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Multilingual Discourse in the Family

An analysis of conversations in a
German- French-English-speaking
family in Canada

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Introduction

This study examines the particularities of multilingual discourse, based on the example of recorded conversations in a trilingual family in Canada. It combines two different fields of linguistic research: multilingualism and conversation analysis. The study of multilingualism has developed into a popular field of linguistic research over the past two decades. In general, it focuses on bilingualism as a social and individual phenomenon, and in particular on the alternation between two languages in the speech of bilinguals. For this alternation, the term *code-switching* is widely used. Usually, the term refers to language alternation both between sentences and within sentence boundaries. From a sociolinguistic perspective code-switching is often interpreted as a means of signalling group membership in bilingual communities, whereas grammatical analyses examine how morphosyntactic units from different languages are combined (and can be combined) within one sentence.

Auer (1998: 3) suggests the study of the conversational structure of code-switching as a third perspective on bilingual language usage, one that he claims has been widely neglected by linguistic research in the past. In particular, those cases of language alternation between utterances (sentences) but within the same conversation cannot be described adequately from either a macro-sociolinguistic[1] or a morphosyntactic perspective.

The goal of conversation analysis is to examine the structure of a conversation. The sequence of turn-taking by different speakers is a main point of interest, as well as the thematic structure, the introduction and continuation of topics, the distinction between different kind of talk (narrative or situation-dependent), and the creation of coherence. It is the object of the present study to describe the characteristics of multilingual discourse that appear in the data and to show the role they play in structuring conversation. The relation between an utterance and its context is particularly important here. Attention will be paid also to the question of how the sequence of a conversation is influenced by the roles of the speakers within the family and by their varying degrees of competence in the individual languages.

The linguistic and political situation in Canada, in this case the provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick, will be discussed to some extent. In Canada there are traditionally two different social patterns of multilingualism (apart from the situation of the Native Americans): bilingualism in Canada's official languages French and English on the one hand, and bilingualism or multilingualism of immigrants on the other hand, people who speak a language other than English or French at home. The latter group is confronted with the problem of language maintenance, which often

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[1]Auer (1998) uses the term *macro-sociolinguistic* to describe the relationship between social and linguistic structure, referring e.g. to the identification of a language with a particular part of life.

results in language loss after two or three generations (Fishman 1966, 1972). Both forms of bilingualism are relevant to the language usage in the family under observation.

1. Sociolinguistic background

1.1. Trilingualism in the family

The present study attempts an analysis of everyday conversations in a trilingual family in Canada. The family consists of the mother R (49),[2] the father G (48), and their daughters C (16) and M (13).

The mother is German. She grew up in Bamberg (Bavaria) as a native speaker of German, influenced by the Franconian (Upper German) dialect. In Germany she studied English as a second language and later taught English at a high school before she moved to Canada in 1978.

The father grew up bilingually in Montreal, speaking English with his father and his brothers, and French with his mother (i.e. Québecois, Canadian French).[3] His entire high school and college education was in English. Both his parents are Québecois, but his father had attended English-speaking schools. This shift to English took place in consideration of economic motives, as a good knowledge of English seemed to open better job opportunities, but it was also influenced by the fact that the family is Protestant, whereas the French school system in Quebec was dominated by the Catholic church (see 1.3.). G still speaks English with his brothers, but English and French with his mother. He has two daughters from a previous marriage, with whom he also speaks English.

When they met, R spoke no French and G no German, so English was the only language they had in common. They still speak English with each other today. After they married, they lived in Montreal briefly, before moving to Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1980. It was only after their return to Montreal, where the family lived again from 1984 to 1996, that the mother had the opportunity to learn French. By her own definition, she speaks "street-French" today, i.e. she can communicate in French without problems, but not as easily as the other family members.[4]

After the birth of their daughters, the father tried to learn German. He took a class for approximately two years, and due to daily exposure to the language in the family and to many visits in Germany, he has learned to speak German to some degree, but it is difficult for him to lead a longer discussion in German about an abstract topic, as the

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[2]Age of the speaker at the time when the data was recorded.

[3]I will use the term French to refer to Québecois French unless otherwise noted.

[4]One excerpt from sequence 2, lines 1020-26, illustrates how she accepts linguistic judgements from other family members (her husband and M), who supply a missing word very readily and (apparently) routinely.

data indicates (see 5.2.1.).[5] He also makes some grammatical mistakes, most of which can be interpreted to interference from French (gender assignment)[6] or English. From the beginning, the mother spoke German with her daughters, while the father spoke English with them. Both girls also learned French in kindergarten in Montreal and went to French schools later. The parents' decision[7] to send the children to French schools was partly a reaction to the father's experience of alienation from his Québecois origins through his exclusively English education. Once a week, the daughters also went to an additional German class, for a period of approximately five years. After the family moved to Saint John, New Brunswick, in 1996, C went to an English school but M to a French one. In Montreal they both had anglophone and francophone friends.

Among the parents' friends and acquaintances there are speakers of all three languages. At the time when the data was recorded, they knew no German speakers and very few French speakers in Saint John. The mother teaches music in English, but occasionally also in French (both in Montreal and in Saint John). The father speaks mainly English at work.

The data suggests that English is the language in which the family members are most on a par. As the only non-native speaker of English, the mother is also the only speaker who exhibits interference phenomena from German.[8] All speakers, including the mother, seem to have a larger active vocabulary in English than in German, and all exhibit interference phenomena in German, mainly from English (word order, choice of prepositions), but occasionally from French as well. Unlike her older sister, M makes some grammatical mistakes, especially in the declension of nouns and adjectives, which indicate that her acquisition of German is not quite complete. Because of the low number of French utterances, the data gives too little evidence for an assessment of the speakers' competence in French.

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[5]The corpus contains only 70 utterances he makes in German. 62 percent of his German utterances consist of less than 4 words. Only 40 percent of them contain a subject and a predicate. There are only two cases where he makes more than one German utterance in one turn.

[6]E.g. *der Butter* instead of "die Butter" (compare 'le beure') or *über der* [f.] *Fleisch* instead of "über dem Fleisch" (compare 'la viande').

[7]By Quebec law, only those children can attend an English school who have at least one parent who also went to an English school in the province. In contrast to most other children with a foreign background or to Canadians from other provinces, the two daughters would have had the right to go to English schools.

[8]The rare examples include interferences in the word order, the transfer of grammatical categories that are lacking or uncommon in English (word formation patterns, grammatical gender Ð referring to a male cat as "she" as in *die Katze*). The opposite occurs as well, i.e. the omission of grammatical features of English that are lacking in German, such as the formal distinction of adverb and adjective or the differentiation of aspect.

1.2. Multilingualism in Montreal and Saint John

In 1996, the family moved from Montreal, Quebec, to Saint John, New Brunswick, for professional reasons. This move resulted in a great change of their linguistic and cultural environment. Therefore a description of the demographic and linguistic situations of both cities is necessary for the purpose of this study, as the language situation within the family was shaped much more in Montreal than in Saint John. Saint John is an industrial port of 76,000 inhabitants[9] (124,000 in the metropolitan area).[10] It is the largest city of the province of New Brunswick (730,000 inhabitants) and the second largest city on the Canadian Atlantic coast after Halifax. New Brunswick is the only Canadian province in which both English and French are official languages (as French is the only official language in Quebec), but only 1.7 percent of the population of Saint John speaks French at home,[11] while 97.8 percent speak English. Only 0.6 percent speak a language other then English or French at home. In the census of 1996, twelve percent of the city's inhabitants claimed to speak both English and French and were therefore considered to be "official bilinguals."[12] The francophone Accadians, who make up about one third of the total population of New Brunswick, live mostly on the Northern coast and in the rural areas bordering on Quebec.[13]

The linguistic situation in Montreal is entirely different. The greater metropolitan area has 3.2 million inhabitants (1996). In the census of 1996, 68.44 percent of the population declared to speak only French at home, 16.9 English and 10.99 another ("non-official") language.[14] Almost half the population (49.73%) is "officially bilingual" (i.e. speaks English and French), though a larger percentage of the anglophone population speaks French (55.98%) than vice versa (44.1%).[15] Most speakers of English and other languages seem to live close to the center of the city. In 1991, 25 percent of the inhabitants of the Island of Montréal declared English to be their "home language" and 15 percent a different language.[16] There are, however, significant differences between the various neighborhoods. While the francophone

[9]See Eagles et al. (1995:73) *Almanac of Canadian politics.*
[10]According to the 1996 Census, as published in *Statistics Canada* (http://www.statcan.ca).
[11]According to the statement of "home language" in the 1996 census, see *Statistics Canada.* According to Landry and Allard (1994), 5 percent of the inhabitants of Saint John spoke French in 1982.
[12]*"Residents who are able (by their own assessment) to carry on a conversation in either of Canada's official languages (English or French)"* are considered *"official bilinguals,"* Eagles et al. (1995:718) Almanac of Canadian politics. See also McRae (1998).
[13]See Allard and Landry (1998).
[14]The remaining 3.67 percent (120,655) declared to speak more than one language at home, see below.
[15]All figures according to *Statistics Canada.* Along with the increasing importance of French, bilingualism has apparently risen during the last decades. Lieberson (1972: 231) states that in the early 1960s approximately 750.000 of the city's inhabitants (36,6%) spoke both French and English.
[16]These figures are based on the demographic information for the 20 federal electoral districts on the Island of Montreal, in: Eagles et al. (1995) *Almanac of Canadian Politics.*

population is mainly concentrated in the Northern and Eastern sections of the city, the majority of the anglophone population lives in neighborhoods west of the center. Those immigrants speaking a different language, the so-called *allochtones*,[17] e.g. Italians and Greeks, traditionally prefer integration into the city's anglophone community and live mostly in the Western sections as well.

The neighborhood of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (NDG), where the family lived for twelve years, is in the western part of the city. With 78,000 inhabitants it is about the same size as Saint John. The electoral district of NDG has the highest percentage of anglophones (60%) of all twenty constituencies of the Île de Montréal. A quarter of the neighborhood's population speaks French, 14% speak a different language (especially Italian - 5% of the population). Fifty-seven percent are considered official bilinguals, but no official figures are available concerning trilingualism among allochtones. It can be assumed that most of them speak English as well. Levine (1990: 56) states that 40,000 of 43,000 allochtone children went to English high schools in the late 1960s. He cites mainly economic reasons to explain this language choice, but he remarks also that the immigrants strove for integration into the English-language culture of North America in general, not into the French culture of Quebec. It also has to be considered that in the 1960s French schools were strictly Catholic and often refused non-Christian students.[18] Heller (1982: 110) adds the greater social mobility within the English-speaking community and its greater acceptance toward newcomers as further explanations for this language choice.

To strengthen the position of French in Quebec, the provincial government passed the so-called Bill 101 ("la loi 101") in 1977, which, among other measures of language policy, restricted the choice of schools. Since then, only the children of Quebec's anglophone minority have been allowed to attend English schools, i.e. if one parent attended an English school in Quebec him-/ or herself. Nevertheless, even today more allochtones speak English than French, as tables 1 and 2 demonstrate.

Table 1, language use of allochtones in Montreal ("home language")
(greater municipal area in 1986, according Levine 1990: 213)

Native language (Lx)	59.2%
English (exclusively or in addition to Lx)	26.3%
French (exclusively or in addition to Lx)	9.9%
trilingual (English, French and Lx)	3.6%

Table 2, languages by mother tongue vs. home language in Montreal, 1996
(greater municipal area, according to *Statistics Canada*)

	mother tongue	home language	difference	in percent
English	477,695	636,605	+158,910	+33.27%
French	2,264,340	2,342,380	+78,040	+3.45%
other languages	626,205	439,385	-186,820	-29.83%

Differences between the sum totals are due to respondents with multiple mother tongues or home languages.

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[17]In Canadian politics, the term "allophones" is used as well, in analogy to "anglophones" and "francophones".

[18]See Levine (1990: 56f).

The complex linguistic situation of Montreal has been the subject of many studies in the past, especially in the field of sociolinguistics. The "matched guise" experiments[19] by Lambert (1960) are of particular importance, as well as the studies by Sankoff and Sankoff (1973) on grammatical variation, Heller's study (1982) of language negotiation sequences among strangers, and - in the context of this study - the analysis of language choice and code-switching among Italian immigrant families by di Sciullo et al.(1976).

1.3. Germans in Canada

German immigrants and their descendants form the third largest group in Canada after the British and French Canadians.[20] Due to the fact that many Germans came to Canada only after the Second World War (more than a quarter of a million people),[21] it can generally be assumed that the German language is more widespread in Canada today than it is in the USA, where the main phase of German immigration took place in the late 19th century. According to the census of 1996, 450,140 native speakers of German live in Canada, but only about a quarter of them speak it as their home language (114,085). In 1991, some 57,000 Germans and people of German origin lived in Montreal.[22] In the 1996 census, 13,085 inhabitants of Montreal declared that they were native speakers of German, but only 2,430 people (18.57%) spoke it at home. In general, it can be assumed that Germans living in Montreal are more likely to integrate into the anglophone community than into the francophone community, just as most of the other allochtones (see tables 1 and 2). In the case of a loss of German, *language shift* (Weinreich 1953: 106f) to English is the most likely cause.[23] The number of German speakers in Saint John is much lower than in Montreal. In 1996, only 145 people declared German to be their first language and no more than 30 spoke it at home.[24]

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[19]The experiments conducted tested the attitude towards speakers of both languages. The subjects of the tests were asked to describe the character of a speaker.

[20]According to the most recent census, the number of people of Chinese descent has surpassed that of people of German descent in Canada.

[21]See Lazar and Douglas (1993), S.161.

[22]According to Lazar and Douglas (1993), p.160, based on the census of 1991. The figure states the number of people who declared German as their ethnic identity, but it was possible for one person to state membership to several ethnic groups.

[23]Hamers and Hummel (1994: 132) assume that German immigrants shift to English in even higher numbers than other allochtones: "*In Quebec, language shifts to English predominate in 80 percent of the cases among children from German, Chinese, Greek, Italian and Ukrainian origin.*" (An average of 75 percent of each ethnic group shift to English).

[24]See Statistics Canada. The number refers only to those people stating no more than one mother tongue and one home language, there is no specific data about people speaking German and English or French at home.

Other than Saint John, Montreal offers a certain number of German-language institutions. There is a Goethe Institute, a German private school, a "Saturday school",[25] German restaurants and churches, and even a German theater group. In addition, German newspapers and magazines, such as *Die Zeit* and *Der Spiegel*, but also the *Kanada Kurier* are on sale in many stores in Montreal (but not in Saint John). My informants benefitted in various ways from this German infrastructure. For a couple of years they belonged to a German church, and the father and the daughters took classes at the German Saturday school where the mother taught for a while. Traditional studies on the use of German overseas (Clyne 1967, 1981 on German in Australia; Kloss 1966 on the German in the US) assume that the speakers have little or no contact to monolingual German speakers in Europe. In the case of this study, however, it has to be stressed that due to modern means of transportation and communication, the family probably has more contact to relatives and friends in Germany than to other German-speaking Canadians.

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[25]The Saturday school offers additional classes in German, comparable to the afternoon classes offered to the children of immigrants in Germany. It also offers second-language German courses for children and adults.

2. The data

2.1. Gathering the data

The data on which the present study is based was gathered during a one-week visit in the house of the family at Gondola Point, near Saint John. All in all, twelve hours of conversation in the family were recorded, but a part of it was not used for this study, because a visitor (a monolingual speaker of English) was present. The data considered consists of 13 conversational sequences, recorded on different occasions. A large part of the recordings was made during the communal cooking and the subsequent dinners, or during breakfast (four sequences each), events during which usually all members of the family were present. Two sequences were recorded during car-rides between Gondola Point and Saint John, two others during spontaneous conversations in the house, and one sequence during a violin lesson, taught by C to her sister. The majority of the recordings is thus characterised by a situation in which two levels of conversation co-exist: on the one hand the situational level, accompanying and commentating on a specific event, such as cooking, eating, driving, or playing the violin, and on the other hand the situation-independent level, containing the telling of stories or the discussion of problems.

2.2. The observer's presence

The recording of the data followed the principle of *participant observation* (Labov 1972a: 210). The recordings in the family were possible due to the intimate relationship between the family and me. The mother is my aunt and godmother. Despite the great distance between Canada and Germany, a close contact was always maintained, both by the family's frequent visits to Germany and by several visits of mine to Montreal. In 1988 I lived with them for half a year and attended an English high school.

My visit in April of 1997 was an unusual event for the family, but there is no reason to assume that my presence significantly changed their linguistic behavior. Undoubtedly, German was spoken more than it would have been otherwise, but it was not spoken differently or on different occasions. Despite the fact that all speakers preferred to address me in German there could be no doubt about my knowledge of English, both due to my previous stays in Canada and to the fact that I had just spent several months in the US at the time. The use of English was by no means discouraged by my presence. The use of French may have been influenced by my presence, but this is hard to tell since it was spoken very little, even when I was

absent.[26] In the case of a predominantly French conversation I would certainly have been marked as an outsider by my different accent.[27] It has to be taken into account, however, that the family members freely use French lexemes in German sentences even when I am the addressee of the utterance (see 2.4.3.).

It was my goal to keep the recorder on most of the time in order to accustom the speakers to it. This way I managed to make some recordings without being present myself.

The analysis obviously focuses on the language usage of the family members, but my own usage is described at times when it differentiates strongly from that of the family members and thus offers a useful contrast.

2.3. Transcription and terminology

The transcription of the spoken data was meant to be easily readable. An exact transcription of phonetic particularities was therefore omitted, as was the use of letters in notation. To highlight the alternation between languages, English words are printed in italics and French words are underlined, while German is shown in normal print. See the appendix for a more detailed description of the transcription conventions used, and also for an excerpt of the transcribed data (sequence 2).

The data transcribed was searched for examples that showed an alternation of language or a deviation from monolingual language usage. In order to estimate the statistical relevance of these phenomena, a quantitative analysis of at least some sequences seemed necessary. Such a quantitative analysis obviously required a segmentation of the transcribed data into quantifiable units which could then be coded for speaker, addressee, and language.

The most easily discernible discourse unit is of course the *turn* which contains everything a speaker (A) says after the last previous speaker (B) has spoken, and before any other speaker (C or B) speaks again. However, if we want to analyze the occurrence of language alternation, this segmentation into turns is not sufficient. While a language alternation at turn-boundaries is always intersentential, a turn-internal language alternation may be either within a sentence or between two sentences. Turns vary greatly in length and even if we cannot "*identify a 'sentence' in spoken language*" (Halliday 1989: 66), there can be no doubt that a turn may consist

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[26]A statement of M indicates that she doesn't speak French outside of school in Saint John, but only in Quebec: "*wenn ich zuhaus bin sprech' ich normal Französisch weil-- natürlich zu Hause in Québec*" <5:864-5> (See footnote 29 at section 2.4.2.).

[27]I speak French very well, but not the variety spoken in Quebec. It is commonly observed that French-Canadians speak French only among themselves, but switch to English in speaking with others who do not speak French with a Québecois accent. Heller (1982: 114) remarks "*it should be noted that the speaker may be a fluent even native speaker of French, but if his accent is not typically Québecois, that will engender a switch to English as fast as, if not faster than, an English accent.*"

of several 'sentences' and does so frequently (as in the case of a monologue).
Therefore an additional segmentation of discourse seemed necessary.

Even though linguists agree that speakers naturally segment spoken texts into basic
units, the identification of these units is anything but trivial and certainly extends
beyond the scope of this paper (see Serzisko 1992). However, to serve the purposes of
this paper, I divided the text into units that appeared to be naturally segmented by
pauses, by their content, and by the syntactic relations between the words they
contain. In the following, I shall use the term utterance to refer to such base units of
discourse. Each turn was counted as one utterance at least, but many turns contained
several utterances.

