish them a happy Easter and that's about it. So that's the Easter tradition. [. . .] And they used to do that back in the old country. That's, you know, one of the traditions from way back then.

19:09 And now German in general in K-W. Do you think that's slowly dying out?

K. Bauer: Well, I don't think so. I don't think Oktoberfest Inc. will let it. I don't think so because there are so many Germans in this area. I mean, anywhere you go, you hear people speaking German. And you've got the market, you've got the Mennonites, you know, the Pennsylvania Dutch. I think it's something really special that we have here in Kitchener-Waterloo. And it's a big attraction for people from all over the world. And I don't think it will die out because it's a big tourist industry as well.

20:01 So how do you feel about that?

K. Bauer: I feel really good about it. It's really nice to hear your mother tongue, to see people continuing that. But, you know, getting off track, it's not just German, it's the other people that are here. The Portuguese and, you know, all the other languages that they speak, and I think it's really great when you hear parents speaking to their children in their native tongue as opposed to, you know, just English, which is basically, you know, when we lived in the London area, there wasn't a whole lot of multicultural. Well, I guess that's grown there now. Where we lived was a little hamlet up north of London, and English and that's it. I think it's great. If we can keep our German heritage and keep the German traditions, like the Christkindlmarkt. I mean, that's just something that was started a few years ago and it's a big attraction. It's nice for our own German people here, as well as tourists because it warms their heart, you know, just to see some of the old traditions that they had over in the old countries.

21:33 Those were all the questions I had. Is there anything else that you remember now or that you want to add?

[. . .]

K. Bauer: No. I just think and hope that people will continue to try the best they can to teach their children the German language, and to try and to just keep the traditions going. Even if the German language goes, if you don't tell your kids where they're from and, you know, where their roots are, then they're just, I don't know...

22:21 Rootless?

K. Bauer: Rootless, yeah. They say that without roots you can't grow. And I think we are so lucky to be something more than just a Canadian. We're not just Canadians, we also have the German background, and I think we're really lucky to have that.

Q. Bauer - male, 18, Canada

August 20, 2002

0:03 What country does your family originate from?

Q. Bauer: My immediate family from Canada, and my grandparents came from Germany.

0:12 And would you consider yourself Canadian or German-Canadian or something else?

Q. Bauer: I consider myself German-Canadian.

0:20 What kind of German do you speak?

Q. Bauer: High German, I guess. Just because from school, that's what they teach us.

0:27 Do you have family in Germany that you're still in contact with?

Q. Bauer: Yup. They come and visit once in awhile. I've never been over, though.

0:38 And when they come and visit, do you use German with them or English?

Q. Bauer: German.

[. . .]

0:46 And now the first language you learned was...?

Q. Bauer: The first language I learned was German. But I kind of dropped that, I guess. And basically, just English.

1:03 So you don't remember when you switched from German to English, or you've never been told.

Q. Bauer: It was always German with my relatives and everything. But I guess when I started school, like, kindergarten and that, that was pretty much all English, and then I guess I kind of forgot the German.

[. . .]

1:30 So you're learning German now. Do you do anything outside of your regular school work to keep it up?

Q. Bauer: We're members of the Transylvania Club.

1:40 So do you speak German there?

Q. Bauer: Yup. Well, even around the house sometimes. Like, at least during school I try to speak it with

my mom, just because the more I speak it, the more I pick up. And then with my grandmother and my cousins and stuff. So, family.

2:05 Have you ever been to Germany or Austria?

Q. Bauer: No. Never.

2:11 Now obviously you feel there's value in learning German, otherwise you wouldn't be doing it. So for what reasons are you learning German?

Q. Bauer: Just because I feel it's interesting. It's valuable to have. And especially, like, the community that we live in because it's basically part of our roots. Like, all my grandparents speak it, and because I still have relatives in Germany who only speak German. That's kind of, like, my only link to them kind of thing, you know?

2:46 When you're at the club, do you speak more High German or Saxon?

Q. Bauer: I don't know. I guess it's kind of dialect, yeah. I guess I speak more high German just because that's what I was taught in school when I picked it up again. But I understand it all, like, Saxon and everything, which my grandparents spoke.

3:12 So what language were you raised in then?

Q. Bauer: I would say that I was raised in English, just through the schooling system and everything. But when I was really young, I guess up until I was five, it was pretty much mostly German.

3:40 So when you speak with your grandparents, do you use mostly German now or English?

Q. Bauer: Mostly German. It's kind of English here and there, though. But yeah, mostly German.

3:50 And did your parents make any attempt at teaching you German?

Q. Bauer: Yeah. They sent me to German school for a year. A technicality. But, yeah. They pushed me to do it in high school. Like, I would've done it anyways, but they've been kind of there, supporting me.

4:15 What's your involvement in the club?

Q. Bauer: Member. I'm in the dance group, the Transylvania dance group, so we're there all the time.

4:32 And with the others in the dance group, do you speak mostly English or German?

Q. Bauer: There's a lot of English. Just, like, at social activities, that kind of thing. But when we're in the club, we speak German, too.

4:50 Now later on in the future, if you have kids, do you think you'd try and pass it on to them?

Q. Bauer: Mhm m. Yes.

4:55 For what reasons?

Q. Bauer: Just because it's basically part of our heritage, where we come from. I see a lot of value in it, and I think that's something that they should at least try and get involved in, and hope they catch on.

5:16 And now do you feel you have any values that your parents have passed on to you that are mainly Saxon or German?

Q. Bauer: I don't know, really. Like, I've been raised through, like, my parents and my grandparents, we're always really close, right? So I guess, like, I know I have all their values. And with the Transylvania Club and everything, I have all those values, so I guess they've always been, like, common nature to me, you know? [...] So I don't really single out anything, you know? It's just kind of all there. So, yes, I can say there's lots of values they've passed on to me, I can't really put my thumb on it.

6:22 Do you think the German spoken in Waterloo region is slowly dying out?

Q. Bauer: I think it is. We have all the German clubs that help keep us in tact with our heritage. But if you go to the clubs, it's the older people, like the grandparents and stuff. But there are still a good number of kids that respect their values and everything and that are continuing on with it. So, in a sense it's dying out, but hopefully we can keep it going.

7:06 So how do you feel about all this?

Q. Bauer: I don't know, really. Like, obviously I would like to preserve our heritage, right? And I enjoy the Transylvania Club and everything. I would like to see more people in it. You know, more people continuing on with the German stuff. But, I don't know. Kind of mixed feelings, I guess.

7:40 Those were all the questions I had. Do you feel that there's anything I've missed or that you want to add at all?

Q. Bauer: Not really.

R. Bauer - male, 22, student, Canada

August 24, 2002

0:14 What country does your family come from?