In all of the conversations which I recorded, the speakers used more than one
language within the same conversation. Following Auer (1984a: 7f) this phenomenon
shall be called *language alternation*. If language alternation occurs between two
separate utterances, it is called *code-switching*, but if it occurs within an utterance and
is limited to a certain structural unit (usually a single lexeme), it will be called
transfer.[28] In those rare cases where an utterance-internal alternation exceeds the
insertion of single free lexemes, it will be considered *code-mixing*, again following
Auer (1984a: 9). Finally, the term *interference* shall be used only to denote changes in
the repertoire that are signs of the languages' unilateral or bilateral convergence to one
another, i.e. generally deviations from the monolingual standard of a language which
can be considered imitations of models in the vocabulary or syntax of another
language.

The statistical analysis of the individual sequences shows that the main part of a
conversation is held in one particular language (German or English, see below). The
language in question shall be called the *base language*. On the level of the individual
multilingual utterances, the terms *matrix language* and *embedded language* shall be
used to differentiate between the languages in question (see Klavans 1983, Myers-
Scotton 1993). The matrix language (or ML) is the language which forms the
morphosyntactic frame of the utterance, i.e. it contains the bound morphemes and
especially the verb's inflectional morpheme (Klavans 1983: 220). The term *embedded
language* (EL) is used for the language from which only a few single lexemes are
transferred, lexemes that almost exclusively belong to open classes. Matrix language
and base language are often identical.

Another important distinction between the languages is based on their function in
society. Following Gumperz (1982:66), the language that is used only within a

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[28]There are two doubtful cases, where the identification of transfer or code-switching is problematical.
On the one hand, these are utterances consisting of only one lexeme (see Auer 1984a:79), on the other
hand there are the so-called tag switches, usually discourse particles (*okay, ne, gell*) which are not fully
part of an adjacent utterance. Nevertheless, the former cases shall be considered instances of code-
switching and the latter instances of transfer.

multilingual (minority) community is called *we-code* and the language that is also used by the monolingual (majority) community is called *they-code*.

2.4. An overview of the data

2.4.1. Language choice and participant constellation

A first glance at the data reveals that the conversations recorded can be divided into two types. First, there are conversations that are held almost exclusively in German. This is the case in the sequences (1, 3-7, 10, 13) during which the father is absent. In these sequences, German can be considered both the base language and the matrix language. The conversations where the father is present (2, 8, 9, 11, 12) differ fundamentally, as English is spoken most of the time, though not exclusively. A possible third type which does not appear in the data set would be a conversation between the father and one or both of his daughters, but where the mother and the observer are absent. English could be expected to be spoken predominantly if not almost exclusively in this third constellation of participants.

The strong difference between the two documented types of conversation shows that the choice of the base language invariably depends on the participant constellation. The two types of conversation documented in the data differentiate not only in the choice of the base language but also in the language alternation phenomena that can be observed. In those sequences where the father is absent, a large number of English and French transfers occur in German utterances, whereas code-switching from German to English or French is rare. In the father's presence however, code-switching between English, German, and occasionally French is very frequent and systematic, but transfers of single lexemes from one language into utterances of another are rare. In the undocumented third type of conversation, both code-switching and transferring can be expected to be infrequent, but French would possibly play a more important role than in the two other constellations.

2.4.2. Language choice in the presence of the father

An excerpt from sequence 2 shall be examined as an example of a conversation where the father is present. It starts with his entering the kitchen <2:737>[29] and ends when he leaves the dinner table <2:1913>.

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[29]References to the transcribed data state the number of the sequence first and then the number of the line. An excerpt of sequence 2 is included in the appendix, the other sequences were included in my MA thesis, Angermeyer (1998).

In this excerpt, which is approximately one hour long, a total of 1495 utterances are made of which roughly two thirds (1006) are in English, almost one third in German (475) and only a mere one percent (14 utterances) in French. There are 120 cases of code-switching so that code-switching occurs in 8 percent of all utterances. There are only 43 transfers (in 2.87 percent of all utterances), 26 of which are in German utterances (5.47 percent of those).

It is remarkable that the mother dominates the conversation, making more than half of all utterances (51.57 percent), and being the addressee of a large part of the remaining utterances (45.1 percent of these). Each of the four other participants addresses the mother more often than any other participant. If those utterances are excluded for which no specific addressee can be determined, then only 189 utterances (12.63 percent) remain in which the mother is neither the speaker nor the addressee. She is therefore clearly in the center of the conversation and she assumes a mediating role, almost like a chairperson, as she commonly determines which language is to be used. Her share of the cases of code-switching (and of those to English in particular) is much higher than her share of the conversation as a whole.[30]

Table 3. Language choice per speaker and addressee (number of utterances)

Speaker\Addressee	Mother	M	C	Father	Philipp	no spec. Addressee[a]	Total
Mother	---	76-61	33-34	197-20-3	125-66	104-52-1	535 - 233 - 4
M	79-68-1[b]	---	10-6	21-7	16-13	70-9-1	196 - 103 - 2
C	22-16	7-7	---	6-0	1-5	7-13	43 - 41
Father	83-13-6	18-6	8-1	---	22-2	31- 9 - 2	162-31-8
Philipp	3-36	1-1	1-10	17-3	---	48-17	70 - 67
Total	187-133-7	102-75	52-51	241-30-3	164 - 86	260 -100 -4	1006 - 475 - 14

[a] Total number of utterances for which no specific addressee could be determined.
[b] Number of utterances per language, in the order English - German - French (if at all).

As can be seen in table 3, there is symmetry in the language choice of pairs of speakers and addressee. The mother addresses her youngest daughter a little more often in English than in German (in a ratio of 5:4) and the daughter reciprocally uses the languages in the same ratio when addressing her mother. The mother and the two daughters all use German and English among each other in a fairly balanced ratio, whereas the father uses English much more than German and so do the others in addressing him (in a ratio varying between 3:1 and 10:1). This symmetry in the language choice of pairs of participants is especially remarkable as it contradicts the commonly described phenomenon of unreciprocal conversation (Gal 1979: 110), where parents speak one language, but the children answer in another.[31] This finding

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[30]The mother makes 70 codeswitches (58.33%), 41 of them to English (70,69% of all switches to English).
[31]Gal (1979: 110) "*Of the two kinds of GH* [German and Hungarian] *use, one occurs most often between parents and children, or grandparents and children and can be called "unreciprocal", because the older person consistently uses Hungarian, while the younger person consistently answers in German. Lengthy conversations can be conducted in this unreciprocal way.*"

suggests that the phenomenon of unreciprocal language use occurs mainly in those cases of bilingualism where both parents speak the same minority language (i.e. a *"non-dominant home language without community support"*, Romaine 1989: 167), but not in the *"one parent - one language"* situation. This view is supported by the findings of Dabène and Moore (1995: 30) in their study of Algerian and Iberian immigrant families in France.[32]

Table 3 shows asymmetry in language use between the mother and Philipp, since Philipp repeatedly addresses her in German, even though she addresses him mainly in English. The reason for this may be that Philipp, as a guest at the dinner table, is addressed much more (248 utterances) than he speaks himself (65 utterances). Stories or events are related to him which the others know already, but the mother attempts to keep these narratives in English (compare the utterances without a specific addressee) in order not to exclude the father. All in all, it becomes evident that in the presence of the father German is used almost exclusively in situation-related speech (for example concerning food), but almost never in abstract, narrative utterances (see 5.2.2 below). It is also remarkable, that those utterances, for which no specific addressee can be determined (often addressed to everyone present) are mostly in English (71.43 percent). The reason for this may be that the father is implicitly addressed as well. Therefore, one can say that English is the unmarked language, the "default language" of these conversations.

Table 4. Cases of code-switching per speaker and addressee[a]

Sp. \ Add.	Mother	M	C	Father	Philipp	no Add.	Total
Mother	---	6-5	4-2	19-1-1	1-6	11-14	41 - 28 - 1
M	1-9-1	---	0-1	0-1		3-3	4 - 14 - 1
C	2-1	0-3	---			0-2	2 - 6
Father	3-1-2		1-0	---		2-2-1	6 - 3 - 3
Philipp	0-6	0-1		1-0	---	3-0	4 - 7
Total	6-17-3	6-9	5-3	20-2-1	1-6	19-21-1	57 - 58 - 5

[a] The order of the language is as in table 3.

Contrary to the symmetry in language choice between speakers and addressee (see table 3), an analysis of the cases of code-switching produces a different result (see table 4). While the mother switches almost equally to English and to German when she addresses her younger daughter, M clearly prefers switching to German when addressing her mother. A similar discrepancy can be observed in the parent's code-switching behavior. When addressing her husband, the mother switches to English in 19 cases. But the father switches to English in only three cases when addressing his wife. This shows again the mediating position the mother assumes by switching to English in her husband's favor, while he hardly influences the language choice actively himself.

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[32]Dabène and Moore (1995: 30) list a number of other studies which describe non-reciprocal language use in immigrant families, but also one counter-example.

The asymmetry in table 4 also shows that the choice of an addressee is not a sufficient explanation for code-switching. Such a connection between addressee and base language can only be drawn in the case where the other participants address the father and in the case of Philipp's language use. Philipp uses code-switching in a participant-related manner, switching to German only when addressing his aunt or cousin and switching to English only when addressing his uncle (or when not addressing any participant in particular). The code-switching behavior of the other participants however shows a variation that has to be examined in greater detail below. As a guest, Philipp thus shows a clearly different use of the two languages than the family members.

2.4.3. Language choice in the absence of the father

Three different sequences shall be examined as examples of conversations where the father is absent: sequence 1 (see table 5) where the mother, C, and Philipp are present, sequence 5 with the mother, M, and Philipp (table 6), and sequence 13, in which the two daughters are alone (table 7).

Table 5, Language choice in sequence 1.

Spe.\Add.	Mother	C	Philipp	no Addr.	total
Mother	---	4 -89 (3-2)[a]	0 -46 (0-2)	1-8 (1-0)	5-143 (4-4)
C	1-39 (1-1)	---	0 - 2	0-6	1-47 (1-1)
Philipp	0-12	0-0	---	0-5	0-17
Total	1-51 (1-1)	4-89 (3-2)	0-48 (0-2)	1-19 (1-0)	6-207 (5-5)

[a] The order of the languages in tables 5-7 is the same as in table 3. In addition, the number of switches to a language is given in brackets in tables 5 and 6.

Table 6, Language choice in sequence 5.

Spe.\Add.	Mother	M	Philipp	no Addr.	Total
Mother	---	8-274-1 (4-3-1)	0-218 (0-1)	2-93 (2-1)	10-585-1 (6-5-1)
M	18-239 (7-6)	---	0-76 (0-1)	0-22	18-337 (7-7)
Philipp	0-38	0-48	---	0-24 (0-1)	0-110 (0-1)
Total	18-277 (7-6)	8-322-1 (4-3-1)	0-294 (0-2)	2-139 (2-2)	28-1032-1 (13-13-1)

Table 7, Language choice in sequence 13

	Utterances	Code switches
C	24-383-6	12-13-4
M	5-137-0	3 - 2
Total	29-520-6	15-15-4

A total of 1829 utterances is made in these three sequences, almost all of them in German (1759, that is 96.17 percent), only 63 (3.44 percent) in English, and 7 (0.38 percent) in French. The three sequences contain a total of 71 cases of code-switching and 162 transfers. Each of them contains more transfers than code switches.[33] Apart from one exception,[34] the transfers all are English (148) and French (13) lexemes appearing in German utterances.

Again, it can be stated that the mother is dominating the conversation. In both sequences in which she is present she is the participant who speaks most often and is addressed most often by the others.[35]

Philipp's language choice differs clearly from that of the other participants, just as it does in the sequence discussed under 2.4.2. above. He is the only one who uses German exclusively. In contrast to the above sequence however, his language use is reciprocated by the others, since they exclusively use German when addressing him. Among themselves, the family members never speak only German, even though it is clearly the preferred language of interaction (between 93 and 97.5 percent of the utterances are in German).

An analysis of the transfers (table 8) shows that of all speakers the mother is the one who transfers most non-German lexemes into German sentences.[36] This is surprising, since it can be assumed that she has a larger German vocabulary than her daughters.

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[33]Sequence 1: 10 switches (4.69% of all utterances), 32 transfers (including cases of lexical interference, 15.02%); sequence 5: 27 switches (2.54%), 81 transfers (7.63%); sequence 13: 34 switches (6.13%), 49 transfers (8.83%). The high number of code switches in the last sequence is due to a large number of one-word-utterances by C. (e.g. "*Shift*!" <13:174,175>, "Tire!"('Pull') <13:173,174>, "Nein!" ('No') <13:173, 177>), which are sometimes indistinguishable from transfers.
[34]There is one transfer of a German lexeme into an English utterance (by M).
[35]She makes 69.48% of all utterances in sequence 1 and 56.17% in sequence 5. She is the direct addressee of 80% and 63.44% respectively of the remaining utterances.
[36]10.44 percent of the mother's utterances in German contain transfers.

Philipp uses transfers only rarely, which distinguishes his language usage clearly from that of the others.

Table 8, transfers per German utterances in sequences 1, 5 and 13.

Spe.\Add.	Mother	M	C	Philipp	no Addr.	TOTAL	%
Mother	---	23+1/274[a]	14/89	21/264	15+2/101	73+3/728	10,44%
M	16+1/239	---	18+1/137	2+6/76	2+1/22	38+9/474	9,92%
C	4/39	28+1/383	---	0/2	0/6	32+1/430	7,67%
Philipp	0/50	2/48	0/0	---	3/29	5/127	3,94%
Total	20+1/328	53+2/705	32+1/226	23+6/342	20+3/158	148+13/ 1759	9,15%

[a]The first figure indicates the number of English lexemes transferred, the second (following the plus sign) indicates the number of transfers of French lexemes. The figure after the slash indicates the total number of German utterances by a speaker addressing a particular participant.

In contrast to the analysis of code-switching (see above), there is no noticeable difference in the use of transfers per addressee, as they are used equally in addressing all participants. Philipp's presence is no reason to refrain from transferring English or French lexemes into German.

In the following chapter the subject of transfers shall be analyzed in detail, in particular concerning the different types of transfers and their function in discourse.

3. Transfer

3.1. Terminology

The initial analysis of individual sequences (2.4.) showed that two phenomena of language alternation occur very frequently. On the one hand, there is alternation between two utterances, called code-switching, on the other hand there is the insertion of single lexical items from one language into utterances of another language, which I call transfer, following Auer (1983).

In this context, we are faced with the problem of the differentiation of various phenomena subsumed under the term of transfer in this paper, that is the differentiation between loan words that are integrated into the matrix language (*borrowing*) and such transferred lexemes that are unique to the speech community or even the particular conversation (*nonce borrowing*, Poplack et al.1988). Myers-Scotton (1993: 163) claims that the latter have to be regarded as examples of intra-sentential code-switching because they don't become part of the mental lexicon of ML which loan words do.

The differentiation is difficult though. Many criteria, such as the phonological or morphosyntactic intergration of transfers into ML, are not fully convincing, especially if the fact is taken into account that the perspective of the multilingual speaker differs from that of the monolingual speaker and that of the neutral observer (see 3.3.2.1.). Myers-Scotton (1993: 195ff) suggests basing the distinction between borrowing and nonce borrowing on frequency, expecting loan words to occur more frequently then code-switched forms, but conceding that a continuum exists between the two phenomena. Also, code-switched forms often compete with synonyms in the matrix language, but loan words do not.

Auer (1983: 314) considers this differentiation negligeable, particularly in a discourse-oriented analysis such as this study. As mentioned above (2.3.), he uses the term language alternation rather than code-switching as the general term for all the phenomena observed. In his terminology, the term *code-switching* denotes exclusively intersentential alternation, that is the passage from one language into another ("*den Übergang von einer Sprache in die andere*"), where the established choice of language is terminated and replaced with a new one ("*die etablierte Sprachwahl aufgekündigt und durch eine neue ersetzt*") (1983: 51ff, see also Auer 1984a: 26). In contrast to this, he refers to the borrowing of definite units (usually single lexemes) from one language into another by the term *transfer* ("*die Übernahme bestimmter Einheiten [...] aus der einen in die andere Sprache*"), since the established language of interaction remains unchanged ("*die ausgehandelte Interaktionssprache* [bleibt]

unangetastet") (1983: 52).[37] The terms *transfer* and *transference* go back to Clyne (1967) and Weinreich (1953), where they denote not only lexical but also semantic and phonological borrowing.

For this study I decided to use the terminology of Auer as it seemed better suited than those of Myers-Scotton or Sankoff and Poplack (1979) to differentiate the two central phenomena occuring in the data. Furthermore, the initial analysis of the two types of conversation in the data set (see 2.4.) showed that a clear differentiation between transfer and code-switching is desirable since each is apparently favored by one particular constellation of participants.

In one respect, however, I intend to differ from Auer's terminology, namely when it comes to the classification of quoted speech rendered in another language. Auer considers this a case of transfer, but I intend to classify it under code-switching in order to reserve the term *transfer* for language alternation of single lexemes (while using *code-switching* for the alternation of entire utterances).[38]

The kind of "code-switching" which is the focus of the studies of Sankoff and Poplack and others, i.e. the frequent intrasentential alternation resulting in a language mix (called *code-mixing* by Auer 1984a: 9), is fairly rare in the data.

The subject of transfer will be studied in detail below, differentiating at first the various types of transfers, and evaluating their statistical relevance, focusing on the differences between the speakers and on the different functions of transfers in discourse. The cases of code-mixing will be discussed in chapter 4, conversational code-switching in chapter 5.

3.2. The linguistic attribution of lexemes

An analysis of transfers presupposes that every lexeme occuring in the data set can be attributed to one language alone, but this is not always the case. Languages are not hermetically separated entities. Language contact between French, English, and German dates back so far in history and has reached such an extent that a large number of English loan words exist in both French and German, as well as a large number of French loan words in English and German. German lexemes have been borrowed by the two other languages only to a lesser degree, which is irrelevant for the present study. But for a number of ethymologically English or French lexemes occuring in the data set the linguistic attribution is not clear.

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[37]Auer emphasizes the terms *Übergang* (transition) and *Übernahme* (borrowing, adoption). Alternatively, he supposes (1984a: footnote Nr. 38) the terms *Umschaltung* (change-over) for code-switching and *Einschaltung* (insertion) for transfer, based on Stolt (1964) *Die Sprachmischung in Luthers "Tischreden"*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.

[38]It also has to be considered that reported speech is not necessarily kept in the original language (see Auer 1983: 324f) and that there is no automatic return to the previous language of interaction (ML) after reported speech in EL (see 4.3.3., as well as the discussion of triggering under 5.).

Some attempts to distinguish between established loan words and spontaneous transfers of random EL-lexemes have already been discussed above. Gal (1979: 81) describes a case of language contact for several centuries: the language usage of bilingual German-Hungarian speakers in Austria.

In the case of the present study, the attribution of French loan words is more complicated than that of English ones. French loan words have been a part of the German lexicon for a long time and have therefore been assimilated to German phonology to a much higher degree than English loan words, which have generally only been borrowed since 1945. As it seemed unreasonable to treat words like *Vase* 'vase' <2:604>, *Soße* 'sauce' <2:22> oder *Platz* 'square' <2:345> as transfers from French (they certainly are not intended as such by the speakers), phonological assimilation was used as a criterion to distinguish between "Germanized" loan words and transferred French lexemes.