R. Bauer: Germany. Originally?

0:17 Yeah.

R. Bauer: Romania. Transylvania in Romania. As far as I know. [. . .] You hear all these different things, you know, before the war, after the war, okay, was Germany first or Romania? My grandparents didn't like talking about it that much. So, yeah. It's one of those things. It's not the fact of growing up, it's the fact of the war. Whatever happened during or before, you know. My grandfather passed away two years ago, he was the only one who spoke of it. And just briefly. So, yeah. I don't know much.

1:00 So do you consider yourself Canadian, German-Canadian, or something else?

R. Bauer: Canadian.

1:09 And do you still speak German, or did you used to be able to speak German?

R. Bauer: I can still speak. I can get by with it. Not a hundred percent, but I can get by with it.

1:15 And what kind of German would you say you speak?

R. Bauer: I don't know. I guess high German is the one with all the slang and stuff, eh?

1:24 No, high German is the formal.

R. Bauer: Oh, okay. Then it's not the formal one. I mix languages. So when I speak German, I mean, depending on where I am and who I'm speaking to - my grandparents, it's English, German, Saxon.

1:42 Do you consider Saxon to be its own language like your dad does?

R. Bauer: I don't know. I really don't know. I mean, it's very similar, just like your Schwaben. It's funny how [my girlfriend] can't understand Saxon, but I can understand the Schwaben. It's really weird. You know, I mean, there are some words that are completely off, you know, but I can understand what your grandmother says. [My girlfriend] is like, You know what she said? And it's like, Yeah, yeah. That's why I'm laughing at it, you know? I'm not laughing because she's talking, I mean, she talks so fast. I don't know. I never really thought about it. I think we were originally from the same language. I think. That's all I think.

2:22 That's okay. It's just your dad was talking about Saxon like it was its own language.

R. Bauer: I don't know. Like some things are the same, some things are different, you know. It's like night and day different. Some words are the same. I don't know of an example. You know, to go. One is to go and the other one is, I don't know, whatever. Twenty different words that mean the same thing as two.

2:45 Do you still have family in your family's home country that you're still in touch with?

R. Bauer: I'm not personally in touch with them. I've never met them. My grandfather on my mom's side, his one sister's still in Romania.

2:59 So as far as you know, they're still in touch?

R. Bauer: Yeah, they're in touch. His other sister just passed away.

[. . .]

4:52 So you mentioned that you think German was the first language that you learned.

R. Bauer: I think so, yeah.

4:54 Do you remember when you became conscious of English at all or anything like that?

R. Bauer: No. I don't even know if it was German. I mean, I know my cousins were, and I think my parents said it was. I don't remember stuff. [. . .] I don't know if I care to, or if I don't.

[. . .]

5:27 So at home, what was your home language?

R. Bauer: Growing up, younger, Saxon. And English. Mainly Saxon. For supper we had to speak Saxon. At that point, we spoke it a lot more because you're in primary school. You learn English at school and Saxon at home, you remember.

5:50 And were there certain times when English was allowed?

R. Bauer: Not that I know of. All I know of is that as we got older...English is everywhere. You know, you speak to your friends. Your friends come over, you're not going to speak Saxon when your friends are over, you know. And, you know, it's not so much that they're going to laugh at you or something. Just the fact that, well, I'm going to ask my mom something, so that they know what I'm asking, too. You know. It's one of those things.

6:18 So do you do anything to keep up your German anymore?

R. Bauer: No. I speak to my grandparents, but that's a combination of the three. Well, just a little bit of a story. My grandparents on my mom's side, with my grandfather we spoke only German. Because when we grew up, he was the German one and my grandmother was the Saxon one. Because he's actually Schwaben. So then that's how that worked out there. So we got to mix everything then. And now, with the years, he's learned Saxon and it's just everything altogether.

[. . .]

6:54 When was the last time that you were in a German-speaking country?

R. Bauer: Three years ago.

7:01 And did you get by on your German or did you have any difficulties?

R. Bauer: No problems. It wasn't that hard because for the first two weeks I was in the Jugendlager. The first two weeks we were with Americans. And they couldn't speak German. And Romanians were there and there were other people all over the place. And they could speak everything, even English. And their English was better than the Americans' English. So we spoke German together or English together, and if we didn't want the Americans to know, we spoke German. You know, going out, buying stuff I was fine. When I was with relatives the last week, I was there three

weeks, you know, no problems. I mean, a few words here and there. Oh, what's this word. [O. Bauer] you know what it is. Or to my cousin, who goes to English class, You know what this is. What are you talking about? But we got by.

7:44 And did you find that your German improved while you were there?

R. Bauer: A lot. Oh yeah. It was a lot better. Then four or five months after that it died again.

7:56 Do you think there's still value in learning German?

R. Bauer: I think there is. I think there's more value, honestly, than French. I mean, I have nothing against the French, it's just it's everywhere, but it's one of those languages that nobody speaks. Whereas German, there's a lot more German people as far as I can see around here. You know, it's a wonder they don't have German signs. I'd rather have something like that up where there's more people of that than French. I have nothing against the French, it's just that...

8:25 The population is to the east and north of here.

R. Bauer: Yeah. So, I mean, there's value in it, but I think if we're here in North America, it should be a past-time thing. You know, it shouldn't be something mandatory, because, you know, English is now the tongue of the world almost. And I look at it as if you know English, it's good. If you know more languages, it's not bad. I would probably make my kids, too, just because. Until a certain age, you know, well, I suffered, so might as well make them suffer. I think there's value, yeah. Maybe sort of. Yeah.

9:14 So what attempts did your parents make at teaching you German?

R. Bauer: Sent me to German school. [...] And then I remember speaking Saxon at home. Sure, we spoke German at home, too. And then with my grandparents, my dad's parents were Saxon and my mom's parents were German and Saxon. And then the Transylvania Club. With the Kindergruppe and stuff, you had to speak German there, too, at first. It's just the more people you know there, my dad being president of course, and it all being German...well, they know English, you know, they speak English really well, but no, it has to be German. And of course when they talk to us, we have to speak German back.

9:54 So German school. Did you enjoy going?

R. Bauer: I hated it. I absolutely hated it. I don't know why I took that last year. One of those stupid ideas. I remember the first day I went back for that last year, it was like, Why? You know? I don't know why I did that.

10:12 So did you do the last high school year still at Saturday morning German school?

R. Bauer: Yup. Never took it in high school. Just Saturday.

10:26 And are you glad now that you suffered so much?

R. Bauer: I don't know. I find what I learned, especially at Grand River high school, for German there, I learned not a lot. Because, in one instance, I'm the guy who can really cause a teacher to have a heart attack when I was there. But then I had that look on my face, She'll pass me. You know? So, I don't know. I mean, I know I learned some things there, but as far as writing and stuff like that. As far as speaking it and just knowing the language overall, I don't think I learned that much. I think I learned more from my grandparents. Just because at that point, too, when I grew up there, I didn't really care. I hated German school, and of course when you're growing up, if you have to go to German school, you hate German. I don't know.

11:17 And was it the same with the club activities that you had to do?

R. Bauer: Yes and no. The dance group, no. I enjoyed that. I went on my own. Kindergruppe... as I got older I started hating it. Just because we had to go. It was one of those things, I mean, we had fun when we were there. But just on the way there, I was in a bad mood, then have fun, and on the way home, I was like, Why did you make me go there? Even though I was laughing twenty minutes before.

11:42 How long were you in the dancing?

R. Bauer: Oh geez. I started when I was 13 with Mr. Gosh. And then I finished the dance group...I think I was 18? So five years.

12:00 Isn't the Kindergruppe usually younger?

R. Bauer: Oh, Kindergruppe, yeah. The dance group is the other one. Kindergruppe, I was probably six years old or something like that until maybe 10.

12:13 Because I thought that was dancing, too, for little kids. Or was it just a bunch of activities?

R. Bauer: Just a bunch of activities. It was just basically a nighttime babysitting. We go, you do crafts and stuff. You do your Christmas shows, you know, put a play on, whatever. You know, just things like that. The big scheme of it was basically a babysitting thing. As far as I see it, anyway.

12:42 Did you ever want to learn German at all? Or was this force basically a turn-off for you the whole time?

R. Bauer: No. I never really cared to learn any extra. I mean, I'm glad I know it. I'm somewhat glad that I went to German school. As far as using any of my credits for it later on, they're useless to me. The high school credit, the German, the OAC, that's totally useless to me. I have no care for those. But as far as, you know, the speaking, understanding. And again, I can hold it off with someone if I have to. I can, you know, figure what they're saying and stuff. So I'm kind of happy with it, but I forget what the question is now.

13:25 If you wanted to learn German.

R. Bauer: If I wanted to learn it? I wouldn't want to go any farther. I wouldn't take another course for it.

13:35 A couple of years down the road, when you have kids, do you think you'd like to pass it on to them?

R. Bauer: I don't know. I really don't know. I mean, I don't think it would be a bad idea. I guess it depends who I'm with, whatever, at the time and stuff. You never know. If it's [my current girlfriend] then yeah. She'll be okay with it, too. But nobody knows how things are going to go five years from now. But if it's someone else who's Indian, for example, it's one of those things, one of the battles. What do you teach them, you know? I don't see it would be a problem. It probably would. And I'm sure [my current girlfriend] would say the same thing, too. And I mean, we had to go, so why can't they. My mom used that argument on me once. [...] I said, Why do I have to go? Because I had to go when I was a kid.

[...]

14:43 Do you think the German spoken in Waterloo region is dying out?

R. Bauer: I think it's dying out slowly, but a lot more so because I think people are moving away from here. [...] A lot of them are older, too. So why would they be here in a semi-big town when they can go up to the lake somewhere in a condo? I think it's dying down because of the older generation. There's not many younger people here. Like, I know a lot of people from high school and stuff, they're not German now. The one guy just found out, I talked to his mom two days ago, he's going to B.C. for his career now. Just all these people I know, B.C., New York, you know, Europe. One guy's going to Europe. I think it's dying out just because the older people are moving away or dying.

16:17 So how do you feel about that?

R. Bauer: I don't know. I never had a big problem with that because I know I'm German and just because there are others, I don't really care. I don't care about other people as far as that goes, you know. I mean, it sounds mean what I'm saying, but I mean, you know, whatever they are, if they're French or Italian or whatever, that's fine with me. You know, I'll be friends with them. But the fact that they're not German, I don't care.

S. Bauer: *male, 24, purchaser, Canada*

August 26, 2002

T. Bauer: *female, 23, teacher, Canada*

0:03 So what countries do your families come from?

T. Bauer: Mine comes from Britain. Both my mom and dad.

S. Bauer: Mine are originally from Transylvania. From Transylvania, Romania.

[. . .]

0:37 Do you consider yourselves German-Canadian, or Canadian, or British-Canadian...?

S. Bauer: I'm Canadian.

T. Bauer: Yeah, me, too.

0:45 Do you speak German?

S. Bauer: I speak German.

T. Bauer: I can kind of speak it. I took a course in university. I had these big high hopes of speaking German, but they kind of fell by the wayside. But I can kind of say a little bit here and there.

1:02 And what kind of German would you say you speak?

S. Bauer: To tell you the truth, I don't know. I speak German that was taught in German school here, I think Concordia German school. I guess what I'd call Hochdeutsch maybe? I can never remember the technical terms used to describe the language. I just speak it.

[. . .]

1:44 Do you still have family back in German-speaking countries or in Romania?

S. Bauer: Yeah. In Germany.

1:47 And is it more your parents who are in touch with them, or you, as well?

S. Bauer: My parents correspond with them more. When they're over here, then we're all together, we all see them. I was over there eight years ago in Germany for three weeks, travelling around and so. So that's when I first met them.

2:06 And when was the last time that they were here?

S. Bauer: They were -

T. Bauer: For the wedding.

S. Bauer: Some were here for the wedding.

T. Bauer: So two and a half months ago.

2:14 Do you still speak German with them?

S. Bauer: Yes. Their children can speak English or are learning to speak English through school. But they're all my parents' age, all of our relatives over there. And so they all speak German and Saxon. And English, they do have some English skills, but very little, because they didn't go through the school system with it.

2:39 And when you're around, do they still speak German or do they try English?

T. Bauer: Yeah. Well, I've only really been around the family, that I can really remember, that they came to the wedding. They didn't really speak too much English around me. But I tried. I don't think they really knew.

S. Bauer: They can't speak English.

T. Bauer: So I tried my best to sit there and look engaged and try and understand what they were saying, but for the most part, I was totally left in the dark. But his parents and family are very good at translating it to me, so I'm not left out of the loop. Which is really great, because you don't find that in a lot of families. So, which is really nice.

3:17 So for you, your first language was obviously English then.

T. Bauer: Mhm m.

3:20 Are there any other languages which you speak?

T. Bauer: I can speak a bit of French. It s better than my German. Like, I had French all through grade school and high school. So I can speak French better than German. So I d say I m a little bilingual.

3:38 Are there certain areas where you use your French?

T. Bauer: No, not really now. When I was younger, we used to go to Quebec with my family, and they d make me speak French to the waiters and the waitresses and all that, just to make things go easier. But they always spoke English, so really, that fell by the wayside, too. So really, there s not a lot where I would speak French or German. I m too embarrassed to try because it s so bad. So I just go around and say, ja.