The terms *champignon* 'mushroom' and *croissant* are used by the speakers in both German and English utterances. The mother and the daughters pronounce *champignon* as it is pronounced in Standard German, with denasalized vowels and intonation on the first syllable (['ÎampᵛⁿjÈᕀs]), both in German and in English utterances.[39] In view of this fact, the lexeme was not counted as a transfer when it occured in a German utterance, and it was counted as a transfer from German and not from French when it occured in an English utterance. The father on the other hand pronounces the word in its "original" French form [ÎᵛⒹpi✱ꝑⒹ)],[40] with nasalized vowels and intonation on the final syllable. Therefore it has been counted as a transfer from French. *Croissant*[41] was pronounced as in Standard French ([k✿wasᵛⒹ)]) by all speakers and was always treated as a transfer from French accordingly.

Another problem of definition is the case of the discourse particles *okay* and *ja*, both of which occur very frequently in English and German utterances, (see 1 and 2). While *okay* is clearly of English origin and can therefore be considered a loan word when occurring in a German context, the use of *ja* in English utterances cannot be regarded simply as a case of borrowing, as it is often indistinguishable from English *yeah* ([jᵛᴮÆ]).

(1a)	C:	Du mußt immer weiter spielen, *okay*?	<13:63>
		('You always have to keep on playing, *okay*?')	
(1b)	M:	*I'm telling you about my classmates, okay?*	<2:1600>
(2a)	Mother:	*It's about forty minutes' drive,* ja?	<2:1682>
		(*'It's about forty minutes' drive,* you know?')	
(2b)	Mother:	*Das ist dessen zweite Frau,* ja?	<2:1672>
		('That's his second wife, you know.')	
(3)	Mother:	*It's nice meat,* ne?	<11:30> (... 'isn't it?')

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[39]See examples for the use of *champignon* in German utterances under <2:382, 526, 619, 719, 1203, 1231>, in an English utterance under <2:1151>.
[40]See <2:1230, 1301>.
[41]See examples for the use of *croissant* in German utterances under <5:411>, <7:9>, <9:33, 215, 217, 219, 224, 780>, in English utterances <9:493-4>.

(4)   Mother: *The other guys have to eat too*, gell?   <11:610> (...'you know?')

It is significant, however, that *ja* occurs very often as an interrogative particle at the end of a sentence, a position where it is synonymous with *ne* (3) and *gell* (4), which are both transferred from German into English by the mother.[42] She uses the discourse particle *ne* twenty times in English utterances, which makes for almost half of the total number of German transfers (see below). As the interjection *ja* is used in English most often by the mother (161 cases, 77%), it seems reasonable to assume at least some influence from German. The father is the speaker who uses *ja* the second most often (22 cases, 10%), even though he never uses any other transfers from German in English (see below). In view of the similarity to *yeah* it seemed therefore impractical to treat *ja* as a true transfer from German.

3.3. Types of transfers

In the following chapter, every lexeme will be considered a transfer that can be attributed to a language other than the matrix language of the utterance it occurs in. However, several types of transfers can be distinguished along a continuum between established loans and individual spontaneous transfers (*nonce borrowing* in the terminology of Poplack et al., 1988), keeping in mind that the speaker's perspective differs from that of the linguist. Furthermore, transfers can be classified according to their function in discourse and from a lexical point of view, that is whether they have an equivalent in the matrix language or not.

3.3.1. Flagged transfers

At first sight, the use of transfers seems to be linked primarily to a speaker's limited active vocabulary in one of the languages. If a multilingual speaker cannot find the right word in one language, he or she is often "tempted" to use a word from another, especially if it is a term that the base language appears to be lacking.
Such difficulties to find the right word are often marked by a pause at the end of which the speaker either uses the word him- or herself (1), allows another speaker to supply the missing word (2), or fills in an equivalent from another language (3), i.e. a transfer. Auer (1984a: 57) refers to such transfers which are marked by a pause or by metalinguistic comment (4) as *time-out transfers*.

(1)   M: Die Clara ist ja niemand, die ist a- a .. Geist.   <7:235>

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[42]This is a particular case of transfer, often referred to as *tag-switching* (Poplack 1980). See below (4.3.4.).

(2)   Father: Die Butter ist nicht hart.
          Mother: Das ist ja gut wenn se nicht hart ist, deswegen ist sie ja im Butterfach.
                    C'est pour ça que c'est dans ce p'tit ...
          Father: Compartiment?
          M: Tiédois!
          Father: Tiédois, compartiment.
          Mother: Oui, *okay*, Moment.   <2:1020-26>

(3)   M: Der Philipp ist ah- unser .. *witness*.   <5:491>

(4)   Mother: Aber wir ham gestern ja auch so ein paar Straßen-- Na, diese Hinterstr--
          Philipp: Ja.
          Mother: Also *backroads* da. Hinter- hinter-- na, ich weiß gar nicht wie man die auf Deutsch
                    nennt so diese-- weißt du, diese Abseits liegenden .. Landstraßen.   <9:274-7>

Difficulties in finding the right word can also be observed with monolingual speakers where they are generally attributed to the fact that a lexeme may not be used regularly. Similarly, in example (3) it would be wrong to assume that the German lexeme *Zeuge* ('witness') is unknown to M, because she uses it in another conversation.[43] It is more likely that the lexeme *witness* is more familiar to her than *Zeuge*, as it is probably used more often by her and around her. In the present data, such gaps in the lexicon occur almost exclusively in German with all family members.

However, flagging as in (3) and (4) seems to occur only in those cases where the speaker feels that he or she "ought to know" the missing word.

3.3.2. Unflagged transfers

3.3.2.1. Loan words versus nonce borrowing

The vast majority of transfers occur unflagged, i.e. there are used as if they were part of the regular lexicon of ML. As discussed in 3.2., this may very well be the case, as many English lexemes, such as *steak* (5a) or *cool* <5:547>, have become part of the lexicon of Standard German. However, this does not imply that they should be considered German lexemes since the speakers use them in English too (5b) and the only thing that distinguishes them from other transfers would be the linguist's (false) assumption that the speakers are always aware of the lexeme's status as a loan word.[44]

(5a)   Mother: Ich mag ein a klein's Stückle *steak* und dann 'n Kotelett.   <11:683>
(5b)   Mother: *and I bought some steak also* ..   <11:3>

There is therefore no possibility of formally distinguishing phonetically unaltered loan words such as *steak* from other English lexemes that are used in both English and

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[43]*Die Dings ist Zeuge.* <13:328>.

[44]The fact that speakers may not know that a word is a loan word in German is illustrated by such instances where a transferred noun deviates from the German loan word in gender or in the plural formation, as in *das- dein essay* <6:150> (*der Essay*) or *blöde bosses* <3:224> (the regular plural of German *Boss* is *Bosse*).

German utterances. For the purpose of this study even English loan words that are commonly used in Standard German were regarded as transfers in the analysis. Many EL-terms appeared to be transferred unconsciously into ML utterances, as in (6a). However, if the speaker used the ML synonym as well (6b), it can be assumed that the transferred item was not considered part of the ML lexicon. Myers-Scotton (1993: 175) considers such cases, where an EL-transfer "competes" with a synonym in ML, as instances of intersentential code-switching.

(6a)   Mother: Also *peanut butter* kann ich in Ansbach schon kaufen, ne?   <3:265>
(6b)   Mother: Sonst tu' ich Erdnußbutter und Marmelade drauf.   <3:51>

Lexemes such as *peanut butter* in (6a) are contrasted by transferred lexemes which are used very frequently and exclusively by all speakers (which means that a possible synonym in ML does not occur). Even though these latter terms are not part of the monolingual lexicon of ML, it can be assumed that the term in question has become part of the ML lexicon within the family (i.e. of the German lexicon in most cases). Examples of lexemes that are used frequently, exclusively, and by all speakers are *daddy* and *bagel*, but also *audition*[45] (see 3.4.4.).

3.3.2.2. Cultural borrowing versus core-borrowing

Such transfers that are not part of the extended lexicon of the matrix language can be divided into *cultural borrowing* and *core-borrowing*, according to Myers-Scotton (1993: 168f). The term *core-borrowing* is used for those lexemes which are part of the core vocabulary of the embedded language (8), i.e. for which a synonym is available in the matrix language. The term *cultural borrowing* is used to describe those words which cannot (or can hardly) be translated into the ML, such as *bagel* in (7).

(7)   Mother: Kann's auch 'n *bagel* sein?   <3:24>
(8)   C: Du hast *dandruff.*   <11:956>

Lexemes like *bagel* in example (7) denote objects or concepts that are unknown to the culture of the matrix language. This is often the case with culinary terms. Cultural borrowing is particularly intensive if a large cultural difference exists between the two languages in question. But even in the present data set, where the cultural differences between the cultures associated with the languages are not very great, there is a large number of cases of cultural borrowing. Apart from culinary terms, there are terms for peculiarities of North American culture, such as *camp*,[46] or of Quebec, such as

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[45]See below (3.4.4.) for references to the corpus.
[46]See below (3.4.4.) for references to the corpus.

dépanneur (a small grocery store) <8:175>.[47] Myers-Scotton (1993: 171) also remarks that cultural loans often occur in the same utterance as other transfers or together with intrasentential code-switching. It has to be considered however that due to the dominance of the Anglo-American culture a large number of cultural loans from English have been introduced into the vocabulary of monolingual German speakers, especially terms from the entertainment industry or from computer terminology. Myers-Scotton (1993) contrasts this with *core-borrowing*, i.e. the borrowing of terms for which an equivalent in the matrix language exists. In contrast to cultural borrowing, their occurrence is not predictable since they are in "competition" with an ML lexeme. In the present data set there are many cases of core-borrowing that may have been caused by a gap in the speaker's ML lexicon, like *dandruff* in (8). But there are also transfers of terms like *chicken* or *bread*,[48] where a gap in the lexicon cannot reasonably be assumed.

3.3.2.3. Cohesive transfers

In addition to a classification of transfers by their lexical status, it appears useful to classify them according to their function in discourse. A distinction can be made between spontaneous transfers, i.e. transfers occuring for the first time in a given context, and "repeated" transfers, where a previously transferred term is used again, as illustrated by example (9).

(9)   <13:234-5, Ç criticizes M's playing the violin.>
        C: Da waren keine *dynamics* da.
        M: Doch ich hab *dynamics* gespielt, ich hab forte und piano! ..

The two transfers of the lexeme *dynamics* are distinguished by the speaker's motivation. The first transfer is used spontaneously and unpredictably, possibly due to a gap in the speaker's German lexicon. The second transfer however is predictable and pragmatically motivated. A replacement of the transfer with its German synonym would be considered a correction, a possible cause for further conflict and a distraction from the argument about the music. Also, the repetition of the transfer seems necessary to establish *cohesion*, which in this case emphasises the speaker's protest to criticism from her older sister. Hoey (1991:3) defines cohesion as "*the way certain words or grammatical features of a sentence can connect that sentence to its*

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[47]In this case the classification as a transfer is debatable since the utterance consists of nothing but the lexeme itself, but it can be considered as the completion of a German utterance:
    Ruth: Aber der Philipp hat ein Buch, in .. ah .. Shédiac in einem ...
          ach, das ist so'n Zeitungs- und Porno [und alles-] alles Laden, und da--
    Philipp: [Dépanneur.]   <8:173-5>
[48]See below (3.4.4.) for references to the corpus.

predecessors (and successors) in a text." Halliday and Hasan (1976:6) distinguish between *grammatical* and *lexical* cohesion. In the context of the discussion of transfers, the focus must be on lexical cohesion and on repetition in particular.[49] In the following chapters, the term *cohesive transfer* will be used to denote those transfers that repeat a lexical item which has been used before in the same conversation, and *spontaneous transfer* for those that are used for the first time in the given context. Cohesive transfers are not used "automatically" however. In eight cases in the data set, a transfer is corrected; four times by the speaker him- or herself. The two girls are the only speakers who are corrected by other speakers for using a transfer, which shows an important difference between the discourse of parents and children. Children can be corrected for using a "wrong" word, but to correct an adult would be rude (see 5.3.5. below). Even toward the children the correction often occurs only indirectly and after a couple of turns, as in (10) by using not the direct ML synonym *Schlagzeug*, but a derivation of it (*Schlagzeuger*).

(10)   <Sequence 5, 567-72, M wants to take drum lessons.>
        M: Die anderen Leute nehmen *drum* Stunden.
        Mother: Hm.
        Philipp: So viele gibt's aber auch nicht die das machen.
        Mother: Nee.
        M: Aber immer noch.
        Philipp: Also bei *bands* .. werden immer nach-- Schlagzeuger werden immer gesucht.

The possibility of the rejection of a transfer by the other speakers shows that despite their high degree of pragmatical motivation, cohesive transfers can be viewed as an indication that a transfer is accepted by the other speakers.

Another type of cohesive transfer occurs when a transferred lexeme has been part of an utterance in EL earlier in the conversation (see *funding* in example 11, *lipstick* in 12). Auer (1983: 317ff) calls these transfers anaphoric and states that the speaker uses the choice of language to secure coherence: "*indem er die Sprache des Anderen zumindest in dem Teil des Beitrags, der sich unmittelbar auf diesen bezieht, bewahrt, trägt der Sprecher zur Kohäsion zwischen den beiden Äußerungen bei.*"[50] This occurs frequently after quoted speech that is rendered in a language other than the base language of the conversation. Such quotations are a particularly "legitimate" type[51] of code-switching, differing from the other types in the fact that the speakers often switch back to the previous language of interaction at the end of the quote. Auer (1983: 319ff) therefore classifies these examples of reported speech as transfers instead of code-switching, due to his definition of transfer as "*a certain unit with a structurally provided point of return into the first language with that unit's*

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[49]Other categories of lexical cohesion are (according to Hoey 1991: 8f) synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, meronymy, as well as equivalence, naming, and semblance.
[50]"Maintaining the other's language choice at least in the one item that refers back directly to the other's turn, the speaker establishes cohesion between the two utterances."
[51]Auer (1983: 52) speaks of a "sanctioned excursion" ("*sanktionierter Ausflug*")

completion."[52] However, M's interrupted utterance *so it doesn't say--*, which follows the quotation in example (11), illustrates that the return to the original language of interaction doesn't occur automatically, especially in the case of a long quotation.

(11)   \<Sequence 5, 495-511, M reads from a brochure about a summer camp.
        The mother and Philipp are present.>
        M: \<reads> *Scholarship information.*
        Mother: Hmm!
        Philipp: Das steht immer drauf, auch wenn's keine gibt.
        M: *Okay. .. No, "Province of New Brunswick". [...]*
                    "The camp directors wish to thank the department of education,
                    Province of New Brunswick for providing some funding for scholarship
                    among others as well as contributing to reducing costs for resident students."
                    So, it doesn't say--
                    Es sagt nicht ob die- man muß von *New Brunswick* sein, aber ich denk schon.
                    "Province of New Brunswick funding". ..
        Mother: N-n. .. Die Christina braucht kein *funding.*

(12)   \<Sequence 4, 83-91, Philipp has told a story of how his girlfriend's mother defended herself
        against a pickpocketer on the subway by screaming "*Somebody has my wallet!*".>
        Philipp: Dann waren wir abends essen. \<laughs>
                    Und sie hat in ihrer Handtasche nach ihrem Lippenstift gesucht.
                    "Somebody took my lipstick."
        Mother: \<laughs ...5> Oh wei, oh wei. .. Das war vielleicht das was der Dieb wollte.
        Philipp: Ja. Nee. Aber das war nur'n Scherz, sie hat ihn dann noch gefunden.
        Mother: Ja ja genau. Aber ist ja herrlich. Aber das wär' doch 'n Witz
                    wenn der dann bloß mit einem Lippenstift davongekommen wär.
        Philipp: Ja, Tobias war mal mit 'nem Freund in äh also die sind nach Schottland—
                    also die sind erst--
        Mother: \<to C> Das war der *Andrew* der die Handtasche geklaut hat.
                    Der mag doch *lipstick*, ne?

In example (12), the transfer *lipstick* occurs as well as its ML synonym *Lippenstift*. In this case the transfer of *lipstick* could be favored by the use of the first name *Andrew*. Apparently it refers to a previous conversation between the mother and daughter concerning Andrew's preference for *lipstick* (during which he even may have been present himself). As he is a monolingual speaker of English, it is safe to assume that he used the term *lipstick* himself. By using this transfer, the mother thus establishes a cohesive link to this past context as well as to Philipp's use of the lexeme. The example illustrates that the notion of cohesive transfers can also include instances of intertextual reference (see 3.5. and compare Auer, 1998: 7).

3.3.2.4. Tag-switching

In chapter 3.2., the problem of the transferring of discourse particles like *okay* or *ja/yeah* was discussed. This type of language alternation is often called *tag-switching* in code-switching literature and treated as an independent phenomenon, being part of neither inter- nor intrasentential code-switching. According to Poplack (1980: 589) tags are "*freely moveable constituents which may be inserted almost anywhere in the sentence without fear of violating any grammatical rule*." For a grammatical analysis

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[52]Auer (1984: 26).

of code-switching (e.g. Sankoff und Poplack 1979) they are therefore of little importance. In the present study, they can be attributed to the phenomenon of transfer as they occur as EL-lexemes in an ML context without challenging the status of the ML as the chosen language of interaction. But tag switches differ from other transfers not only in the lack of morpho-syntactic integration into the matrix language, but also in the fact that if they are repeated, they generally cannot establish a cohesive tie between different utterances because they are closed-class items.[53]

As has been described in the case of *okay* and *ja/yeah* under (3.2.) above, they are very much used indepently of the language of interaction. In contrast to other transfers, tag-switching often also occurs in the language that is viewed as the *they-code*, even if it is otherwise free of influence from the *we-code*. Gardner-Chloros (1995:85), for example, mentions the use of Alsatian *gel?* ('isn't it?') in Alsatian French, and Gal (1979:79) observes Hungarian tags in the German of German-Hungarian bilinguals in Austria.[54] This corresponds to the fact that in the present study tag-switching occurs more often in English utterances than any other type of transfer (see table 10 below).

3.3.3. An overview over the types of transfer

The different types of transfer described above are not mutually exclusive. Cases of core-borrowing can be used as cohesive transfers, or an established loan word like *okay* can be viewed as an example of tag-switching.

In the subsequent statistical analysis of the transfers occuring in the data set (3.4.), the focus will generally be on two aspects. On the one hand, it shall be differentiated whether a transfer is used cohesively or not, as this allows conclusions to be drawn concerning the degree of its acceptance in the matrix language. On the other hand, it shall be differentiated whether a synonym for the transferred lexeme exists in the matrix language or not (thus corresponding to the differentiation between core-borrowing and cultural borrowing), as this allows to draw conclusions concerning the motivation of the use of the transfer. There is no statistical evaluation based on the differentiation between established loans and nonce borrowing due to the fact that the differentiation is unclear. Cases that could clearly be regarded as established loan words (based on the inclusion in monolingual dictionaries) were counted as transfers without a synonym in ML, thus similar to cases of cultural borrowing.

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[53]Hoey (1991: 53) ignores closed-class items in his lexical text analysis but does not exclude the possibility of their establishing cohesion through lexical repetition.

[54]See also Weinreich (1953: 35) on the use of Yiddish interjections in the English of Yiddish/English bilinguals in the US.

3.4. Statistical analysis of the transfers

3.4.1. Total number of transfers

Table 9 shows the total number of transfers for each language (EL). Remarkably, English lexemes are transferred much more often than German or French lexemes. Of the transfers, 84 percent are from English, 9.1 percent from French, and 6.8 percent from German.[55]

Table 9. Total number of transfers

Type \ EL	transferred lexemes	total transfers	share of all transfers	spontan.[a]	cohesive	intertext. cohesive[b]	flagged	tags and names[c]
English[56]	313	570	84.07%	181 (31.8%)	213 (37.4%)	70 (12.3%)	43 (7.5%)	63 (11.1%)
French	34	62	9.14%	18 (29%)	25 (40.3%)	11 (17.7%)	1 (1.6%)	7 (11.3%)
Germa[57]	17	46	6.78%	3 (6.5%)	5 (10.9%)	2 (4.4%)	1 (2.2%)	35 (76.1%)
TOTAL	364	678		202	243	83	45	105

[a]Spontaneous transfers, i.e. transfers of lexemes which did not occur previously and are unflagged.
[b]Intertextually cohesive transfers, i.e. transfers which (are likely to) refer back to a previous conversation (see *long-distance call* in example 30 below).
[c]Tag switches (e.g. *whatever, ne?*) are grouped with family internal nicknames (*daddy, Mami, grand-papa*) because neither category fits the spontaneous/cohesive distinction. Tags cannot be used cohesively (see above) whereas the nicknames are inherently cohesive. Also, both appear to be used invariably no matter which language is used, which can make their attribution to one particular language doubtful (*okay, ja*).