[. . .]

4:13 And your German, was that the first language that you learned?

S. Bauer: It s hard to say, because I went to kindergarten knowing English, too. But I knew German, as well. So which one came first exactly, I don t know, but it was pretty much there. Maybe my German was a little bit stronger at the time because my parents spoke German to me at first, but we speak English at home now.

4:35 Do you remember how that switch took place?

S. Bauer: Honestly, I don t. I just remember from way back, I ve always spoken German, I ve always spoken Saxon, and English has always been there, as well. So it s really hard to say which one came first or how it switched.

4:50 It just did.

S. Bauer: Yeah. When we grew up, we grew up trilingual. It s so easy for us to switch back and forth from language to language. We ll be speaking in German, and all of the sudden there s an English word or there s a Saxon word. My grandparents don t even acknowledge it because they understand it all. So they don t even correct or anything like that because they all understand. So we switch back and forth, and my mom s parents, my Opa is schwabisch and my Oma is Saxon, so we speak Saxon to Oma and German to Opa and switch back and forth and there s really no challenge to switching back and forth because we re so used to it. [. . .] Just back and forth because we re so used to it. Like, we ve always had it.

5:40 Do you do anything to keep up your German at all?

S. Bauer: Just speaking with my grandparents and friends that know German. That s just mainly elderly people that I speak to, that would still speak German more comfortably than English.

5:59 And are you going to try and learn German again? Or do you sit down and read a bit if you can?

T. Bauer: No. Well, whenever I go to his parents house, they sometimes have this paper they get from the Transylvania Club. And it s all in German, and I ll sit there and read a little bit. But the words get so darn long. When you get older, languages are harder to learn, I think I mean, there are certain words, like I said, I understand. And his parents are really good at explaining to me what all the words mean. So in that respect I learn a little bit. But I really don t speak German with his family. It s mainly his Opa. He tries to get me to speak more German than anybody else. So he ll be like, Wie geht s? And I ll be, like, Hi. But, you know, he makes an honest effort. [S. Bauer] never pushes me. Because I m not really cool with it.

S. Bauer: There you go. See.

7:01 So have you ever been to Germany?

T. Bauer: No. The only places I've been to is Britain and Italy. I haven't made it to Germany. But we're talking about going in the next five or ten years.

7:14 And you've been several times?

T. Bauer: Nope, just once. Back eight years ago.

7:22 I'm confusing you and your brothers.

S. Bauer: [O. Bauer] s been twice, and [R. Bauer] s been once. And [R. Bauer] was back three years ago, I think. And [O. Bauer] was just there this summer, actually.

7:33 So back then, with the German that you had, you got around okay?

S. Bauer: I did, but the German people are pretty smart. They know their English, as well, so they know a North American accent or an English accent right away and they'll address you in English. [. . .] It's just so hard. You go there with the intention of learning, and you try so hard to learn, and mind you, I did learn. Towards the end of the three weeks, my German improved dramatically. But any street vendors and anybody in public who understood English or spoke English, they would know an English accent right away. And they check it out and they address you in English.

[. . .]

8:32 Do you think there's still value in learning German?

S. Bauer: Yes. Just from the standpoint of knowing something else. Or being first in something other than what you know. But also because, depending on where you go, my brothers and I can communicate, especially in Saxon, and nobody understands.

8:52 Secret language?

S. Bauer: Well, somewhat. I mean, there are people that know it. And you have to be very, very good in German to understand or to try and catch on to the different words that we're using, because it is a dialect of German. So you could probably catch most of the stuff that we're saying. You may not totally understand it. It's like Dutch. If a German person would see a Dutch, you could catch words here and there and be able to understand and follow a conversation. But if you're not totally fluent in German, chances of catching it are not very good.

9:22 And do you think there's any value in learning German?

T. Bauer: Yeah. I think our kids will learn it. But I also know [S. Bauer] s family, even in the business world, it's good to know, because in some industries, you know, a lot of things happen over in Germany. And I think just from a business standpoint you can go a lot further even knowing French. Like, when I applied for Clarica, you needed to be bilingual there. So certain jobs require you to be bilingual. Or, you know, if [S. Bauer] keeps going in the auto industry, he could potentially, you know, end up going over to Germany and doing business over there. And I think that's a bonus for him, and I think it's an asset for him to get hired over someone else who doesn't know German, you know. So I think in that respect it's good to know German, as well for that point.

10:16 With your grandparents, [S. Bauer], you still use German then?

S. Bauer: Mhm m.

10:20 So any English, or is just if the word's missing, that kind of thing?

S. Bauer: Only if the word's missing, I get that. Obviously I'm not totally involved in it, so some of the words don't come to me. Or I may know them and they come to me ten minutes later. But if I can't grasp the word at that time, then I'll use an English word or whatever word I can think of at the time in one of the three languages, because all my grandparents can understand all three.

10:44 So do you consider Saxon its own language?

S. Bauer: If you were to listen to it, yeah. Again, the way I hear it, it is different. And there are some similarities like there would be French to English or Dutch to German or something like that. But it's separate. There are definitely differences. It's almost as if it's an unwritten language. Because you try and write it. It's not like German where every sound you hear is written. It's very, very difficult to write.

11:17 And do you mean writing it in terms of if you see something that's written in the standard German, to say that in Saxon and to do vice versa is difficult?

S. Bauer: Well, in Saxon there's a lot of different emphasis on various parts of the word. Sounds are different. I see in some Saxon documents written, songs written, and you look at the words and I for the life of me wouldn't have thought that that was the word I was speaking. But it's written that way and that's the way that people seem to write it.

11:46 What did your parents do to try and teach you German?

S. Bauer: They basically spoke to us. Just spoke it to us. I find it difficult to try and find the conjugate or any of those other nouns and verbs and stuff. Like, nouns and verbs anybody understands. When you try and use conjugates and that sort of thing, when someone says that to me, I say, I don't know. I just speak it. I don't really analyse the language or try and break it down.

T. Bauer: He was no help to me at all during my university class. Because I'd show him, Well, how does this fit in? I don't know. I just speak it. You know, because we're going through all these, you know, all these different...

S. Bauer: The Akkusativ and Nominativ.

T. Bauer: Yeah, all the different stupid parts of the sentence. And he's like, I don't know. And I'm like, Oh, thanks. You're a great help there. So, no. In that sense he's no help there.

12:36 But you went to German school, though, didn't you?

S. Bauer: I did. I learned it through speaking it, I didn't learn it through German school. So I went into German school knowing most of the stuff already that people were learning. So for me to try and go through it again was difficult. And to this day I still can't figure out any of that. If I was to sit down and study the language, I would have to figure out what the Nominativ and the Akkusativ is. But to say right now what it is, I wouldn't know. Because I learned the language differently than textbook teaching. I learned it just from speaking it, hearing it, and listening to my grandparents and parents speak. That's how I learned it.

13:22 Did they do anything for the culture then? Teach you more about Saxon and German culture?

S. Bauer: Yup. I was involved with the Transylvania Club, so we learned a lot through there. And my grandparents were always good for a few stories. I would say even at Christmas time and traditional times of the year, we do a lot of stuff that's traditional. We get together in a big family and eat a lot of the same foods my grandparents would've eaten back before they came over into Canada. Prepared the same way. Foods generally don't vary too much between our cultures, but the way they're prepared is different.

14:00 Do you feel they've taught you any values that are specifically Saxon or specifically German?

T. Bauer: Food-wise.

S. Bauer: Yup. Food is definitely...

T. Bauer: He likes his Schnitzel and his Gurkensalat and cabbage rolls and pigs' tails. He likes his German food. But I think that's really the only food he enunciated on me.

S. Bauer: I mean, there's always the hard work ethic and that sort of thing, but I think that's from any culture, not just German culture. My grandparents came over with a hard work ethic and they passed it on to my parents and on to us, as well. So, I think that's something that's been passed on. Whether that's truly German or something that many cultures have...

T. Bauer: A type of value. [?]

14:52 Now, when you were younger, did you want to learn German? Or was it forced on you?

S. Bauer: It was forced on me. I mean, before German school, it wasn't forced. We just spoke and it wasn't anything. It wasn't a big deal. But then when German school kind of came, that's when it was forced. We were told, Saturday morning, you're going to German school, when other kids, our

friends in school, were saying, What are you guys doing on Saturday morning? Because we're watching cartoons. And that was difficult. But I look back now at what I've learned and what I did for me, and I'm really glad I had to do it.

15:25 And was it the same with the culture activities at the Transylvania Club?

S. Bauer: To start off with, yeah. But once you get into it and you see how much fun you're going to have...I met some of my best friends at the Transylvania Club. So really, had I not gone, I would've missed out on a lot.

15:42 How much do you partake now?

T. Bauer: I go with him whenever. Like, we always go together. I quite enjoy it because I never grew up with this kind of stuff. Like, my parents came from Britain, we had no other family here except for an aunt who really wasn't my aunt. I just called her my aunt because she was too far distant to really call her anything else. I mean, she was 90, and if she had been my aunt, she would've been more my parents' age. So coming into this big family was for me quite new to me and it was really neat because, you know, you've got brothers to pick on. That was really cool. And then, you know, we start going to the club. And I really didn't like it at first because it was really big and there were all these people to meet and they all spoke German, and they were all like, Oh, you don't speak German. So that way I felt bad. But that's why I took the course at university because I thought, you know, I could learn it and I could even try and speak it. But that fell down. But I like going to the club. I think it's fun. The people are great. And this is one thing I've never experienced before, so I've really latched on to it. And once I got used to it, we really enjoy going to the dances and to the dinners and all that kind of jazz. So it's nice. I like it. It's different.

17:00 So if kids pop along, they'll be going to the Transylvania Club, too?

S. Bauer: If it's still there, yeah.

17:08 It's one of the bigger ones in town, so I imagine it'll be there for awhile.

S. Bauer: Yeah. But things always evolve and change.

T. Bauer: Yeah. It's going to change, I think.

S. Bauer: And people, we call them the older people, people my grandparents' age aren't going to be there much longer. They're all in their early to late 70s.

T. Bauer: Ten more years.

S. Bauer: Yeah. So things are constantly evolving and changing and there's a new changing of the guard, so to speak. So who knows what's going to happen in the next generation.

T. Bauer: It'll be different, but I think it will hold the same kind of values and stuff. But the people who are running it will have different ideas.

17:39 So did you participate in Jugendlager?

S. Bauer: Yup. I was at the Jugendlager in '96.

T. Bauer: It was '96 already?

S. Bauer: '94, pardon me.

T. Bauer: No, because I participated in one, too.

S. Bauer: But I was in one.

T. Bauer: Oh, you were in one, right.

S. Bauer: Yeah. There was a Jugendlager here last year. Last summer. They rotate around every two years and it goes between North America and Europe. So I guess next year would be in Europe somewhere. Probably in Germany, because my brothers were in Europe, in Austria in '99. [. . .] Last year was in Canada. Then next year it's in Germany. And two years after that it'll be back in the States, and so on.

18:28 And what do you do there?

S. Bauer: Basically, tour. It's a planned tour. You're with a group of probably 30 people between the ages of, I think they've set it at 16-25 years of age. And you travel around and see some of the interesting cultural areas of the country. In Germany, it's very easy because everything's so close. You can see the whole southern part of the country in two weeks. Where in Canada you can see all of southern Ontario in two weeks. So you basically travel around. And Germany's full of

heritage, Saxon heritage. Like, our heritage. There's the monument in [name?]. That is the Saxon monument for people, men who have fallen during the war. Dinkelsbiel [sp?] has a Heimattag every year. And it's the largest in the world for Saxon community. It draws upwards of 10,000 people, I think that's what it is. Check with my dad for sure about the numbers, but it's very large. And there's the Oktoberfest, which we see here every year. But then again, there's is much larger.

T. Bauer: Theirs is more cultural, too. Ours is turning into a drink fest.

S. Bauer: Yup. [...] [But] if you stay at least within the five clubs of Kitchener-Waterloo, you're pretty much guaranteed to get at least a taste of the culture, whether it's within the food or what's happening, events.

T. Bauer: I think there are still certain rooms that have the older -

S. Bauer: Yeah.

T. Bauer: The sit down dinner at the tables and they have that authentic music. Like, not from Walter Ostenak. Like, that guy I wouldn't really consider authentic, but, you know, he just goes with Oktoberfest now it seems. I guess in a way it seems to be -

S. Bauer: It's become commercialized.

T. Bauer: Yeah. Big time.

[. . .]

20:46 Do you think that the German spoken in Waterloo region is slowly dying out?

S. Bauer: Yes. It's kind of the idea, I don't want to do it because my parents did it.

T. Bauer: Yeah.

S. Bauer: Or I don't want to do it because my parents think it's good, or that sort of thing. There are not enough people that see the value in knowing or understanding languages and being able to speak it and making someone else comfortable in their native tongue. Because it may not be our first language, but if somebody else is that comfortable, they're more apt to be willing to speak to you and to help you out and any of those such things.