French lexemes are mainly transferred into German utterances, only rarely do they occur in English utterances.[58] Thus, the matrix language of the transfers is German for 91.74 percent of the transfers, but English for only 8.26 percent of them. Strictly speaking, French is never the matrix language anywhere in the data set, since the few French utterances always resemble momentary insertions, rarely contain complete sentences, and never contain elements from another language. There are no sequences of French utterances that consist of more than five turns.

Table 10. Number of transfers by matrix language

Type \ ML	transferred lexemes	total transfers	share of all transfers	spontan.[a]	cohesive	intertext. cohesive	flagged	tags and names
German	342	622	91.74%	195 (31.35%)	234 (37.6%)	81 (13%)	44 (7%)	68 (10.9%)
English	24	56	8.26%	7 (12.5%)	9 (16.1%)	2 (3.6%)	1 (1.8%)	37 (66.1%)

[a] See table 9 for a description of the categories.

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[55]A few single lexemes from other languages appeared in the data set, but they are not included in these figures, e.g. Spanish *señorita* <9:135> or Italian *avanti* <7:614>.
[56]Not including *okay*, which occurs 172 times in German utterances.
[57]Not including *ja/yeah*, which occurs 209 times in English utterances.
[58]Only 16.13 percent of all French transfers are in English utterances, i.e. 7 different lexemes and 10 transfers. The nouns *croissant* and *quiche* are the only transfers occuring both in English and German utterances.

Apart from the difference in the quantity, the difference in the functional distribution of transfers between the two matrix languages is also remarkable, as table 10 illustrates. More than half of the transfers into German have a cohesive character, but only about 20 percent of the transfers into English do. If the use of cohesive transfers is an indication that the transferred lexemes are considered an acceptable part of an ML utterance, as discussed in (3.3.2.3.), the results in table 10 suggest that English or French transfers are more acceptable in German utterances than German or French transfers in English utterances. Instead, about two thirds of the transfers into English utterances are actually cases of tag-switching, which cannot establish cohesion. As tag-switched elements remain independent of the syntax of the ML utterance (see the quote from Poplack 1980, under 4.3.4. above), this can be seen as a further indication of the lower acceptability of transfers into English.

Such a discrepancy between the two languages in the receptiveness toward transferred lexemes is typical of language contact situations where one of the languages is limited to a small community (we-code). This is the case in the Austrian town of Oberwart, where German lexemes occur frequently in Hungarian, but rarely Hungarian elements in German (Gal 1979: 79). A similar observation is made by Auer (1988: 206) in his analysis of the language usage of Italian immigrant children in Constance, Germany, who use many German transfers when speaking Italian, but rarely vice versa.

3.4.2. The use of transfers per speaker

Not all speakers use transfers to the same extent or in the same way, a fact that has already been shown under 2.4.3. above. The ratio of the figures in table 11 corresponds fairly well to the results of the analyses of these sequences.

Table 11. English transfers in German utterances

Category / Speaker	transferred lexemes	total transfers[a]	spontan.	cohesive	intertext. cohesive	flagged	tags and names	lexemes from core vocabulary[b]
Mother	202	319 (55.96%)	93 (29.2%)	127 (39.8%)	35 (11%)	27 (8.5%)	37 (11.6%)	151 (74.8%)
M	88	121 (21.23%)	49 (40.5%)	37 (30.6%)	13 (10.7%)	5 (4.1%)	17 (14.1%)	67 (76.1%)
C	46	73 (12.81%)	16 (21.9%)	26 (35.6%)	14 (19.2%)	8 (11%)	9 (12.3%)	35 (76.1%)
Philipp	43	55 (9.65%)	23 (41.8%)	21 (38.2%)	8 (14.6%)	3 (5.5%)	0	19 (44.2%)
Father	2	2 (0.35%)	0	2 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (50%)
TOTAL	313	570	181 (31.8%)	213 (37.4%)	70 (12.3%)	43 (7.5%)	63 (11.1%)	280 (73.5%)

See table 9 for a description of the categories.
[a]including *daddy*, but not including *okay*.
[b]Transferred lexemes that have a synonym in the matrix language.

As discussed above (2.4.3.), it is evident that the mother transfers English lexemes most often, despite being the only family member who is not a native speaker of English. This is balanced out by the fact that she talks a great deal more than the others, meaning that her ratio of transfers per utterance is not higher than that of her daughters (see above). Nevertheless, it has to be concluded that her frequent use of transfers certainly increases their acceptance within the family, since she is the only speaker who would be able to insist on the use of German lexemes instead of transfers.

It is interesting to note that the father uses no spontaneous transfers, even though he certainly is the speaker with the most limited vocabulary in German. He does form German sentences - in sequence 2 examined above approximately 15 percent of his utterances are in German - but their content is almost always situation-related, which makes for a high number of set phrases like *guten Appetit!* 'enjoy your meal' <2:1251>, *bitte schön* 'you're welcome' <2:1633> and a limited vocabulary. On the other hand he seems to consciously avoid transfers (see 5.3.3. below).

The main difference between the use of transfers by the family members and by the observer Philipp lies in the share of code-borrowing. Fewer than half of the lexemes transferred by Philipp have a synonym in German, but three quarters of those transferred by the mother and her daughters do.This may be due to a smaller active vocabulary in German on the part of the two girls, but also to the mother's (and to some extent her daughters') common use of core vocabulary items as cohesive transfers, establishing cohesion between utterances made in different languages (see the discussion of *pork chop* in example 28 below).

The speaker's use of transfers from French corresponds to that of English in terms of each speaker's share, as is illustrated by table 12. It is surprising that the mother uses French transfers more often than the other family members, since she is the only family member who is neither a native speaker of French, nor has she had French as the language of instruction in school. She is clearly the family member with the lowest degree of competence in French (see above). The explanation may lie in the fact that she repeatedly transfers culinary terms like *quiche* and *croissant*.[59] Nevertheless there are also several cases wher she transfers French lexemes somewhat playfully into German or English utterances ("*Okay, so there is* le *chicken*" <2:1176>). The high number (compared to her sister) of French transfers used by M can be explained by the fact that she goes to a French school in Saint John and therefore uses French much more often than the other family members. As in the case of the English transfers, the two daughters and the mother are more likely to transfer

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[59]See (4.4.4.).

items from the core vocabulary than the other participants. French lexemes transferred into English utterances are less likely to be part of the core vocabulary (28.6%) than those transferred into German utterances (65.5%).

Table 12. French transfers in German and English utterances.

Category / Speaker	transferred lexemes	total transfers	spontan.	cohesive	intertext. cohesive	flagged	tags and names	lexemes from core vocabulary[a]
Mother	19	34 (54.8%)	12 (35.3%)	14 (41.2%)	4 (11.8%)	0	4 (11.8%)	12 (63.2%)
M	13	17 (27.4%)	3 (17.7%)	5 (29.4%)	5 (29.4%)	1 (5.9%)	3 (17.7%)	7 (53.9%)
C	5	5 (8.1%)	1	2	2	0	0	5 (100%)
Philipp	3	3 (4.8%)	1	2	0	0	0	0 (0%)
Father	3	3 (4.8%)	1	2	0	0	0	1 (33%)
TOTAL	34	62	18 (29%)	25 (40.3%)	11 (17.7%)	1 (1.6%)	7 (11.3%)	21 (61.8%)

See table 9 for a description of the categories.
[a]Transferred lexemes that have a synonym in the matrix language.

Table 13. German transfers in English utterances.

Category / Speaker	transferred lexemes	total transfers	spontan.	cohesive	intertext. cohesive	flagged	tags and names	lexemes from core vocabulary[a]
Mother	13	35	1 (2.9%)	4 (11.4%)	2 (5.7%)	0	28 (80%)	11 (84.6%)
M	4	9	1 (11%)	1 (11%)	0	1 (11%)	6 (66.7%)	3 (75%)
C	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Philipp	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Father	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	17	46	3 (6.5%)	5 (10.9%)	2 (4.4%)	1 (2.2%)	35 (76.1%)	14 (82.4%)

See table 9 for a description of the categories. [a] Lexemes with a synonym in the matrix language.

The mother is also - by far - the speaker who most often transfers German lexemes into English utterances (see table 13). As in the case of the French transfers, M is the only other participant who transfers more than just sporadically as the other participants transfer only one German lexeme or even none at all.

From a comparison of tables 11 to 13, it can be concluded that a speaker's inclination to use transfers apparently is independent of the language in question. In all three languages, the mother transfers more than the other speakers and M transfers the second most often. The father, on the other hand, uses almost no transfers at all. All lexemes transferred by him into German utterances are terms which had been transferred by other speakers before. Thus he could have been under the impression that the terms were established loan words or at least that their use is acceptable to the other speakers.[60] The only transfer in an English utterance is a case of an established

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[60]The transfers are as follows: firstly *kosher* ['k«US«] and *shrimp* <2:1382>, which are used immediately before by Philipp; secondly *nouilles* 'noodles' <2:1624-6>, introduced by him in a French utterance, but then jokingly transferred into German by the mother; and thirdly *champignons*

French loan word (*quiche* <8:922>). This allows us to draw the conclusion that the father consciously avoids transfers. The reason for this could be that of all family members he is the one who is least competent in German and therefore the least balanced in his German/English bilingualism. It is possible that he considers the use of transfers solely as a sign of gaps in a speaker's ML lexicon, and thus as a weakness that he does not want to admit. In contrast to him, the mother can transfer an unlimted number of English lexemes into German utterances without fearing that this could be interpreted as a sign of an imperfect knowledge of German. The parallelism in the use of transfers between the different languages shows that the speakers apparently develop an individual preference for transfers, (largely) independent of the language combination in question. In order to verify this hypothesis, one would have to examine whether the mother and M also use English (or even German) transfers when the matrix language is French. However, this data is insufficient to clarify this as French is rarely spoken among the family members.

3.4.3. Parts of speech

The analysis of the grammatical categories of the transfers in table (15) reveals a clear discrepancy between French and English on the one hand and German on the other. Transfers from English or French are mostly nouns, but most transfers from German are interjections.
In view of the fact that transfers from French are mainly transferred into German utterances, the discrepancy between English and French on the one hand and German on the other corresponds to the distinctions by matrix language. This means that 86.66 percent of the lexemes transferred into German utterances are nouns, and 98.55 percent are content words, i.e. open-class elements. In contrast, only a little over a third of all lexemes transferred into English utterances are nouns (35.7%). In total, more than half of the transfers into English as a matrix language are function words (55.4%), that is they are members of a closed class.

<2:1239,1301>, which has been used earlier by the other speakers, though in German pronounciation and not immediately preceding. The father pronounces it as a French word (see above).

Table 15. Grammatical categories of the transfers.

Language	English			French			German		
Type gr. category	transf. lexemes	trans- fers[a]	share	transf.l exem.	total transf.	share	transf. lexem.	total trans.	share
Nouns	261	497	87.2%	22	48	77.4%	8	14	30.4%
Verbs	20	30	5.3%	3	3	4.8%	1	3	6.5%
Adjectives	21	27	4.7%	1	2	3.2%			
Adverbs	5[61]	9	1.6%	4	4	6.5%	1[62]	1	2.2%
Interjections	1	1	0.2%	1	1	1.6%	5	24	52.2%
Conjunctions	1	1	0.2%				1	3	6.5%
Numerals	1	1	0.2%						
Pronouns	3	4	0.7%	2	2	3.2%	1	1	2.2%
Articles				1	2	3.2%			

[a]The percentage denotes the category's share of all spontaneous transfers in the language in question.

There is also a clear difference between the speakers. The mother is the only one who transfers German interjections like *ne?* and *gell?* into English utterances. Her daughters almost exclusively transfer German nouns and verbs (the only exception being an aborted utterance containing the transfer of the pronoun *du* 'you' <13:353>). The high percentage of nouns among the transfers into we-code utterances is a typical phenomenon observed in situations of language contact, as is the transfer of interjections into they-code utterances (see 4.3.4.). Myers-Scotton (1993: 164) states that it is a "*universally evident fact that nouns are the most borrowed category.*" In her *matrix language frame model* she develops the hypothesis (based on monolingual performance-errors, see also Joshi 1985 and Garrett 1990) that the matrix language sets up a morpho-syntactic frame of *system morphemes* (closed-class items), into which *content morphemes* (open-class items) from either ML or EL can be filled (Myers-Scotton 1993: 173). Cognitive studies like Garrett (1990: 165f) provide evidence for the view that the retrieval process for elements from an open class is different from that of closed class elements. According to Joshi (1985: 191), the lexical decision to use an open class item is dependent on the frequency of its use. This implies that the probability of a speaker chosing a certain lexeme over another increases with the regular use of that lexeme. This could be an explanation for the use of transfers from the core vocabulary, providing that lexemes like *chicken, mushrooms* or *audition* are used very often in English utterances as well[63] (and especially outside the family). If open-class elements from either language are stored in the same way in the speaker's brain, it would seem likely, in this case, that English nouns are more easily retrieved than their German equivalents.

Another difference between the various transferred parts of speech lies in the degree to which they can be integrated morphologically and syntactically into the matrix

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[61]Not including *okay*.
[62]Not including *ja*.
[63]*Chicken* see <2:1039, 1147, 1176, 1179, 1200>, *mushrooms* <2:542, 801>, *audition* <11:860> (on the use of the lexemes as transfers in German utterances see 3.4.4.).

language. It is a frequently observed phenomenon that the integration of transfers is governed by certain rules. According to Sankoff and Poplack (1979: 3), (intra-sentential) code-switching is not possible between a bound morpheme and a lexical item, as long as the latter is not integrated phonologically into the language of the bound morpheme (*free morpheme constraint*). Secondly, the *equivalence constraint* (Sankoff und Poplack 1979: 4) demands that a switch does not violate the syntactical rules of either language. The data offers some support for both constraints, but also contains some examples where English lexemes occur with German inflectional morphemes without being truly integrated phonologically (15).

All the languages relevant to this study are characterized by a low degree of nominal morphology. However, if nominal inflection of transfers occurs (always marking the plural, never case), the bound morpheme stems from the EL (13) even if it is a zero allomorph (14). There is only one exception (15) of a transferred English noun receiving the German plural morpheme *-en*.

(13) M: In der Arbeit kann man blöde *bosses* kriegen, in der Schule blöde Lehrer. <3:224>
(14) M: Aber für die <u>Acadiens</u> {[ɑ̃kɑ̃diɛ̃]} ist das <u>Français</u>.   <2:506>
(15) Mother: und ich fand das warn=nicht die großen Film-*company*en, sondern die kleinen.
      <2:2025>

In the latter case, the plural morpheme *-en* may have been chosen because of assonance to the ending of the attributive adjective *großen* (maybe also to the ML equivalent *die großen Film Firmen*). Also, the "bilingual homophone" (Clyne 1994: 959) *Film/film* may have functioned as a trigger[64] for the transfer of the lexeme *company*.

Similarly, transferred adjectives appear to retain the inflectional morphology of the EL, even if it contains features that are not required in the ML, e.g. gender congruence with the subject in (16). Transferred English adjectives are almost always used predicatively in German, i.e. uninflected. The only exception in (17) is also the only case in which a transferred adjective receives a bound morpheme from the ML; but the immediate reformulation indicates that this is not permissible, thus supporting the constraint theory.

(16) C: Die ist so <u>petite</u>.   <8:254>
(17) Mother: Ich will am *longen*- langen Wochenende nach *New York*.   <2:2180>

Transferred verbs on the other hand are subject to ML inflection. However, in many cases, the transferred verb appears in its stem form, i.e. with a zero morpheme expressing the imperative singular in German (18) and the infinitive in English (19). English verbs transferred into German utterances frequently occur with German bound

[64]Clyne (1994: 959) defines the term *"trigger word"* as follows: *"being identical or nearly identical in the two languages, (it) brings about a linguistic disorientation in the speaker."*

morphemes marking the infinitive (20) or the past participle (21), and sometimes the second or third person singular present tense (22).

(18)	Mother:	Jetzt *cheer* mal *up*!	<7:125>
(19)	M:	*No! .. To* zwing mich *to something*.	<8:163>
(20)	M:	Ein bißchen zum *toast*en.	<11:636>
(21)	Mother:	*Bread* haste ge*cut*.	<2:936>
(22a)	M:	(...) und dann *click*st du da so 'ne *disk*.	<7:517>
(22b)	M:	Der Orangensaft der *tickle*t ganz (hinten).	<9:221>

Another phenomenon of the integration of transfers into the ML is the assignment of grammatical gender to nouns transferred into German utterances without hesitation or significant inconsistencies on the part of the speakers.[65] The assignment of gender to English nouns seems to follow the criteria established by Poplack, Pousada, and Sankoff (1982: 4) in their study of English loan words in Montreal French and in New York Puerto Rican Spanish.[66] Physiological gender is the strongest factor, determining grammatical gender whenever possible. Other factors are anology to the gender of a German equivalent or an etymologically related term, as well as the final syllable (words ending in *-ion* are usually feminine).

The assignment of gender to French nouns transferred into German is more complex, as they already have gender in the original language. In the case of these transfers, the gender assigned in German generally corresponds to the French one (*die cloche* [f.] - *la cloche* [f.] <5:161>, *die quiche* - *la quiche* <5:425>), like in the case of the interferences in the father's German utterances (see 1.1. above). The few exceptions seem to be caused by phonological or lexical associations.[67] In view of the asymmetry between the German and the French gender classifications (French not having a neuter gender), it is possible, however, that the German neuter and masculine are both associated with the French masculine. Poplack et al. (1982: 21) discuss the question whether the masculine can be regarded as unmarked gender in French (and Spanish). This would lead to the assumption that the French feminine, as the marked gender, would be the more likely to be retained in German. To verify this hypothesis, a larger number of French transfers would have to be studied, as well as the use of German transfers in French utterances.

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[65]Only five transferred lexemes are assigned different genders by one or more speakers: *eine/'n music practise* <1:1-6>, *des/die babka* <3:20, 82>, *mein/die examination* <8:527, 531>, *kein trockenes/'nen bagel* <3:42, 72>, and *der/das pork chop* <11:1038>.

[66]Compare also Clyne (1967: 42ff) about the gender atttribuation of English loan words in the German spoken by German immigrants in Australia.

[67]I.e. the ending in *-r* in the case of *ein vigueur* [m./n.] - *la vigueur* [f.] 'vigor' <13:312>, and *des adjectif* [n.], following German *das Adjektiv* [n.] rather than French *un adjectif* [m.] <5:258>).