T. Bauer: I know there still families. Like, we know a young family our age, and they have a young boy and another on the way. And they really want him to learn the German. Like, she's bilingual with French. He's bilingual with German. He went to German school with John. And they want their son to learn German and to go to German school, but he's of the mind set he doesn't want to speak to him in German. But she'll speak to [the son] in French, the little boy. But [the husband] won't speak to [the son] really in German too much. She wants him to learn all three languages, which I think would be great. And she sees the value in it. But I'm not sure what his reasoning is. I don't know if we've ever really discussed it, but I know for a fact she wants him, like [the wife] wants her son to learn German and French. Because, you know, she was French, and she's working at Manulife now. Because she's bilingual she has a good job there. So she sees the value in a second language. Now maybe [the husband] will because he's getting a second job where there are opportunities in German. Like, to go to Germany. So maybe he'll start to see the value in it, and, you know, I think you've really got to see good value in it before you really want to pass it on. Like, I don't know whether [S. Bauer] and I will or whether his brothers will, you know, will see the value in it. But you've got to see the value in it to really pass it on to your kids.

22:45 So you think there are actually very few people who don't see the value in it.

S. Bauer: Yeah, because they don't look ahead. I think even just to be able to say that you're bilingual is, you know, an accomplishment. Regardless of whether or not you use it for anything very productive. It's an accomplishment.

T. Bauer: And it's something you don't always forget when you've learnt it from a young age. Like, I'll never forget French. I won't know it as well as I did in high school, but I could still get by on it. You know, like I could go to Quebec and, you know, I may make a fool of myself, but they'll still understand what I'm saying and still be able to say, Oh, okay. So, you know, I think if you learn it, it never fully goes away. You can always kind of get it back. You just have to have the foresight to see how it can benefit you later, which is something I'm glad he's got it because you never know when we may end up going one day to Germany for six months to work or something like that, you know. Like, you never know. So, I think it's great.

23:43 So how do you feel about the fact that German is slowly dying out here?

S. Bauer: It's too bad. I don't really know it's going to die out, though, because you see a resurgence in the German economy and the idea that German engineering is better than most. You'll see a

strengthening in German ideas again and in German language, hopefully. Because, I guess, basically everything follows the economy. And the stronger the economy, the stronger the people, the stronger their language is and values and traditions. So I think whether or not it dies out here, I would hope it doesn't, you would still have a good backing for our culture because our community is so strong with German people, or so filled with German people, so I would hope it doesn't.

24:32 Those were all the questions I have. So that's it. Was there anything else you wanted to add at all? Or anything you feel I've missed?

S. Bauer: One thing. You mentioned something about what traditions do we have from Germany. One thing is that when we grew up with my parents' friends, they're all Onkel and Tante. They're not my biological aunt and uncle, but they are Onkel and Tante. Because we've grown up with them. We've known them ever since we were very young. So it was just like an extension. They're a good friend of my parents, and -

T. Bauer: That's why his family is so big.

S. Bauer: We have a fair number of friends like that, and our godparents are also Onkel and Tante and so on. And then we have our aunts and uncles, our actual aunts and uncles.

T. Bauer: I never grew up with that. Like, people that I knew from very young, I called them by their name. We didn't have this uncle and aunt stuff.

S. Bauer: Even for our friends [the young couple mentioned earlier], their son [. . .], I'm Uncle [S. Bauer] and this is Aunt [T. Bauer].

T. Bauer: Yeah. It's carrying on a little bit with some people, but not as much. But I think that tradition will go on. Within, like, the German culture, where they call close friends Tante and Onkel. Like, I could see us, when we have kids, they'll have a raft of aunts and uncles because we've got, you know, not a good number, but a lot of good friends we would like to have them call Onkel and Tante or Aunt or whatever. And I'd like to see that because I didn't have any aunts and uncles. And, you know, when I did see them, it would be for a wedding or they'd come here for a week, you know. So I think in that respect, then, I'd like them to have more aunts and uncles. So, I like that tradition. I think that's cool. Because I didn't have that. So, I really want our kids to have that.

F. Bauer - female, 76, born in Romania, 1951 to Canada

September 5, 2002

0:08 Aus welchem Land kommt Ihre Familie?

F. Bauer: Von Rumänien.

0:14 Also deutschstämmige Rumänien?

F. Bauer: Ja. Das sind deutsche Leute. Die sprechen alle einen Dialekt. Sächsisch. Und gelernt haben wir Deutsch in der Schule. Da war eine deutsche Schule und eine rumänische Schule, und ich bin in die deutsche Schule gegangen.

0:33 Man konnte dann auswählen, in welche Schule man geht?

F. Bauer: Nein. Eigentlich war das so. Die Deutschen sind alle in die deutsche Schule gegangen. Und die Rumänien, die hatten ihre eigene Schule.

0:52 Würden Sie jetzt sagen, dass Sie Kanadier sind, oder deutschstämmige Kanadier, oder...?

F. Bauer: Ich denke, wir sind Kanadier. Wir haben die kanadische Staatsbürgerschaft und wir fühlen uns wohl und wir fühlen uns als Kanadier hier.

1:10 Sie sprechen Sächsisch und Deutsch?

F. Bauer: Ja.

1:17 Sprechen Sie vorwiegend Sächsisch oder Deutsch im Alltag?

F. Bauer: Im Alltag ist es mehr Deutsch. Es ist mehr Deutsch, was wir jetzt sprechen. Sächsisch kann man nur so reden mit den Leuten, die den Dialekt auch können. Aber Deutsch kann man mit jedem Deutschen reden.

- 1:35 Und haben Sie noch Verwandte in Deutschland oder Rumänien?
- F. Bauer: In Deutschland habe ich eine Schwester und [einen] Bruder. Die sind da. Und andere Verwandte. Und in Rumänien habe ich auch noch zwei Kusinen. Aber die haben Rumäner geheiratet und die sind dann dort geblieben.
- 1:59 Sprechen Sie dann Deutsch oder Sächsisch mit ihnen?
- F. Bauer: Mit meinen Kusinen spreche ich Sächsisch. Ich denke nicht, dass sie das Deutsch so gelemnt haben. Die waren jünger und die sprechen nur Rumänisch oder Sächsisch.
- 2:14 Und mit Ihren Geschwistern auch?
- F. Bauer: Mit meiner Schwester spreche ich Sächsisch. Und mit meinem Bruder auch.
- 2:20 Wie oft sind Sie jetzt in Kontakt?
- F. Bauer: Telefoni sch mit meinem Bruder einmal die Woche und mit meiner Schwester zweimal manchmal dreimal in Deutschland.
- 2:30 Und mit den Kusinen?
- F. Bauer: Bin ich eigentlich nicht in Kontakt.
- 2:44 Deutsch -oder Sächsisch - war dann die erste Sprache, die Sie gelemnt haben?
- F. Bauer: Ja.
- 2:47 Und haben Sie auch Rumänisch später gelernt?
- F. Bauer: Ja. In der Schule mußten wir auch noch Rumänisch lernen.
- 2:52 Haben Sie auch rumänische Freunde gehabt oder Ihr Rumänisch irgendwie benutzt?
- F. Bauer: Ja. Kinder und so, Freundinnen und so, rumänisch, haben wir auch gehabt. Mit den hat man dann Rumänisch gesprochen. Aber die meisten, kann man sagen, haben unseren Dialekt gelernt. Sächsisch. Und dann hat man mit denen Sächsisch gesprochen. [. . .] Rumänisch, das war in der Schule und das war die Staatssprache. In Rumänien das war die Staatssprache. Die mußte man lernen. Und dann rumänische Geschichte und Geographie und so was. Das mußte man lernen. Da waren Stunden. Vielleicht jede Woche zwei Stunden, das auch gemacht war in der Schule. Die Stunden dann, die waren dann Rumänisch.
- 3:50 Können Sie noch Rumänisch?
- F. Bauer: Ich verstehe, aber Reden war nie mein richtiges Fach. Ich habe die Geschichten immer auswendig gelernt. Ich konnte sie nie richtig erzählen. Man hat gesagt, Du sollst die Geschichte erzählen, aber das ging nicht, so habe ich sie auswendig gelernt und die habe ich dann auswendig gesagt.
- 4:11 Und Sie haben Englisch dann erst hier in Kanada gelernt?
- F. Bauer: Ja, in Kanada.
- 4:15 Gibt es also verschiedene Kontexte, in denen Sie Englisch oder Deutsch benutzen?
- F. Bauer: Beim Einkau fen geht s schon meistens auf Englisch.
- 4:30 Ansonsten dann meistens auf Deutsch?
- F. Bauer: Ja. Zu Hause und so mit Freunden, dann es Deutsch dann.
- [. . .]
- 4:48 Wann war das letzte Mal, das Sie in einem deutschsprachigen Land waren?

- F. Bauer: Vor 12 Jahren war ich in Deutschland.
- 5:00 Nur für Verwandte dann?
- F. Bauer: Ja. Besuch und so. In Urlaub, kann man sagen.
- 5:08 Und glauben Sie, dass es noch wertvoll ist, Deutsch zu lernen?
- F. Bauer: Ich denke schon.
- 5:15 Aus welchen Gründen?
- F. Bauer: Aus dem Grund...weil wir in Rumänien, wir mußten die zweite Sprache auch lernen. So es ist gar nicht verkehrt, wenn man hier die zweite Sprache, es ist egal welche, lernt. Eine zweite Sprache sollte sein. Kann jedes Kind lernen. Kann jedes Kind lernen. So ich denke, es wäre wichtig, dass die Kinder, überhaupt von deutscher Abstammung, die sollten doch nicht nachlassen von der Sprache, von ihren Eltern, Großeltern, Urgroßeltern, die Muttersprache.
- 5:58 Sie sind in einem Dorf geboren?
- F. Bauer: In einem Dorf, ja.
- 6:02 War das vorwiegend ein deutsches Dorf?
- F. Bauer: Ja. [. .] Mehr Deutsche wie Rumänen. Die Rumänen waren ungefähr 15, sagen wir, 15 bis 17 Familien. Das andere, das alles Deutsch.
- 6:23 Wissen Sie noch, was die Bevölkerungszahl war?
- F. Bauer: Es waren ungefähr 600.
- 6:38 Sie haben im Haus dann Deutsch gesprochen? Oder Sächsisch?
- F. Bauer: Ja.
- 6:41 Und als Sie nach Kanada gekommen sind, ist es so geblieben?
- F. Bauer: Ja. Meistens Deutsch. Zuerst überhaupt. Man konnte keine andere Sprache. Haben wir immer Deutsch gesprochen. Und bis heute noch immer. Bei uns bevorzugt das Deutsche im Haus.
- 7:02 Mit Ihren Kindern jetzt reden Sie auch immer nur Deutsch?
- F. Bauer: Ja. Ja, reden wir noch.
- 7:13 Haben Sie hier in Kanada gearbeitet?
- F. Bauer: Ja.
- 7:17 Was haben Sie gemacht?
- F. Bauer: Ich habe zuerst, das hat geheißen Toni Day [?], Strickerei. Und dann nachher, die haben dann zugemacht, und danach habe ich bei Ingo Schoppel [?], auch in der Strickerei, gearbeitet.
- 7:33 Haben Sie auch Deutsch benutzen können oder nur Englisch dann?
- F. Bauer: Nein, wir haben Deutsch und Englisch. Deutsch und Englisch waren im Fabrik auch, weil viele Deutschen da und es waren viele Englische da und wir haben so gesprochen, wie es sich halt ergeben mußte.
- 7:50 Wie lang haben Sie dann gearbeitet?
- F. Bauer: Ich habe 13 Jahre beim Ingo und, no, 16 Jahre beim Ingo und 13 Jahre bei Toni Day.

8:04 Und danach sind Sie Hausfrau geworden?

F. Bauer: Dann bin ich Hausfrau geworden. Retired.

8:16 Besuchen Sie noch viele deutsche kulturelle Veranstaltungen?

F. Bauer: Oh, ja. Konzerte. Musikkonzerte und so. Ja. Deutsches Kino gibt es nicht mehr, sonst ist man ja auch ins deutsche Kino gegangen. Aber so wenn deutsche Chöre irgendwo sind oder Konzerte, dann ja.

8:36 Machen Sie auch beim Transsylvanien Klub mit?

F. Bauer: Ich bin nur Mitglied da. Aber wenn man Hilfe braucht und so, ja, aber meistens sind sie Angestellte.

8:56 Wie viel Deutsch, würden Sie sagen, haben Sie in Ihrer Jugend benutzt als im Vergleich zu jetzt? Haben Sie mehr Deutsch in Ihrer Jugend benutzt, oder...?

F. Bauer: Mehr. Mehr Deutsch, ja. Mehr Deutsch.

9:10 Und warum, meinen Sie, gibt es dieser Unterschied?

F. Bauer: Was kann man sagen? Man ist das Deutsche gewohnt und man kam mit solchen Menschen zusammen, die auch so waren wie wir sind und wir haben eben das Deutsche vorgezogen vor allen anderen Sprachen. Natürlich jetzt ist es anders. Die älteren Leute sind immer noch bei ihrem Deutschen und das junge Volk hier, die lernen mehr Englisch. So wenn wir zusammen kommen mit welchen, die das nicht können, das Deutsche, dann spricht man eben Englisch. Das ist nicht gesagt, dass man das Deutsche gerade will. Wir kommen schon mit der Sprache, so wie wir sind jetzt im Englischen mit allen Leuten.