3.4.5. Commonly transferred lexemes

The two lexemes most often transferred are interjections, of which the linguistic attribution (and thus their identification as a transfer) is more or less uncertain (see 3.2.): *ja*, which occurs 209 times[68] in English utterances, and *okay*, occuring 172 times[69] in German utterances. Another interjection, which can clearly be identified as German though, is the interrogative particle *ne?*, which is frequently transferred into English by the mother (twenty cases).[70]

The most commonly transferred noun is *daddy*, being used in German utterances 53 times by the mother and her two daughters. The ML terms *Papa* and *Vater* that appear to be in competition with it are used only twice each, and only in connection with a possesive pronoun (*unser Papa* 'our dad' <6:130>, *mein Vater* 'my father' <2:957>) or when Philipp is the addressee (i.e. not a direct member of the family).[71] Philipp always uses the father's first name, as the mother generally does when speaking to Philipp about her husband.[72] *Daddy* never occurs in connection with a possessive pronoun, that is **mein daddy* appears to be impossible, other than the common *der daddy*.[73] From a pragmatic point of view, *daddy* is like a (family-internal) proper name, as is *Mami* which is transferred seven times into English by M and C.[74] Similar cases are *Opa* ('granddad', referring to the German grandfather) <11:369> and *grand-papa* ('granddad', referring to the Québecois grandfather) <8:757>, both transferred into English utterances and, just like *Mami*, used exclusively, i.e. no possible synonym from another language appears. Apparently the nicknames for family members are taken from the language associated with the person but used no matter which language is spoken.

Among the "real" nouns that are transferred frequently, many have no synonym in the ML, and many are food terms. The high number of food terms among the transfers is partly due to the fact that most of the recordings were made during breakfast, cooking, or dinner, but it also reflects the fact that food terms are commonly borrowed even by monolingual speakers, as foreign food is usually introduced into another culture alongside with its original terms.[75] The data set thus includes many culinary terms that can be attributed to a particular national or ethnic cuisine, be it Canadian (*maple*

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[68]It is used most often by the mother (77%), then the father (10.5%), M (5.7%), Philipp (5.3%), and C (1.4%).

[69]It is used most often by C and her mother (44% each), then Marie (11%), and Philipp (0.6%).

[70]See example (3).

[71]See <2:957>, <5:877> for examples with Philipp as the addressee, <3:219> for a further example with a possessive pronoun.

[72]Ruth: *Da vorne, des is' wo der Georges arbeitet.* <1:58>; Philipp: *Meinst Du, der Georges würde sonst Französisch sprechen?* <2:126>.

[73]See <1:50>, <2:744, 1270>, and <3:204>.

[74]See <2:762, 1586, 1595, 1858, 2183>, and <8:68,764>.

[75]See Poplack et al. (1988: 60) and Union (1971: 224).

cookies <5:2-3>, *smoked meat* <3:34, 54-5, 57>), generally North American (*cheeseburger* <3:399-400>), Jewish-American (*bagel, babka*), or Italian-American (*cannoli* <3:461-3>). Some of the most frequent French transfers are also food terms (*quiche, croissant*). Some of those terms are loan words that would certainly be accepted by most monolingual native speakers of German. Other food terms are typical of Canadian and American food but have a German synonym, like *maple syrup* ('Ahornsirup'), *peanut butter* ('Erdnußbutter'), or *pancake* ('Pfannkuchen'). Nevertheless, their transfer seems to be more culturally motivated than that of terms like *bread, chicken* or *garlic*.[76]

The most frequently transferred lexeme from this group is *bagel*, which is transferred in three different conversations and by three different speakers. Including all variations like *Montreal bagel* <3:109> or *cinnamon bagel* <3:75>, there is a total of 19 transfers. The cases of *babka* (9 transfers), *croissant* (10), and *quiche* (7) are similar. They are clearly cases of cultural borrowing, terms that are also used by monolingual (ML) speakers, if they want to refer to the respective pastry.

This is not true in the case of *chicken*, for example, which is transferred only by the mother into German,[77] six times in three different conversations, but in "competition" with the German synonym *Huhn*.[78] *Mushrooms*, transferred by the mother and by M in two different conversations, is another example of a transferred lexeme that is used alongside ML synonyms, as both *Champignons* and *Pilze* occur as well.[79] Similar cases are *pork chop* and *Kotelett*,[80] as well as *peanut butter* and *Erdnußbutter*.[81] The term *cinnamon* is transferred several times by the mother (also by Philipp in connection with *bagel*), but other than in the previous cases German *Zimt* does not occur. All these transfers are cases of core-borrowing.

Other important semantic classes of transfers include musical terms (e.g. *audition* or *scale*), terms for clothes and body parts (*pinkie* or *dandruff*),[82] for environment or traffic (*potholes, drugstore*),[83] travel (*up-grade, pass*)[84] and more or less culture specific terms (*summer camp, awards*).[85]

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[76]See for *bread* <2:936> and <11:454>, for *garlic* <5:620> and <8:85>, and see above for *chicken*.
[77]With the exception of a "cohesive" mocking use by Philipp.
[78]She uses *chicken* e.g. in <2:4, 196, 455-6, 458, 1179>, *Huhn* in <2:4, 40, 1212, 1258, 1630>.
[79]See transfers of *mushroom* under <2:1622> and <11:112, 537-8, 541>, occurrences of *Champignons* in German under <2:382, 526, 619, 719, 1203, 1231, 1239, 1301> and *Pilze* under <2:698-9, 715-7, 1622-3> as well as >11:50-2, 101-3, 248, 712>.
[80]Examples of *pork chop* (as a transfer) in <11:114, 670, 1036-8, 1040, 1042>, for *Kotelett* see <11:679, 683, 1046-7>.
[81]Examples of *peanut butter* (as a transfer) in <3:265>, <7:8>, <9:97> , for *Erdnußbutter* see <3:51, 67, 70, 79> and <9:104>.
[82]See <13:27, 189, 248-9> for *pinkie* and <11:956> for *dandruff*.
[83]See <7:548, 550-1> for *drugstore* and <8:398> for *potholes*.
[84]See <2:349> for *up-grade* and <11:477, 686, 690> for *pass*.
[85]See <2:2042> for *awards*, for *camp* see below.

The lexeme *audition* is transferred ten times into German utterances, in five different conversations, and both by C and her mother.[86] *Practice* is a similar case, being used by both daughters and the mother.[87] They are used exclusively, that is their German synonyms do not occur. The same is true in the case of a few musical terms, as for example *sight reading* <13:38>, *scale* <13:5>, *key* <13:116> or *sharp* <13:21>. The lexeme *camp* is very often transferred by all speakers (except the father).[88] The terms *lunch* (11 transfers including *lunchbox* <9:107> and *lunch money* <11:1235>)[89] and *presentation*[90] are both used by the mother and by her daughters.

In some semantic classes, core-borrowing is especially prevalent, e.g. among lexemes referring to body parts, clothes or music. These are classes with a fairly limited vocabulary, denoting concepts that are more or less universal so that almost all terms have a synonym in the matrix language. When the girls use terms like *dandruff*, *turtleneck*, *scale*, or *conductor* in German utterances, we can assume that they do not know the German equivalent (if only momentarily). Not all musical terms are transferred though, and the usage varies among the speakers. For example, C uses the English term *major* three times (though sometimes hesitatingly),[91] but M twice uses the German synonym *Dur* (23, 24) <13:96,105>.

(23)   M: Du bist G-Dur.   <13:105>
(24)   C: Also, ah .. spiel jetzt deine .. *G-major* .. *scale*.   <13:5>

Core-borrowing marks gaps in the speakers' vocabulary but it is also another indication (in addition to the high number of cohesive transfers, see above) that the speakers generally tend to accept English transfers in German utterances.

The class of school-related terms is one where transfers into German are very much to be expected, since they come from a part of life from which the German language is excluded. In view of the fact that M goes to a French school and that C went to a French school as well before moving to Saint John, it is surprising that the school-related terms transferred are mostly from English, even though it is the class with the highest number of transfers from French. C uses no French terms at all, but M uses 7 school-related French terms, in addition to 12 transfers from English. It seems that those terms that have to do with the daily routine of going to school tend to come from English (e.g. *cafeteria* <11:1238>, *locker* <11:1230>, *lunch*, but also *cloche* 'bell'<5:161>), whereas most French terms can be attributed to the actual classes (*adjectif* 'adjective' <5:258>, *quadrilatère* 'square' <5:872>, but also English

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[86]See <5:541>, <6:65>, <7:143>, <8:1079-80, 1100-2, 1111>, <11:1229>, and <13:148>.
[87]See <1:1, 6> and <2:2116, 2165>.
[88]See <5:462, 471, 586, 590, 672, 745>, <7:149, 264, 267, 277, 297-8, 308, 313, 319>, <8:1045-6, 1052>, <11:940, 1162>, and <13:381>.
[89]See <3:4,138>, <9:77, 104-6, 193, 781>, <11:1237>, and <12:551>.
[90]*Presentation* is transferred four times, <2:469-70, 2110>, and <5:143>.
[91]See <13:5, 162, 229>. C also uses *minor* 'moll', also with a preceding pause: *Jetzt will ich dir ein--mal ein- eine- eine äh G in minor geben* <13:161>.

presentation). In this respect it could be relevant that Canadian French (Québecois) contains a large number of English loan words. According to Colpron (1982: 134, 135) *locker* and *lunch* are part of the French lexicon in Quebec.

3.5. Function and motivation of transfers

The transferring of single EL lexemes into ML utterances fulfills several functions but is also indicative of certain limitations in the speakers' vocabularies. Furthermore not all transfers appear to be used consciously. The fact that about 92 percent of all transfers are embedded in German utterances demonstrates that an imbalance exists between the speakers' vocabularies in English and German, indicating that the speakers' active lexicon is smaller in German than in English (see above). The high percentage of lexemes from the core vocabulary among the mother's and the daughters' transfers demonstrates this in particular. On the other hand, many transfers are lexemes for which no equivalent is available in German (cultural borrowing), i.e. they can be compared to loan words in the German of monolingual speakers.
Often transfers are used consciously by the speakers to fill (momentary) gaps in the lexicon. This is not usually "corrected" or commented on by the other speakers, but instead often confirmed by using the same lexemes again (thus as cohesive transfers). Occasionally, transfers are commented on or even ridiculed, e.g. if a transferred verbal stem is integrated morphosyntactically (25).

(25)   <2:1259-62, during dinner.>
        Mother: Also ich möcht' mal einen *toast propos*en.
        M: *Toast propos*en!
        Father: *Toast.*
        Mother: Ja, für die schwarze *box*. <lacht>

Lexical transfers into English utterances are rare, but if they occur they are often commented on by other speakers (26).[92] Transfers from German into English are much less tolerated than vice versa since English is used every day outside the family with monolingual speakers. The family members are therefore under pressure to avoid filling gaps in the lexicon with transfers (whether from French or German),[93] but to repair them instead.

(26)   <8:163-71, M doesn't want to go to both the music camp and the orchestra.>
        M: *No! .. To* zwing *mich to something.*
        Mother: *To* zwing--
        M: *One thing is enough.*
        Mother: *One thing is enough.*

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[92]Except for tag switches.

[93] Further examples for direct or indirect comments on transfers into English utterances are C's mocking repetition of her mother's *Okay, so, there is* le *chick^*én. <2:1176-7>, as well as the father's use of *Eiffel tower* in the following example: <2:1511-15>
M: *you know, "in five years, let's meet in Paris under the* tour *of Eiffel on Valentine's Day. At seven o'clock."* [...] Father: *So there's a hundred people under the Eiffel Tower.* .

> <to Philipp> *You better have your tape recorder going,*
> *this is good conversation.*
>
> M: *Listen!*
> Mother: *Yes.*
> M: *I just said either or!*
> Mother: *Zwing mich .. to something. Okay ..*

The fact that the mother occasionally interrupts transfers into German utterances when speaking to Philipp can be interpreted correspondingly (27). Coming from Germany, Philipp is apparently regarded by her as a keeper of the monolingual norm.

(27)   Mother: Daß ich das *chi--* das Huhn jetzt immer nur noch so kauf,   <2:4>

The high percentage of terms from the core vocabulary however cannot be explained solely with difficulties of finding the "right word." Sometimes it simply seems necessary to use an English transfer in order to establish cohesion to an English context with which the term is associated. This is evident particularly in the case of those cohesive transfers which establish lexical cohesion in a conversation across switching points, i.e. cohesion between two utterances made in different languages (see above). The following excerpt from sequence 11 illustrates this point (28). It contains all utterances in which the terms *pork chop* or *Kotelett* occur, *pork chop* being transferred several times into German utterances by the mother.

(28) 01   Mother: *We have .. nice pork chops with a little spice.*
     02   Father: Ja.
     ...
   112   Mother: Kannst du-- äh .. die sind schon geputzt die- die *mushrooms,*
                      die brauchst du bloß noch--
   113   M: Braten und--
   114   Mother: Braten. ... Ja, die *pork chops.* .. und dann haben wir-- (und dann macht--)
     ...
   148   M: *Why is it you bought only steak meat?*
   149   Mother: *Pork chops we bought--*
   150   M: *Pork chop is kind of steak meat.*
     ...
   218   Mother: *It's different, the time we fly back,* ja? *It's already hard, but it- it's possible, but--*
   219   M: *... Then I'll probably be on the same plane--*
   220   Father: ( ) *go first.*
   221   Mother: *We solve that.* Ja, *the pork chops and we can stick them in the oven.*
     ...
   553   M: <calls out> Wie weit sind die *steaks?* .. *How far are the steaks?*
   554   Father: *Almost done.* <on the balcony>
   555   Mother: *Okay.*
   556   M: *Almost done.*
   557   Mother: *Okay,* dann steck's in den Ofen, das es nicht kalt wird. Das--
   558   Father: *Where are the pork chops?*
   559   Mother: *Okay, just a second, let me do the salad dressing, I'm not done yet.*
                      ... Almost there.
     ...
   658   Father: *So. ... Can I serve you? It'd be easier, 'cause--*
   659   Philipp: *Sure.*
   660   Father: *Do you want pork chop or steak?*
   661   C: (Ja, sind wir   [xx?])
   662   Philipp: [*Maybe*] *steak.*
     ...
   669   C: <to her father> [x Fleisch,] ein ganz kleines Stück.
   670   Mother: <returning from the kitchen> *Chick--* äh *pork chop,*
   671   ja, magst du wahrscheinlich lieber.
     ...

678	Father:	Marie, was möchtest du?
679	M:	Ich will des braunste Kotelett.
680	Father:	Welches ist die braunste?
681	M:	Du weißt doch, das kann man an der Farbe sehen. Das ist da unten.
682	Father:	Was denn?
683	Mother:	A Kartoffel, ich mag a kleines Stückle *steak* und dann 'n Kotelett.

...

1028	Philipp:	(*Could I have a pork chop.*)
1029	Mother:	Ja, (xx)
1030	Father:	*Would you like to have a big one?*
1031	Mother:	Ja, *give him a big one, we have so many.*
1032	Philipp:	Ehm, ja, *maybe.*
1033	Mother:	<laughs> Marie, du mußt noch was essen. *Pork chop.*
1034	M:	Ich hab' gegessen!
1035	Philipp:	<to the father> *Thanks.*
1036	Mother:	Noch'n *pork chop.*
1037	M:	Ich hatte einen großen *pork chop.*
1038	Mother:	Einen großen. Der *pork chop* oder das *pork chop*?
1039	M:	[Die:].
1040	Mother:	[Die *pork*] *chop.*
1041	Philipp:	Nee.
1042	Mother:	Daß die der *pork chop* hol, <laughs> der Teufel hol.
1043	Philipp:	Das ist ein interessantes Thema übrigens. Die--
1044	Mother:	Das die der?
1045	Philipp:	Die Genus--
1046	Father:	Dem Kotelett.
1047	Mother:	Dem Kotelett, das Kotelett!
1048	M, C:	<laugh>

One can see that the term *pork chop* is used exclusively at first during the preparation of the meal. It is used by the mother in an English utterance (line 1), then in a German one (114), and again in an English utterance (221). After dinner has started, the mother uses *pork chop* in German utterances exclusively (lines 670, 1033, 1036, 1038, 1040, and 1042), and M uses it as well (1037). The lexeme *Kotelett* 'pork chop' is first used by M (679), providing a further indication that the daughters' active vocabularies in German should not be underestimated, despite a high number of cases of core-borrowing.[94] The fact that the mother subsequently uses *Kotelett* as well (683) illustrates the importance of context and cohesion for the speaker's choice of words. Her renewed transfer of *pork chop* (1033) occurs after the term has been used in an English utterance by Philipp (1028).

The following example (29) again illustrates the influence of the context on the speaker's choice of words and emphasizes the importance of lexical repetition in the creation of cohesion. Here the mother uses the term *Projekte* as a loan translation of American English *projects* and she specifically draws attention both to the fact that Philipp had used that term earlier in the day (not recorded) and to her own unfamiliarity with the term.

(29) <1:170-1, in the car, passing a housing development in Saint John.>
      Mother: <to Philipp> Ist auch wieder so ein Projekt, lauter so Projekte an der Seite,
                oder wie du des fei genannt hattest.

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[94]Compare the use of *witness* <5:491> and *Zeuge* <13:328> by M (see above).

A cohesive, context-dependent choice of a particular lexeme can also bridge separate conversations. The transfers of the lexemes *long-distance call* and *Germany* by the mother (30) are examples of this, appearing as quotes from the excuse she made up several hours before when explaining her belated arrival at a choir practice to the other members of the choir, all speakers of English.

(30)   <6:344-347, at night, in the living room, mother has returned from choir practice.>
      Mother: Ich hab den allen gesagt, "Ich entschuldige mich so,
              aber ich hat' ein' *long-distance call* aus *Germany*, und da mußten--
              grad als- als ich zur Tür rausgehen wollte, und das kann man ja nun nicht--"
              Ich muß mir für jede Woche immer eine Ausrede--

Some transfers can thus be interpreted as "distant" cohesive transfers, extending across the limits of a single conversation. Also one can assume that the probability of an English lexeme being transferred into a German utterance increases with the frequency of its use in English (corresponding to Joshi 1985). The fact that food shopping is done in English can be regarded as motivating the mother's frequent use of culinary terms from the core vocabulary (*chicken*, *bread*, *garlic*, etc.). A similar case is the transfer of *audition* in example (31), referring to its use in the youth orchestra (NBYO) where English is spoken.

(31)   C: Der hat auch die *audition* für *NBYO* gemacht.   <8:1111>

The coherent transfer of *lipstick* in example (12) above is another example of a transfer that evokes a previous conversation held in English. The notion of cohesive transferring can explain the occurrence of many transfers from the core vocabulary in particular, where previous approaches have fallen short.

In code-switching literature, there is controversy as to whether single lexemes transferred from the EL can be considered as cases of (intrasentential) code-switching. Poplack et al. (1988:52) consider only EL "sentence fragments" consisting of several lexemes as cases of code-switching and invariably describe singly transferred lexemes as cases of "single item borrowing". Myers-Scotton (1993:5) on the other hand subsumes certain transfers under the term code-switching. As mentioned above (3.1.), she attributes a lexeme to code-switching based on the absolute frequency of its occurrence in the data set and its relative frequency in relation to its equivalent in the ML. The present data set is not large enough to conduct such an analysis as most transfers are used rarely and by one speaker only. According to Myers-Scotton, a term like *audition* is part of the speakers' mental German lexicon as it is transferred repeatedly by several speakers and as no German equivalent of it occurs. But the transfers of *chicken* or *mushroom* would be considered cases of code-switching, since ML equivalents do occur in the data set.

However, this definition of intrasentential code-switching is based on the assumption that such a use of EL lexemes occurs arbitrarily and unconsciously, without fulfilling

a local function. As most studies of code-switching are rooted in sociolinguistics, the function of multilingual utterances is primarily viewed as an expression of social identity in bilingual and bicultural communities. In contrast to this view, Auer (1984a: 9) emphasizes the functionality of code-switching and transferring in discourse. The transfer of lexemes from the core vocabulary, like *chicken* or *mushroom* into German utterances, can certainly be regarded as discourse-functional if they establish a cohesive tie between the utterance and a previous one, whether in the same conversation or another. Their attribution to the phenomenon of intrasentential code-switching (or rather *code-mixing*) is therefore out of place.

4. Code-Mixing

The term *code-mixing* is used less commonly in bilingualism research than *code-switching*. Auer (1984a: 9)[95] uses it in contrast to code-switching to denote multilingual utterances where the alternation can no longer have a discourse function because mixing has become an independent mode of interaction, thus blurring the contrasts between the languages on which the functionality of language alternation depends.[96] By this term he mainly refers to studies by Poplack (and Sankoff) of the language use of Puerto Ricans in New York, whose speech often creates the impression that the two languages used, i.e. English and Spanish, are mixed evenly (32).

(32)   So you *todavía* haven't decided *lo que vas a hacer* next week.

(Sankoff and Poplack, 1979: 3)

These utterances, which do not allow a matrix language to be determined, are the ones that inspire theories of a distinctive "grammar of code-switching" in bilingual usage (Sankoff and Poplack 1979: 5). To describe sentences such as (32), Sankoff and Poplack (like Myers-Scotton 1993: 24) have established the term *intrasentential code-switching*, but others, including Di Sciullo, Muysken, and Singh (1986) or Bokamba (1988) refer to it as *code-mixing*. Due to the two terms' respective literal meanings, *code-mixing* seems more apt to describe utterances as in (32), while *intrasentential code-switching* seems the more suitable term to describe utterances in which a single alternation of the language of interaction occurs.

In this chapter, I shall focus on those cases of language alternation in which several morphemes from each language occur in one utterance.[97] Compared to the large number of transfers, such utterances are relatively exceptional. Overall, 44 cases occur in the data, 33 of them produced by the mother, 5 and 3 by each of the daughters respectively, two by the father and one by Philipp.

In these cases, code-mixing can be interpreted as a transitional stage between transfer and code-switching as the "mixed" character of some utterances is caused by the occurrence of several transfers, and in others by a change of the language of interaction in the middle of the utterance. In these latter cases, the switch commonly occurs in connection with a transfer of a single lexeme, or even a proper name, thus functioning as a trigger for such utterance internal code-switching. Other examples can be regarded as transfers of single units containing several lexemes, following

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[95] In the German version of his book he uses the term *frequentes Alternieren* (Auer, 1983: 351).
[96] According to Auer (1983: 352), code-mixing is therfore an intermediate stage between transfer and code-switching: "*Transfer greift die etablierte Interaktionssprache nicht an, Code-Switching schlägt einen Wechsel vor. Im Falle des frequenten Alternierens bricht diese Unterscheidung zusammen.*"
[97] Auer also suggests regarding the occurrence of German tag switches in English as signs of a mixed code.

Auer's definition of transfer (1983: 52f). However, many examples give rise to the impression that the alternation is not intended by the speakers.

Repeated language alternation as in example (32) does not occur at all in the data. Such a symmetry between the languages involved is not possible as German lexemes are only minimally tolerated in English utterances. Therefore code-mixing is possible only if German remains the matrix language or if the matrix language changes from German to English within the sentence, but not from English to German (see examples 33, 38, 39, and 41).

Approximately half of these examples are cases of extended transfer into the ML (German), when either an idiomatic expression (33) or several single lexemes are transferred from the EL (English or French), so that all open-class items in the utterance are EL lexemes (34-37). Overall, there are 16 German utterances of this latter type, 14 with English lexemes and 2 with French lexemes transferred. It has to be noted though that those utterances are not only rare, but that if they occur they can be the subject of derision and amusement within the family. In (35) the mother mocks her daughter's speech style from a few years before. Such mixed utterances, where two single nouns are transferred, can also be regarded as cases of *triggering* (Clyne 1967) where the second transfer is triggered by the first, which is often a case of cultural borrowing (36) or a proper name (37).

(33a)	Mother:	Die ist *up in arms*.	<7:178>
(33b)	Mother:	Und da war soviel .. *tension in the air, right?*	<2:2230>
(33c)	M:	Ich- ich bin *totally lost*.	<13:101>
(34)	Mother:	Da ist kein *commitment* von 'ner *company* mehr da.	<2:639>
(35)	Mother:	Da hat die <u>cloche</u> ge<u>sonnet</u>, und da hat alles so--	<5:161>
(36)	Philipp:	*Cajun food* is' alles mit *shrimps*.	<2:1375>
(36)	Mother:	*Shepherd's pie* .. ist so ein .. ein *nightmare*.	<9:91>
(37)	C:	Ich hab "*Haagen Dasz*" mit ahm *Danish- Danish ice cream*.	<3:467>

The examples (33a-c) are cases of utterances where the matrix language appears to be switched in the middle of the sentence. This is a form of code-mixing that is relatively typical of the data set; the switch usually occurring from German to English. Other than in the case of transfers, the speaker seems to switch unconsciously from one language to another, particularly when a proper name (38, 39) or a transferred lexeme (40) functions as a trigger. As mentioned above (3.4.3.), Clyne (1994: 959) defines a lexeme as a *trigger word* when it is fully or nearly identical in the two languages and therefore causes a linguistic disorientation of the speaker. Cultural borrowing and proper names generally have to be analyzed accordingly if they have no equivalent in the ML.[98] In example (39), cohesion between the finite verb *ages* and *to age* in the previous sentence is an additional factor in the switch to English, but it is certainly facilitated by the use of the proper name *Kramer* [kreɪm«].

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[98]Compare Clyne (1967: 94) for triggering after proper names.

(38) Mother: So wann ist *"Boston Commons" tonight*? <2:2007> {TV show}
(39) M: *And the characters are timeless. Like they don't seem to age.*
     Mother: *That's right.* Na ja, doch *Kramer ages.* <8:112-3> {about the TV show "Seinfeld"}
(40) M: Sechs- *okay,* sechs- wie sagt man das "sechs-*lingualist" or whatever.* <12:55>

A homophonous lexeme like *in*, which is identical and synonymous in English and German, can also function as a trigger in either direction. However, in both two cases occuring in the data set (41), the switch is aborted and repaired, illustrating the unconscious character of the switch as well as the limits within which switches are accepted by the speakers. This kind of triggering is probably only possible in genetically related languages with parallels in syntax and vocabulary, according to Poplack's (1980: 586) equivalence constraint hypothesis: "*Code switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L_1 and L_2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language.*"

(41a) Mother: Und die blau-weiße Tischdecke ist *in the-* im Schrank. <5:288>
(41b) Mother: *The best choir* in ga- *in all Canada sits in Vancouver.* <9:367>

In example (42) the term *kosher/koscher*, existing in both languages as a loan word from Hebrew, apparently triggers the (aborted) transfer of *butcher*. It is worth noting that the mother's knowledge of Jewish culture is based mainly on her experiences with English-speaking Jews in Montreal.

(42) Mother: Kauft die äh Susannah beim koscheren *bu-* Metzger? <2:1327>

A linguistic disorientation can also occur at the border of an utterance and thus trigger code-switching, as in the case of the transferred *first aid assignment* in example (43).

(43) <2:2056-61, after dinner, C tells about her homework schedule for the evening..>
     Mother: Ich versteh dich net, von acht bis zehn hast frei?
     C: Nein, bis zehn Uhr mach ich Kemie und dann nach zehn Uhr mach ich mein *first aid assignment.* <mumbling>
     Mother: *What, your first ...?*
     C: *First aid assignment!*
     Mother: *Okay.* Ja, *that's fine.* Viel Spaß.

Quotations can have a similar effect, but generally cause only brief disorientations as well, as in the following example (44), in which the lengthy English quote at first triggers an English utterance before the speaker returns to the previous language of interaction, German.[99]

(44) <5:506-9, the mother and Philipp are also present.>
     M: <reads> "*The camp directors wish to thank the department of education, Province of New Brunswick, for providing some funding for scholarship among others as well as contributing to reducing costs for resident students.*" *So, it doesn't say.* Es sagt nicht ob die- man muß von *New Brunswick* sein,

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[99]This can be viewed as support for Auer's attribution of quoted speech (1983: 54, 319) to the phenomenon of transfers (see 3.1.).

With the exception of (41b) the direction of the switch is from German to English in all cases of triggering, which corresponds to Clyne's (1967: 84f) observations in the language use of German-English bilinguals in Australia. This follows logically from the fact that transfers or other elements that could cause a linguistic disorientation are almost completely missing in English utterances.

Another topic relevant to the analysis of mixed utterances concerns the constraints on the possible combinations of morphemes from the respective languages. Some false starts and reformulations allow to draw conclusions concerning constraints. Aborted forms as in the examples under (45) indicate that switches are less acceptable if they occur between an attributive adjective or possessive pronoun and the subsequent noun, though unrepaired examples of the latter case exist as well (46).

(45a)   Mother: Daß die sagen "*okay*, wir sind *your*--
         .. Ja, ich verlang daß du *loyal* bist, aber ich bin's nicht."   <2:639>
(45b)   Mother: "beure" steht auch drauf also ist ein dreisprachiger-- *a trilingual fridge.* <2:1002>
(46a)   Mother: und dann hat man doch die ganze *chi- chicken breast,*   <2:458>
(46b)   M: Ich hatte einen großen *pork chop.*   <11-1037>

Switches caused by constraints, as in (45b), are described as cases of *anticipational triggering* by Clyne (1967: 86). In terms of the speaker's consciousness, they are the opposite of the cases of *consequential triggering* mentioned above since the switch occurs consciously and more or less unavoidably and not unwillingly and unconsciously as in (41) and (42).

Some phenomena which are subsumed under transfer in this study may also be viewed as tendencies toward a mixed code, most notably the use of discourse particles like *okay* or *ja/yeah* in either English or German by all speakers, and especially that of *ne?* in either language by the mother. The same is true of certain interference phenomena. If an English noun is transferred into German as part of an idiomatic expression, the remaining part of the expression is translated (47-49), thus creating a mixed utterance to which English contributes more than just a single lexeme.

(47)   Mother: Ihr nehmt einen *rain check,*   <5:205>
(48)   Mother: Ich freu mich ja wenn er endlich mal einen *crush* auf jemanden hat, Mensch.
        [...] Und dann kann ich jemand finden der auf mich 'nen *crush* hat.   <2:216-9>
(49)   M: Du mußt *ID* bringen. [...] Die fragen für *ID*.   <11:275-9>

5. Code-switching in conversation

5.1. Terminolgy

An initial analysis of the data in section (2.4.) showed that, besides lexical transfers, one other phenomenon of language alternation occurs very frequently, namely code-switching. In the following chapter, I shall describe the speakers' use of code-switching and examine the functions that it takes in structuring discourse in the family.

Under the title of *Conversational code switching*, Gumperz (1982) first studied the different functions which code-switching can fulfill in conversation, including both inter- and intra-sentential types. The functionality of code-switching in discourse had remained unnoticed for a long time in bilingualism research. Weinreich (1953: 73), for example, allowed for a function of code-switching only in those cases where it marks a quotation or a change in the setting of the conversation.[100] This view is also at the basis of Fishman's (1965) conviction that each language is associated with particular *domains*.[101] In contrast to this view, Gumperz (1982: 98) established that code-switching can function as a *contextualization cue*. Like prosodic features, it signals the semantic content of an utterance (1982: 131).

> Code switching signals contextual information equivalent to what in monolingual settings is conveyed through prosody or other syntactic or lexical processes. (Gumperz 1983: 98)

Auer (1984a) observed further that conversational code-switching can be *participant related* or *discourse related*.[102] However, that distinction is a quantitative rather than a categorical one. The study of the present data shows that in many cases of code-switching several relevant factors coincide. This makes the classification difficult, even though the function of each individual case becomes evident. A quantification of different types of code-switching, as in the analysis of the transfers under 4.4., is therefore not possible. According to Auer (1984a: 11), it is not necessary however as he claims that "*it is a mistake to believe that numbers of occurrences of certain 'types' of language alternation could reveal their functional character*." Instead, the functions of code-switching in family discourse can be better demonstrated on the basis of individual examples.

In the analysis of the present data, those cases of code-switching will be discussed first which are related to a participant's preference for a certain language (5.2.). Under

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[100]This includes changes in the conversation's topic or in the constellation of its participants.
[101]Fishman (1972: 29ff) illustrates this with an example of a boss who uses English when discussing a business-related topic with his secretary, but switches to Spanish once the conversation shifts to the topic of a Puerto Rican parade.
[102]The types represent two poles of a continuum (Auer 1983: 56).

(5.3.) those cases will be discussed in which a discourse function independent of the speakers' competence or preference is clearly discernible.

5.2. Preference-related code-switching

5.2.1. Switching to the speaker's preferred language

The preference of a multilingual speaker for a particular language is a commonly observed phenomenon. Sociolinguistic studies by Bourhis (1984) or Heller (1982) demonstrate that code-switching is common in Montreal even among strangers (e.g. customer and clerk) and that bilingual speakers generally tend to choose the language preferred by their addressee. This willingness to comply with the addressee's preference can lead to complications if neither of the two speakers signals such a preference. Heller (1982: 112f.) illustrates this with a telephone conversation during which the frustrated caller asks the clerk "*Êtes-vous française ou anglaise?*" after not having received any previous indication of the clerk's language preference.

Di Sciullo et al. (1976) assume that multilingual speakers have a hierarchically organized repertoire of languages which (combined with the addressee's respective repertoire) determines the language choice in a conversation.

In the present data, the initial analysis of single sequences under (2.4.) have already shown that the participant constellation of a given conversation is an important factor for the occurrence of code-switching. Code-switching is much more common in sequences in which the father is present than those in which he is not.[103] The reason for this lies in the speakers' divergent language preferences. Since the speakers speak mostly German in the father's absence (see above), but address him (and are addressed by him) mostly in English,[104] his presence causes an "instability" of language choice, as divergent preferences are confronted with one another. Obviously the father prefers to speak English, whereas the other speakers have a preference for German but are willing (and able) to comply with his preference when he is present. A change in the constellation of active participants therefore generally favors the occurrence of code-switching.

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[103]In the excerpt of sequence 2 examined above, 120 code switches occurred, representing eight percent of all utterances. In the three sequences examined during which the father was absent, code-switching occurs in between 2.5 and 6.1 percent of all utterances (see above).

[104]In the excerpt of sequence 2 examined above, 80 percent of the utterances made by the father are in English, as well as 85 percent of those utterances addressed to him. Two thirds (67%) of all utterances in the sequence are in English, varying between 69 percent of the mother's and 51 percent of both C's and Philipp's utterances.

These individual preferences are consistent throughout the entire corpus.[105] Language negotiation sequences (Auer 1984a: 20), i.e. disagreements in the language choice, almost never occur between the family members. The behavior varies only to the extent in which the use of German is permissible in the father's presence. It is obvious that the data questions a definition of language preference which is based on the speaker's competence (as in Di Sciullo et al., 1976: 130). Both daughters demonstrate a clear preference for German in the sense that they speak German most of the time (within the family), especially when they are among themselves. According to the theory of Di Sciullo et al., English would have to be regarded as the girls' "dominant" and therefore preferred language[106] because their use of English is virtually indistinguishable from that of monolingual Canadian native speakers, but both show some irregularities in their German (see 3). Di Sciullo et al. (1976: 130) formulate the following hypothesis "*Si deux variétés sont par rapport l'une à l'autre dans le même ordre de dominance chez le locuteur et son (ses) destinataire(s), la variété dominante sera la plus fréquemment employée.*" According to this hypothesis, the two girls would have to speak English with each other, or possibly even French, but certainly not German, which would have to be ranked lowest in the hierarchy of their repertoire.[107]

However, the aim of this study is not to predict a speaker's choice of language (as in the study of Di Sciullo et al.) but rather to interpret the choices that occur. Therefore (following Auer 1984a: 47), language preference will be defined by the speaker's language choice rather than by his or her competence or an emotional or affective value attached to a language. The determination of the individual language prefence is partly based on the statistical analysis made above (2.4.), but it can also be demonstrated by examples from the conversation in a speaker's direct choice of language (50) or where the preference is the topic of the discussion (51).

(50)   <12:553-8, early morning in the kitchen, shortly before leaving for school,
            C asks her mother to have a film developed for her.>
            C: Oh, kannst du den Film--?
            Mother: Wohin denn?
            C: Ähm, Ich weiß nicht? Schreibwaren-? oder?
            Father: *Ah, I'll bring it.*
            Mother: *You bring it?* Ja?
            C: *(Okay).*

(51)   <2:2255-6, in the kitchen, the mother and Philipp are alone. At the end of a long monologue
            about relationships between men and women, which was completely in English.>
            Mother: *I'm sure Susannah feels that way too sometimes.*

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[105]Preferences may vary during the life of a multilingual speaker. In their earlier childhood, both daughters went through phases where they attempted to speak only one language, i.e. even answering English questions in German or vice versa.

[106]Di Sciullo et al. (1976: 130) base their concept of dominance on a comparison of the speaker's competence in the respective languages.

[107]In their study, Di Sciullo et al. (1976: 133f) describe comparable cases of bi- or trilingual speakers who speak mainly Italian within the family, despite the fact that the language ranks last in their language "repertoire", after English and/or French.

You need that, just that- that you know and I mean, di-di--
Jetzt kann ich ja wieder Deutsch reden. <laughs>

In (50) the father switches to English but continues the discussion held in German between mother and daughter. At the same time, he changes his status in the conversation, in which he was neither speaker nor addressee before. The change of language can thus also be regarded as a contextualization cue marking this change of status. The example demonstrates the above-mentioned problem in the analysis of conversational code-switching as several relevant factors occur simultaneously. The father shows a general preference for English, which can be explained by his relatively limited competence in German. When the base language is German, his contributions are short and remain confined to certain topics and phrases. This is illustrated by the performance errors described above and by occasional problems of comprehension.[108] In some cases it seems that the father does not respond to a German utterance because he does not feel addressed by it (52).

(52)   <11:551-6, the mother and M in the kitchen, the father is on the balcony, by the barbecue.>
        Mother: Das kannst du jetzt glaub ich schon auf'n Tisch-- Wart', frag mal den *daddy.*
                   weil der-- ich weiß nicht wie weit der mit'm *steak* ist.
        M: <calls> Wie weit sind die *steaks?* .. *How far are the steaks?*
        Father: *Almost done.* <from the balcony>

Auer (1984b: 96) describes such cases of code-switching as *non-first firsts*, since both M's original utterance and its repetition in translation are the first pair member of an adjacency pair, i.e. initiating a question-answer sequence. The daughter doesn't receive an answer to her question in German, so she repeats the utterance in the "correct" language.

Nevertheless, there are cases in which the father speaks German, as indicated in table 3 above. In the entire data set, he makes 70 utterances in German, 40 of which refer directly to the meal or to cooking, and another 12 refer to other situational contexts. Only seven of his utterances in German are in a narrative context, i.e. situation-independent. Two are formulaic and the other five are addressed to Philipp.[109] As is the case with the mistakes mentioned above (see 1.1.), these figures demonstrate the father's preference for English over German as they show the formal and topical limitations of his German. To some degree, however, he does participate actively in German conversations and even switches from English to German on some occasions (see below 5.3.3.).

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[108]The following is an example of a German utterance not understood by the father: <8:776-7>
Ruth: .. Nur gut das wir so jung sind, *Georges*, ne? .. *Are we--* ('It's good that we are so young, isn't it?')
Georges: Hab ich nicht verstanden. ('I didn't understand that.')
[109]See <2:1341, 1382>, <9:514> and <11:742, 752>. The remaining cases are either comprehension questions or other meta-linguistic remarks, such as the repetition of corrections made by other speakers (*die Butter*, after having originally said *der Butter* <2:1020>).

5.2.2. Switching to the addressee's preferred language

In contrast to the father's preference, Philipp shows a language preference that is dependent on the constellation of active participants. The statistical analysis above indicated that he speaks German on principle with the mother and with the two girls,[110] but uses English whenever addressing the father.[111] His language use diverges significantly from that of the family members and clearly singles him out as a guest. His determination to use always the same language with a particular participant causes conflicts, as in example (53), in which he switches from English to German when addressing M, but without contextualizing a change of topic or attitude.