10:07 Und dann als Sie erst nach Kanada gekommen sind, haben Sie damals mehr Deutsch benutzt als jetzt? Oder ist es ziemlich gleich geblieben?

F. Bauer: Damals war es doch mehr. Damals war mehr Deutsch wie jetzt.

10:17 Wegen der Sprache?

F. Bauer: Ja, wegen der Sprache. [...] Damals konnten wir die Sprache nicht. Jetzt ist schon mehr Englisch bei uns auch.

10:31 Bei welchen deutschen kulturellen Veranstaltungen haben Ihre Kinder mitgemacht?

F. Bauer: Unsere Kinder, die sind in die deutsche Schule gegangen hier. Damals war der Transylvania Klub, war eine deutsche Schule in der, zuerst überhaupt, in der Bechtel Kirche und dann sind sie jeden Samstag hin in die deutsche Schule gegangen, um die Sprache zu erlernen. In den Klub sind sie gegangen, in die Kindergruppe. Spiele und Tanzen gelernt. Das war im Transylvania Klub dann.

11:14 Und die Tanzgruppe später?

F. Bauer: Die Tanzgruppe ist dann später gekommen. Wie sie größer waren, sind sie zur Tanzgruppe gegangen im Transylvania Klub.

11:23 Und da waren Ihre Enkelkinder auch?

F. Bauer: Ja, meine Enkelkinder auch. Die Eltern haben das alles niedergelegt [?] und sie sind dahin gegangen, so sie haben sie auch dahin genommen zur Tanzgruppe im Transylvania Klub und auch in die deutsche Schule geschickt. Samstag natürlich.

11:52 Ihre Kinder benutzen deren Deutsch ziemlich häufig noch?

F. Bauer: Meine Kinder, ja. Aber die Enkelkinder sind auch nicht mehr so gewohnt. Aber sie sprechen Deutsch. Sie sind nicht perfekt, aber sie sprechen. Ich bin froh. Ich freue mich darauf.

[. . .]

12:20 Sie sind also froh, dass Ihre Kinder das Deutsch an deren Kinder weiter gegeben haben?

F. Bauer: An deren Kinder weiter gegeben haben, ja.

12:35 Was machen Ihre Kinder mit deren Deutschkenntnissen?

F. Bauer: Ich weiß nicht viel, was sie machen, aber sie sind froh, dass sie es können. Z.B. jetzt nur der [O. Bauer] war jetzt in Österreich und in Deutschland mit der Tour und er war stolz, dass er Deutsch reden konnte so wie er kann. Er ist nicht perfekt, aber er kann sich durchschlagen. Also ich hoffe, es geht so weiter, dass sie das behalten, was sie haben.

13:05 Meinen Sie, dass mehr Leute Deutsch lernen sollten?

F. Bauer: Ich denke schon. Ja, ich denke schon. [. . .] Nicht nur dass man die Sprache kann, aber heutzutage die Leute fahren überall hin in aller Welt. Und es ist nicht schlecht, wenn man eine andere Sprache kann oder mehrere noch. Mehrere Sprachen kann. Ich denke, es wäre nicht verkehrt, wenn sie es lernen sollten. Auch nur in die Schule, wo sie in die Schule gehen, nicht deutsche Schule, aber wo die Schule ist und es wird angeboten, dass sie eine Sprache lernen können. Ist egal welche. Eine sollten sie lernen.

13:48 Meinen Sie, dass die deutschen Dialekte und die deutsche Sprache hier in K-W langsam aussterben?

F. Bauer: Ich komme nicht so viel hinaus, aber es hört sich so an, dass weniger Deutsch gesprochen wird. Auch in den Klubs vor allem wir meist Englisch gesprochen. Und das finde ich nicht richtig. Die sollten schon die deutsche Sprache erhalten.

14:30 Was empfinden Sie dann, dass Deutsch nicht so häufig gesprochen wird?

F. Bauer: Ich weiß nicht, was man sagt, häufig gesprochen wird, aber dort, wo sie sein sollten, mit der deutschen Sprache, da sind sie nicht mehr da. Aber wir sind in einem fremden Land und wir fühlen uns wohl hier, so kann man niemandem sagen ihr müßt es, oder sprich es, wenn Du kannst. Aber sie sprechen es nicht. Und das finde ich nicht richtig. Es sind nicht nur die jungen, es sind die älteren [Eltern?], die die deutsche Sprache nicht mehr sprechen wollen. Das finde ich nicht richtig.

15:16 Und meinen Sie, es hängt nur von etwas wie der Zeit ab? Dass die Eltern keine Zeit haben, das weiter zu gegeben?

F. Bauer: Ja. Ich denke, es ist das. Keiner hat mehr Zeit für dies und für das. So wird alles auf die Seite geschoben. Untergedrückt, eigentlich, nicht geschoben. Es wird ungedrückt. Und deswegen ist weniger Deutsch mehr hier.

15:55 Außer den Eltern, meinen Sie, dass es etwas anders gibt, was Leute machen könnte, um Deutsch wieder zu lernen? Damit Deutsch hier in K-W erhalten wird?

F. Bauer: Ich wüßte nicht durch was. Durch Klubs? [. . .] Nein, habe ich keine Ideen, wie sie es machen sollen. [. . .] Es sollte mehr Deutsch gesprochen werden.

16:32 Gibt es irgendwelche deutsche oder sächsische values oder Traditionen, die sie an Ihren Kinder weiter gegeben haben?

F. Bauer: Ja. Da sind die Traditionen, die wir zu Hause hatten und was wir kriegen wollten, dass sie ihre jetzt im Transylvania Klub ist und das wollen wir ja weiter pflegen, nicht? Z.B. nur die Trachten, das wir alle hatten, dass man die fördern könnte. Dass die jungen Leute das auch einsehen, dass das ein traditionelles war, Stück war und weiterführen für unser Volk, für die Sachsen. Wir nannten uns Sachsen in Siebenbürgen. Und sobald ist es noch ziemlich gut. Aber wir werden weiter sehen, wie es geht. Es sind ziemlich viel, die die Trachten haben, dann im Oktoberfest sind man auch den Zug, wo sie die Trachten haben oder beim anderen Trachtenball im Transylvania Klub. Das ist die eine Förderung, was wir auch noch halten sollen.

17:50 Das waren alle meiner Fragen. Haben Sie noch was, was Sie hinzufügen möchten? Was ich vergessen

habe vielleicht?

F. Bauer: Ich denke nicht. Das ist alles, was ich zu sagen habe.