(53) <Sequence 2, 1466-72, during dinner.>
Father: *Sort of like in North Carolina, on the outer .. Cape Hatteras?*
Mother: *Hm.*
Father: *All the houses there are on stakes.*
M: *Oh, cool. I'd like to travel more.*
Mother: *In-- .. Virginia Beach has houses (like that) it's true. In Summer--=*
Philipp: <addressing M> =Ich kann dir ja mal die Fotos aus *New Orleans* zeigen.
Mother: Ja, du, die ham lauter Säulchen. Die Häuser sind ^so schön, Marie. ...

While the mother and her daughters can put aside their preference for German and in fact frequently address each other in English when the father is present (see examples 60 and 67),[112] Philipp's addressee-related language preference proves to be very inflexible. He is not used to bilingual conversation and instead adheres to a monolingual conversational principle according to which one particular language is associated with each participant and used exclusively.

Despite the fact that the speakers' individual language preferences limit the possibilities of language alternation, they play an important part in a multilingual conversation because they allow the selection of an addressee through a switch to his or her preferred language. The analysis of the code-switching cases in the excerpt of sequence 2 (see 2.4.1.) demonstrated that other speakers switch to English much more often when addressing the father than the father switches himself. Particularly in his case, the language preference is manifested by the other speakers' attribution rather than by his own active choice of language. This is demonstrated in the following example (54).

(54) <8:852-4, during dinner, the mother offers food to her husband.>
Mother: Da ist noch ein bißchen was übrig.
Father: Danke.

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[110]In those sequences without the father examined under (2.4.3.) Philipp does not make a single utterance in English, but 127 in German.

[111]The only exceptions to this rule are cases in which Philipp answers directly to questions which the father phrased in German.

[112]In contrast to her sister and her mother, C demonstrates a certain preference for German even in her father's presence. In sequence 2 this is apparent both in the percentage of her utterances that are in German (48.8%) as well as in the direction of her use of code-switching (six switches to German, only two to English).

Mother: *Here you go.*

The attribution of the father's language preference goes along with an assessment of his competence in German, which often seems to be less favorable than his actual compentence.[113] The attributed preference is also evident in the participants' reaction to an unusual choice of language, as in (55).

(55)   <2:939-47, in the kitchen, during dinner preparation.>
        Mother: *Okay,* was ich sagen wollte, Brotschneiden, Georges!
        Father: Brotschneiden? Wir haben zehn Minuten.
        Mother: Nee, wir haben-- Ja zehn genau, das Brot ist so heiß und so--
        Philipp: Papier? <referring to napkins>
        Father: Ist es nicht--
        Mother: Papier, ja.
        Father: Ja das ist schön.
        Mother: Oh, der *daddy* spricht Deutsch!
        M: Uuuuhhh!

The possibility of selecting an addressee through switching to his or her language of preference also permits doing just the opposite. Not using a participant's preferred language may imply that he or she is not the addressee, or, in the most extreme case, it may even imply that he or she is excluded from the conversation.

In the present study, the father shows the strongest preference for a particular language (English) due to his limited competence in another (German). It is therefore unclear to what degree it is permissible to "exclude" the father from the conversation by using German in his presence. The following example (56) contains a long excerpt in which German is spoken despite the father's presence.

(56)   <11:1070-1143, during dinner, Philipp talks about a German acquaintance.>
        1070   Philipp: <addressing the father> *And he- once I heard him speak to someone and I heard*
        him say
                           "I am the Günter*"*&
        1071   Mother, C: <laugh>
        1072   Philipp: &*"from* Tübingen."
        1073   Father: *Oh, I am the* Günter!
        1074   Mother: *Clara used to go to Amy and--*
        1075   M: <giggles>
        1076   Mother: *"Can I play with the: Amy?" and that was in our street, you know, and she said*
                           "I'm the: Clara."
        1077   *And "Where is the: Amy?" and Linda would just come back and laugh and -*
                           "the: Amy is not home".
        1078   <All laugh>
        1079   Mother: *Because in Franco-- you say* "Wo ist die Esther?" Das ist die Ruth.
        1080   Und das Dorle.
        1081   Philipp: "Das Ruthla."
        1082   Mother: <laughs> "Das Ruthla." Und "das Dorle." Ja, *all eh .. neutered.* <laughs>
        1083   C: <laughs>
        1084   Philipp: ... Eine die bei mir im- im Gymnasium war, die-- deren Mutter sprach richtig
        Rheinisch
                           und die--
        1085   der Tobias hat mal erzählt er hat da angerufen und nach der gefragt, die hieß
        Dagmar,
        1086   und die Mutter sagte "Et Dagmar is' bei die Edeka am arbeiten."
        1087   Mother, C, M: <laugh>

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[113]Several examples (e.g. above) prove that the father is capable of following the content of a conversation held in German. He often makes efforts to speak German and occasionally asks abstract questions in German to Philipp.

1088	Philipp:	<laughs> "Edeka" ist weiblich weil's auf A endet. <laughs>
1089	Mother:	(xx weiter) Ich kann nicht mehr.
1090	C:	*Where is the Amy?*
1091	Mother:	Ja aber *"the Amy", it's so hard to pronounce,* ja?
1092	M:	*The Amy.*
1093	C:	*Where's the Cathy?*
1094	Mother:	*The Cathy. And I'm the Clara. The: Clara.*
1095	M:	*I'm the Marie.*
1096	Mother:	Ja, das ist schon hart. Aber man sagt das so.
1097		Zum Beispiel die Tante Erika sagt immer "der Helmut".
1098		Und "d- des Dorle" weil da sagt man nicht einmal "das"
		weil das klingt so furchtbar.
1099		"Das Dorle" *sounds so horrible so we always say in the dialect* "des Dorle".
		<laughs>
1100		*Which is of course, genetive, when you take it.*
1101		*Which is of course grammatically totally wrong. But, who cares. We are--* ..
1102		Aber das ist ja nicht "des Dorles", sondern wir sagen ja "des Dorle".
1103		<addressing C, who raises her hand> Ja was ist, meldest dich? <laughs> Oder?
1104	C:	Nein, ich-
1105	Mother:	Meine Schüler machen das normalerweise so, wenn sie was sagen wollen.
1106	Philipp:	Ja eben. Der Stiefsohn von meinem Freund in Freiburg, also,
1107		die Freundin mit der er jetzt das [Kind hat] die hat schon ein erstes Kind gehabt,
1108	Mother:	[hm]
1109	Philipp:	und der Peter, der spricht halt so süß Badisch.
1110	Mother:	Hm.
1111	Philipp:	Das ist klasse.
1112		Und also als ich den zum ersten mal gesehen habe hat er gerade angefangen
		[zu sprechen].
1113	Mother:	[hm]
1114		Ist goldig, ne?
1115	Philipp:	Und sein erstes Wort war "des!"
1116	C:	<laughs>
1117	Mother:	<laughs> "Des" will ich. "Des". ..
1118	C:	"Schuh."
1119	Mother:	Aber als wir-- Ja genau, Schuh war deins.
1120	M:	Nee, das war meins.
1121	Philipp:	Ihr habt beide, glaube ich.
1122	Mother:	Beide.
1123	Philipp:	Beide Schuh.
1124	Mother:	Da muß ein Schuster in der Familie sein.
1125	M:	Ich fahr immer von [(xx)]
1126	Philipp:	[Meine Theorie] ist weil das auf Deutsch und Englisch
		dasselbe Wort ist.
1127	Mother:	Ah ja, genau.
1128	M:	Schuh.
1129	Mother:	Und weil Kinder von Schuhen angezogen sind irgendwie.
1130		Also, die haben ja dann auch immer mit den Schuhen gespielt. Die haben--
1131		<to M> Du hast den Leuten die Schuhbändel rausgezogen. Wie sie klein war.
1132	M:	<laughs>
1133	Philipp:	Das liegt an der Perspektive.
1134	Mother:	Ja. <laughs> *When you're so little shoes are very attractive.*
1135	Father:	Hm.
1136	Mother:	*We just put her in front of a* [*pile of shoes*] *and she was happy.*
1137	C:	[<laughs>]
1138		Das- Das andere interessiert mich doch gerade nicht. (Nur Schuh).
1139	M:	Nicht (einmal x)
1140	Mother:	*You don't see daddy, you don't see mummy, you see shoe! That's right.*
1141	Father:	*.. And the cats.*
1142	Mother:	*Cats, that's right. But it's really funny--* Na ja. Ist da noch eine Bohne?
1143		Will noch jemand 'ne Bohne? Der Salat, Clara.

The continuing use of German in example (56) is unusual for conversations in which
the father participates since contributions made by him in German are usually brief
and limited to instrumental talk concerning dinner. The use of German in the above
excerpt is undoubtedly due to the topic, which is based on wordplay, as the humor is

first created by the transference of the German rule of article distribution to English, but then subsequently by the disparity between grammatical and natural gender in some German dialects. For a brief passage, German, therefore, is both the medium and the topic of the conversation.

Between lines 1073 and 1141 the father does not contribute to the conversation and he does not laugh about any of the "jokes" after line 1078. But even though he does not appear to participate actively, he is repeatedly addressed by his wife. She attempts to reintegrate him into the conversation by explaining the preceding German utterances to him or commenting on them in English (lines 1079, 1082, 1091, 1099-1101, 1134, 1136, and 1140). Apparently she interprets his lack of participation in the conversation as an indication of his momentary exclusion from it. While she does assume that he is able to follow the German conversation to some extent,[114] she tries to lessen the impression of his exclusion by addressing him in English. Her code switches are thus not neccessarily actual translations, but rather constitute her attempts to facilitate the father's re-entry into the conversation by chosing his preferred language.

However, this is not an attempt to avoid the use of German all together. When she has reached her goal and he finally speaks again in line 1141, she immediately shifts her attention to the meal and switches back to German. As will be demonstrated under (5.3.3.), the use of German in dinner-related instrumental talk is common even in the presence of the father,[115] whereas it is uncommon in narrative passages.

The mother's behavior in the excerpt discussed above is typical and can be found all through the data. She commonly "translates" or reformulates German utterances for him, particularly in the case of jokes, when the others are laughing but he is not, as in example (57).

(57)　<2:1355-60, during dinner, discussing the fact that many old people live in Florida.>
　　　Mother:　　Das ist also-- Drum zieht's mich eigentlich nicht nach Florida,
　　　　　　　　weil irgendwann land' ich da sowieso.
　　　Philipp, M, (C):　　<laugh>
　　　Mother:　　*One day we will be there in Florida, so why--?*
　　　　　　　　Is that the new heaven, maybe?
　　　　　　　　I mean nobody can define that and maybe it's Florida?
　　　Father:　　*That's heaven's gate.*

This non-participation in laughter is problematic. According to Sacks (1995: II, 571), "*to do laughing right, it should be done together.*" There can be no doubt that laughing together is an important method of creating group identification so that the excluding effect of the use of German is particularly severe in this case. Through her translations, the mother attempts to neutralize this excluding effect, but she never

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[114]Otherwise her utterance in line 1134 would not be coherent.
[115]See also the overview on the father's use of German under (3.2.2.1.) above.

suceeds in making the father laugh "belatedly" about a joke that had been made in German before.

All these examples demonstrate the important role the mother plays in asserting the use of English within the family. This seems surprising since she is the person who "introduced" German to the family in the first place. But from a sociolinguistic perspective her behavior can be viewed as an indication of the fact that the use of German is allowed only to a certain extent, as long as it is not used at the expense of English since the success of the children in Canadian society is dependent on their command of English.

The mother's support of English further manifests the central role she plays in the family conversations. She is the parent who is able to judge the relevance and coherence of her children's contributions in both English and German. The communal dinner provides a particularly apt opportunity space for this, as Ochs et al. (1989: 238) demonstrate. In her book about dinner talk, Blum-Kulka (1997: 12) states that "... *when mealtime is shared physically and conversationally with children, it serves as a critical social context in which children become socialized to local cultural rules regulating conversation, such as the choice of topics, rules of turn-taking, modes of story-telling and rules of politeness.*" This process of socialization ends in "*the passage of children into adult discourse*" (Blum-Kulka 1997: 34), a passage that the two girls have not yet completed fully, though C has proceeded further than M (see 5.3.2. and 5.3.5.).

Rules of politeness include table manners (see example 62 below) as well as the choice of the adequate language in order to ensure that all persons present are included in the conversation. Due to his limited competence in German, the father can truly fulfill this parenting role only when English is spoken. However, it can be assumed that the dynamics change when French is spoken in the family, as for example in the presence of a French-speaking guest. In this case, the father, rather than the mother can be expected to be the parent who takes over this central role due to his native speaker's competence.

5.3. Discourse-related code-switching

The use of code-switching is not motivated solely by language preference or by changes in the participant constellation. Code-switching also occurs, if less often, when all speakers prefer the same language. In some cases the speakers even switch to what is clearly a non-preferred language, but their switches coincide with and contextualize a change of topic or footing.

Auer (1983: 53f) speaks of discourse-related alternation to describe such cases where the code-switch itself takes part in the production of meaning.

5.3.1. Language alternation in reported speech

A very frequent case of language alternation without a change in the participant constellation is that of rendering quotes in another language. While both Gumperz (1982: 75f) and Bentahila (1983: 240) consider this phenomenon a typical case of code-switching, Auer (1983: 54, 319) subsumes it under the category of "*discourse-functional transfers*", assuming that they remain embedded in the previous language of interaction ("*Rahmensprache*"), to which the speaker returns after the quote. The present data set illustrates that this is not always the case. While example (58) confirms Auer's hypothesis, example (59) demonstrates that such quotation-marking language alternation can challenge the previous choice of a language of interaction.

(58)   <4:34-5, in the car, Philipp tells the mother and C about a crime witnessed in New York.>
       Philipp: und dann sind wir hinterher mit der U-Bahn gefahren?
                  und ähm .. es war ziemlich voll, und plötzlich schrie Susannahs Mutter
                  "My wallet! Somebody has my wallet!" in der U-Bahn.

(59)   <2:2239-46, the mother tells about her first years in Montreal, only Philipp is present.>
       Mother: Wenn die dir das überlegst, im nachhinein. Aber der Georges hat den ganzen
                 Scheiß mitgemacht. (Hab ich) g'sagt *Ja, okay. Don't worry, I won't betray you
                 or-- but I need that feeling that I am- that I'm worth something again. [...]
                 I need that and I have to see that other men like me. You need that. [...]
                 You need that all your life. And this is the hi--
                 for me, this music program is so important.*
                 <Omissions in English, a long sequence in English follows.>

In the case of the mother's rendering of her own words and thoughts from twenty years ago, it is difficult to determine where the quotation ends. The transition from quoted speech (originally addressed to her husband) to "direct" speech (addressing Philipp) seems to be concluded with *for me, this music program*, since her music lessons could not have been the topic of discussion 20 years ago. It appears that the continuing choice of English as the language of interaction occurs unnoticed in this case, especially as she ends this passage with the remark *Jetzt kann ich ja wieder Deutsch reden* 'now I can speak German again' (see above, example 51). Such seemingly "unconscious" language choice was discussed above, in the section on triggering in chapter 4.

However, reported speech is not necessarily rendered in the same language that had originally been spoken. In example (30) above, it can be observed how a quote is "translated" with only some keywords remaining in the original language (*long-distance call* and *Germany*).

5.3.2. Code-switching in turn competition

One function of code-switching in discourse described by Bentahila (1983: 238) is to interrupt the previous conversation and gain the conversational floor[116] by attracting the other participants' attention. Li Wei (1998: 166f) also points out that code-switching is a useful means to "win" a turn competition between several participants, particularly if the speaker self selects. Several examples of this strategy can be found in the following example (60).

(60) <2:1579-1620, during dinner. C talks about the fact that Saint John is a fairly small community.>
1579	C:	It's interbreeding, I mean, nobody-
1580	M:	Hm.
1581	C:	No. <laughs>
1582	Father:	(It's only 'cause) Marc is the only o- who throws parties here in Saint John.
1583	C:	No.
1584	M:	Everybody [goes to Marc.]
1585	Father:	[goes to Marc]'s house.
1586	C:	Everybody knows the grade-twelves, (but Mami--)
1587	Mother:	He had graduated from grade twelve.
1588	C:	Ja, he- He had just graduated from grade twelve.
1589	Mother:	Ja but he was finished with grade twelve.
1590	C:	Yes, well--
1591	Mother:	Also da ist noch [Fleisch übrig.]
1592	C:	[X was to] another High school when he was in grade twelve.
1593		( ) grade eleven this year.
1594	Mother:	Meat. .. Georges.
1595	M:	Mami. .. Mami? .. Mami! Talking about inbreeding,
1596	Mother:	Ja?
1597	Philipp:	<laughs>
1598	M:	ahm the people here-- I'm tell-- No, I'm telling--
1599	Father:	We go from Irving to inbreeding...
1600	M:	No, I'm telling you about my classmates, okay?
1601	Father:	Who would like some more asparagus?
1602	C:	They all are ugly because they all are interbred.
1603	M:	You know how--
1604	Father:	Des asperges? Ici, toi?
1605	Mother:	Moi?
1606	Father:	Combien?
1607	M:	You know how on average--
1608	Mother:	Moi, je v(eux)--
1609	M:	Mami! Du weißt doch, wie normalerweise in der [Klasse] in Montreal&
1610	Mother:	[Danke]
1611	M:	&(daß-) nur drei Kinder oder zwei Kinder, die Brillen haben?
1612	Mother:	Ja?
1613	M:	Hier sind acht Kinder in meine Kla- haben acht Kinder in meiner Klasse Brillen.
1614	Mother:	Ich weiß das, ich weiß es.
1615	Father:	Marie? <offers asparagus>
1616	C:	Das ist echt schlimm, [soviele Leute haben Brillen.]
1617	M:	[N-n, n-n! Wenigstens acht!]
1618	Mother:	Ja?
1619	Father:	Noch was, Marie?
1620	M:	Nein, nein, kein App--

Blum-Kulka (1997: 61) points out that "to gain entry to the floor by initiating a new topic, the child needs to work conversationally harder than an adult." Not only do the Israeli or Jewish-American children in her study fail more often than adults in the

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[116]Erickson (1982:47) defines conversational floor as "a sustained focus of cognitive, verbal, and nonverbal attention and response between speaker and audience."

introduction of a new topic, but, in contrast to adults, they often have to explicitly target one specific addressee. Such a situation can be observed in lines 1595 and 1609, where M directly addresses her mother in order to gain the floor, both in her first attempt to initialize the topic and in her successful fifth attempt which coincides with a code-switch to German ("*Mami .. Mami? Mami!*" "*Mami! Du weißt doch...*"). C also addresses her mother directly, in line 1586, but does not succeed in gaining the floor initially. M's code switch to German in line 1609 (a partial reformulation of line 1607) can also be viewed as a specification of the addressee as it implies that she is not addressing her father. Furthermore, the mother's central role in the family conversations needs to be considered here as well. Gaining the mother's attention is effectively tantamount to gaining the conversational floor.

Finally, M suceeds in making her topical contribution by switching to German, even though her mother and her sister criticize the informational value (line 1614) and the relevance (1616) of her contribution. The topic introduced by M is not picked up by the other participants, and so she finally contents herself to having been able to complete her turn and accepts the subsequent change of topic (the meal).

5.3.3. Code-switching used to distinguish different types of talk

A dinner table conversation constitutes a specific social context that differs from other types of conversation in its higher tolerance of speech pauses and in its higher frequency of topic changes (Auer 1984a: 31). Furthermore, the meal itself is always available as a topic of discussion. As was mentioned above (5.2.2.), different patterns of language use are discernible for those parts of the dinner table conversation focusing on the meal itself than for the narrative, topical parts. According to Blum-Kulka (1997: 58) these two types of talk, *topical action* (i.e. the narrative, situation-independent talk) and *instrumental dinner talk*, are subject to different sets of discourse norms.

Example (60) illustrates how code-switching is used by the speakers to distinguish between these two types of talk. Bentahila (1983: 239f)[117] uses the term *parenthetical interpolation* to describe this use of code-switching and he remarks "*the change of language seems to be a useful device for marking such a change of topic.*" However, the comparison to a parenthesis ignores the interrupting nature that code-switching can have even in these cases.

In the excerpt under (60), three topic-initiating utterances refer to the dinner itself rather than to the discussion about the daughters' schoolmates (by the mother in line

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[117]He quotes a code-switch from Arabic to French which also envolves instrumental dinner talk: "*f lluwl kanu ga ma kajbanu* ('at the beginning they weren't seen at all.') *Tu veux un peu de Coca?*" (Bentahila 1983: 240).

1591 and by the father in lines 1601 and 1615). In all three cases there is no immediate reaction on the part of the addressee (the father, the mother, and M respectively), forcing the speaker to repeat the question. In each case, the second attempt differs from the first: in the first two cases, the question is reformulated in another language (lines 1594 and 1604), and in line 1619, the question is more explicit than the initial one in line 1615. In line 1591, the initial question is already a case of code-switching.

The father's French utterance *Des asperges? Ici, toi?* in line 1604 is particularly striking, as French is used only rarely throughout all recorded conversations in the family. While the language alternation as such corresponds to a typical pattern of contextualization, the particular choice of language is unusual, especially in view of the fact that the father uses code-switching from English to German in comparable circumstances (see example 61 below). A possible explanation for this lies in his lesser degree of compentence in German as well as in his apparent reluctance to use transfers (see 2.4.2.). It seems reasonable at least to assume that he would switch to German in line 1604 if the necessary vocabulary were at hand.[118] But he has not used the lexeme *Spargel* in the previous conversation, nor has it been used by another speaker in an utterance addressed to him. Since *Spargel* was last used by M (in an utterance addressed to her mother) more than 300 turns have passed, so it is possible that the lexeme was not present to the father in the moment of the code-switching. He may then have avoided the use of a transfer as in "*Wer möchte noch etwas asparagus?*" and chose to reformulate the question in French instead. Code-switching from English to French arguably establishes an even greater contrast since French utterances are so rare that the switch can be expected to attract more attention than a switch to German. It can also be interpreted as an indication that, due to the bilingualism in English and French which he acquired in childhood, the father possesses a long-established repertoire of discourse-functional code-switching strategies on which he falls back here and which in other cases makes it easier for him to use discourse-functional code-switching even between German and English despite his limited competence in German.

The second case in the above example, where the father interrupts the discussion about his daughter's schoolmates to redirect her attention to dinner, shows that he is capable of doing this in German (but still not using the lexeme *Spargel*). This time, the change of focus is not contextualized by code-switching, but by calling her by her name instead (lines1615 and 1619).

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[118]Despite the etymological closeness of *asparagus* and *Spargel,* the differences between the two lexemes in the initial sound and the intonation seem sufficient to allow for the possibility of a (momentary) gap in the lexicon.

In the case of the dinner-related utterances spoken by the mother in lines 1591 and 1594, the initial code-switch from English to German appears not to serve its purpose at first glance. The German utterance in line 1591 contrasts with the discussion in English about C's schoolmates, but it appears not to be directed at a specific addressee (in this case, as in others, a video recording would have allowed to draw more specific conclusions). Instead, the English reformulation in line 1594 resembles those cases in which the mother "translates" a previous German statement into English for her husband's benefit. It appears that the validity of code-switching as a contextualization cue for a change of topic can be subordinated to the principle of converging to the addressee's language of preference.

The two following examples illustrate cases in which code-switching also coincides with the change of topic from topical talk to instrumental dinner talk, but the direction of the code-switch is atypical of the speaker's general language use.

(61)   <11:927-34, during dinner>
        C: *I saw- I saw a tabloid today, in a stand.*
                And it said "What really happens after you die."
        Mother: *Ja?*
        C: *As a title.* <laughs>
        Mother, C: <laugh>
        Mother: *We should* (x x)
        C: (*I don't wonna read that*)
        Father: Marie? Clara? Kann ich die- den Bohnen haben, bitte schön? .. Danke schön.

(62)   <8:931-7, during dinner, discussing the course of the evening.>
        C: Ja, weil ich .. um acht in der Stadt sein muß. ..
        Mother: <to M> Ah. ..
        M: Was?
        Mother: *Your way of eating noodles is ..*
        M: (oh   )
        Mother: *We have a visitor. ..*
        M: Tschuldigung Philipp. ...

Examples (61) and (62) suggest that the direction of code-switching is irrelevant for contextualization. However, a statistical analysis shows that a certain affinity exists between switching to German and switching to situational talk about cooking or dinner. The corpus contains a total of 100 utterances in which a change of topic occurs towards the present situation of preparing or eating dinner. In 35 cases, this change of topic coincides with code-switching, i.e. 26 switches to German, 8 to English and one to French. If one regards solely those cases in which the preceding utterances were spoken in English, the share of code-switching rises to 55.1 percent,[119] whereas switches to English occurr only in 15.6 percent of those cases in which German was spoken before. This affinity is partly due to the fact that the preperation of dinner is done mostly by the mother, M, and Philipp, so that some of the switches could also

[119]This number includes the single case of code-switching to French. If it is excluded, switches to German occur in 53 percent of the cases where the previous discussion was held in English. (26 switches to German out of 49 cases with English as the base language, compared to 8 switches to English out of 51 cases where German was spoken before).

be interpreted as related to their language preference, for example if the father is present in the kitchen without actively participating in the preparation of dinner (63).

(63)   <2:611-15, in the kitchen, mother, father and Philipp are present.>
        Mother: <to the father> *Clara is so happy. She's like a changed person.*
                   This, also-- She practised violin and said "Now I know what to do."
                   And she said now finally it's all falling in place. And she's motivated and--
                   .. It's a different story .. all together. I'm really glad.
                   <to Philipp> Du darfst des wieder auf den Tisch stellen.

But correlation with a speaker's language preference does not provide a sufficient explanation, as example (64) demonstrates, in which the mother addresses her daughter in English to talk about a TV show, but then switches to German to call her attention to the lack of onions.

(64)   <8:77-87, in the kitchen, talking about the TV show "Seinfeld".>
        Mother: <to the father> *That's right, I just told Philipp about .. how "Seinfeld"*
                   ahm .. changes the language use, you know. They create new expressions.
                   <the mixer is on> *"Colliding worlds" never existed before.*
        M: *Yes they did.*
        Mother: *They did ja?*
        M: *Yes but not in the same sense.*
        Mother: *Okay, here--=*
        Philipp: *=(Like) the "Kavorka."* <Quote from a "Seinfeld"episode>
        Mother: Wart' einmal, ich brauch jetzt Zwiebeln, ham wir noch Zwiebeln da außen?
                   Ja. .. Lauch, aber *garlic...How about if you--*
        M: Wir haben Zwiebeln, wir hatten Zwiebeln?
        Mother: Wir hatten Zwiebeln, ich muß erst welche--

5.3.4. Code-switching used to distinguish multiple floors

When four or more participants are present an alternation between topics such as in the above example can lead to a split into two separate conversations or *multiple floors*.[120] In this corpus, however, such a "conversational schism" is never maintained for more than a few turns. In the following example (65-120), the choice of language corresponds to the participants' language preferences as they were described above so that the marking of the separate floors by different languages may be nothing more than a side effect of the preference rule.

(65)   <11:266-85, in the kitchen, planning the course of the evening.>
        Mother: *And- and Philipp and I, we just have a beer in O'Leary's, is that okay?*
        Father: *That's okay.*
        Mother: *And then we take her home again. Is that fine with you?*
        Father: *Yes, I--=*
        Mother: *=Or do you want to come along?*
        Father: *No, no,*
        M: Philipp?
        Philipp: [Hm.]
        Father: [*I'll*][[*go over (xx xx), some for*]]
        M: [[Du mußt *ID* bringen.]]
        Philipp: [Ein--]
        Father: [*(xx),*]

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[120]In his typology of participant structures of dinner talk, Erickson (1990:221) defines "*multiple floors*" as a division "[...] *with subgroups of the persons present participating simultaneously in topically distinct conversations.*"

M:	[[Die fragen für *ID*. (Sag ich dir nur)]]
Father:	[[*I have other things to do*]] *so* ..
Mother:	*Okay, that's fine.* [*I just didn't want to exlude*] *you.*
Philipp:	[Gibt es in *New York* auch.]
	Aber auch nicht immer, aber ab und zu.
	...<8>
Mother:	*I'm sorry--*
Philipp:	Ruth, du mußt auch 'n *ID* mitbringen.

A similar case can be observed in example (66), where the mother uses code-switching to alternate between two different addressees. This gives the impression that she is participating in two separate conversations at the same time. In line (745) these two separate conversations are joined thematically by a reformulation (*schlechtes Gewissen, bad conscience*), ending the conversation's division by addressee and language. Auer (1984a: 43) uses the term *double cohesion* to describe such cases where the choices of language and topic each establish coherence to a different context.

(66)		<2:737-49, in the kitchen, the father enters.>
737	Mother:	<to the father> [*Hello,*]
738	M:	[Es ist] komisch mal ein richtiges [[Essen zu haben.]]
739	Mother:	[[*you look good.*]]
740		Schau mal, was auf dem Tisch steht, Marie.
741	Father:	*Thank you.*
742	Mother:	Ja, *you look very good.*
743	M:	*Wo·w*! Blumen! Rosen!
744	Mother:	Ja, der *daddy* hat Rosen gekauft.
		Also ich glaub der hat a ganz schlechtes Gewissen.
745		<to him> *Bad conscience, huh?*
746	M:	*Why do you--?*
747	Father:	*Ahm, tomorrow, I don't know at what time I'll finish.*
748	Mother:	*Oh, that's good actually.*
749	M:	<laughs> *That's good. Now he knows!*

In these passages several factors co-occur which favor code-switching as the switches coincide with a change of topic as well as a change of addressee (with the exception of the one in line 745).

In their analysis of language alternation in two Italian families in Montreal, Di Sciullo et al. (1976: 151) establish that code-switching occurs most often if the speaker has not been selected by the previous speaker but self-selects (*autosélection du locuteur*)[121] and at the same time addresses a participant other than the previous speaker. This corresponds exactly to the participant constellation in a case of multiple floors.

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[121]In the data of di Sciullo et al. (1976: 151) code-switching occurs in 34 percent of such cases, but only in two percent of the cases where the speaker has been selected by the previous speaker and then addresses that person directly.

5.3.5. Code-switching as a contextualization of dissent

The previous examples all had in common that code-switching coincided with a change in the topic and/or the participant constellation. But there are also examples where this is not the case. As lines 1492 and 1943 in the following example (67) illustrate, code-switching can occur even between two members of an 'adjacency pair' (e.g. question and answer). This is a very striking use of code-switching as the pressure to maintain an established language choice is particularly high in answer turns (see Auer 1995: 130).

(67)　　　<2:1485-1497, during dinner, C tells that she has to do homework for a life-guard first aid class. The others make fun of her, speculating what that homework might be.>

1485	Mother:	*Holding the breath. .. How many minutes?*
1486	Father:	*I know! Mouth to mouth resuscitation.*
1487	Mother:	*Oh, should we invite Andrew?*
1488	C:	*Ah, ja, good.*
1489	Mother:	*Okay. No problem. I hope you*	*[practise that stuff]* *with him.*
1490	M:	<to Philipp>	*[(He is her) boyfriend.]*
1491	C:	*Oh, I should, ja.*
1492	M:	<to C> *So when did he come back?*
1493	C:	Gestern abend.
1494	M:	Hat er Hausaufgaben gemacht? Hat er studiert?
1495	C:	Ich weiß nicht. Ich glaub ja.
1496	Mother:	*She's not responsible for his school work. She's only his girlfriend.*
1497	M:	*She wants him to flunk so they can graduate together.*

Coherence between two members of an adjacency pair is always very strong, which generally results in the maintainance of the choice of language or stylistic register, as Sacks (1995: I, 676) points out: "*If a first pair member is delivered in some sort of special English dialect, or in another language, then regularly second pair members fit that.*" From this rule, Auer (1983: 93ff) draws the conclusion that occupying the first pair member of an adjacency pair is an important means for asserting one's language preference.

Code-switching between two utterances of an adjacency pair as in lines 1492 and 1493 is very rare and therefore has to be considered as highly marked. In the excerpt of sequence 2 discussed under 2.4.2. there are only five cases of code-switching between a question and an answer,[122] which amounts to 3.85 percent of all 130 adjacency pairs. Code-switching is much more common in the first pair member of an adjacency pair (26 of 175 questions,[123] i.e. 14.86 percent). This corresponds roughly

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[122]In two of these five cases, however, there is asymmetry in the constellation of active participants, i.e. the answer is given by a person who was not directly addressed, or the answer is addressed to all participants and not just the one who asked the question. According to Sacks (1995a: 667), these are still appropriate second-pair members of a question-answer sequence though. In two other cases, code-switching can be clearly related to preference as the mother answers her husband's German question in English, and Philipp switches to German when answering a question the mother asked in English. Therefore example (122) constitutes a truly exceptional case.

[123]Questions that remained unanswered (verbally) were included in the analysis.

to the findings of Di Sciullo et al. (1976: 149), even if code-switching is less frequent in this corpus.[124]

In the example above, the parents' teasing remarks about practising mouth-to-mouth resuscitation with her boyfriend bring C into an embarrassing situation from which the switch to German offers an "escape." By code-switching in line1493 she separates her answer to M's question from the previous context. However, in the interpretation of her code-switching we also have to keep in mind that she does show a certain preference for German even in her father's presence and certainly when speaking to her sister (see 2.4.2. above).

The mother's switch back to English in line 1496 seems to be done in order to re-integrate the "private" talk between the two girls into the general dinner table conversation. This is not only a reaction to C's escape, but it is probably also motivated by the fact that it is highly unusual (if not inadmissible) for the two daughters to monopolize the conversation. A quantitative analysis of the participants' activities in the dinner table conversation in sequence 2 shows that the parents participate in 93 percent of all utterances as either a speaker or an addressee,[125] whereas the children are speaker *and* addressee in only two percent of the utterances (see also 2.4.2.).[126]

A typical phenomenon of family talk is *adult digression* (Blum-Kulka 1997: 62f) during narrative passages, where the parents' discussion wanders off over the children's heads, excluding them and turning them into *unratified participants*.[127] The example above, on the other hand, can be viewed as a rare case of "child digression" which degrades the parents and the guest to the status of "*co-present others*" (Blum-Kulka 1997: 64). The mother's code-switching can therefore be interpreted as an attempt to end the monopolization of the conversation by her daughters.

The mother's return to English in line 1496 also coincides with a criticism of M's previous German utterance in line 1494 (M: *Hat er Hausaufgaben gemacht? Hat er studiert? ...* Mother: *She's not responsible for his school work*). The expression of disagreement is a typical context for code-switching that is commonly described in bilingualism literature. Bentahila (1983: 237) attributes an emphatic function to these cases of code-switching: "*There are many cases where a speaker addressed in one*

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[124]Di Sciullo et al. (1976: 149) observe code-switching in 26% of all utterances that open a pair sequence (*premier membre de la paire*), compared to only 7% of the consecutive utterances (*deuxième membre de la paire*). Di Sciullo et al. claim that code-switching occurs less frequently after wh-questions then after yes-or-no-questions, but this hypothesis is not supported by my data, where code-switching occurs only once after a yes-or-no-question (1.2%), but four times after a wh-question (8.3%).

[125]In other words 93.1 percent of those utterances for which a single addressee was discernible.

[126]A specific single addressee can be identified for 1131 of the 1497 utterances spoken in the excerpt of sequence 2 analyzed above (2.4.2.). 457 utterances are between a parent and a child, 322 utterances between the parents, 274 utterances between a parent and the guest Philipp, 48 utterances between a child and Philipp, and only 30 between the children C and M.

[127]See Goffman (1981: 131f).

language switches to the other to reply and thereby emphasises his disagreement with the previous statement." Gal (1979: 117) remarks in her description of individual examples of discourse-related code-switching that it is used to end arguments with "*a last word that was not outdone.*" This is the case in (68).

(68)　　<1:60-2, driving in the city, the mother is driving.>
　　　　Mother:　　Was ist, kann ich da rein? .. Die Ampel geht gar net.
　　　　C:　　　　Ja ich weiß nicht. Du bist gar nicht in der Spur.
　　　　Mother:　　*Who cares.* .. Wir waren in der *Stone Church*, und da ist-- [...]

The mother uses an idiomatic English expression to dismiss her daughter's criticism of her way of driving. Due to the idiomatic, tag switch-like character of the code switch, its functionality in discourse is ambiguous. Her reply could also be motivated simply by the fact that she finds *who cares* more "appropriate" than a possible German equivalent. The same is true in (69), where the identification of *whatever* as code-switching is unclear as it is a discourse particle that could be simply used like a transfer.

(69)　　<5:661-8, during dinner, M makes fun of the fact that her mother made a disrespectful remark about
　　　　the cello playing of an acquaintance.>
　　　　M:　　　　"Das nennt man eine Freundin."
　　　　Mother:　　Aber ...
　　　　M:　　　　Eine traue Freundin.
　　　　Mother:　　Eine treue Freundin.
　　　　M:　　　　*Whatever.*
　　　　Mother:　　*Whatever, to heck with it. This language!*
　　　　　　　　　You know, everybody has to be perfect in German.
　　　　M:　　　　H-hm. Furchtbar.

In those cases where code-switching coincides with a child's protest against the parents, the switch generally occurs to the language that is not the parent's preferred one. However, this is automatically so with almost every code switch, as the parent's language of preference is generally the language spoken to him or her. Nevertheless, it appears that M in (69) and C in (70) switch purposely to a language of which they potentially have a greater command than the respective parent, as - other than their parents - they have native speaker competence in both English and German.
In example (69) there is the additional factor that M had made a mistake in German and was corrected by her mother. By switching to English she moves to a "safer terrain" and at the same time expresses her rejection of the correction with both the switch to another language and the lexical meaning of *whatever.* Her mother goes along with the new language choice and demonstrates that they are on a par in English. In what resembles a game of linguistic tag, M switches back to English to distance herself again from her mother's ironic display of compassion.
In (70) the code switch also coincides with a child's criticism of a parent. Again the direction of the switch is away from the parent's language of preference, and in this

case it is toward a language of which the child certainly has a higher command than the parent.

(70) <8:724-32, during dinner, a discussion about the location of the house, which is about a half-hour drive away from the center of Saint John. The father defends the location, while claiming to be the one most affected by it.>

Father:	... *No other places have a view like this.*
Mother:	*I know, that's right. But it's a long trip for this view, every day. ..*
	That's just--
Father:	*I see you driving the--*
M:	*In* <u>Shediac</u> *the nice-* [*the big beach that--*]
Father:	[*No one has to do*] *that but for me.*
Mother:	*N-n! ..*
C:	*Daddy, so ist das auch nicht.*
Mother:	*She goes to school there. She goes to school.*

It is interesting to note that C begins her utterance with calling her father by his (nick)name *daddy* in order to select him as the direct addressee of her utterance. This is necessary to get his attention as her choice of language would normally signal that he is not intended as the direct addressee (see 52). In contrast to (69) above, the father does not react to his daughter's criticism, neither responding to its content nor going along with her choice of language. Instead, the criticism is continued by the mother, but rephrased in English (compare 5.2.2.).

However, it is not always the case that the direction of code-switching is opposed to the parents' language preference. If a non-preferred language is already the language of interaction, as in (71), a code-switch coinciding with protest can occur towards the language of preference.

(71) <2:1090-2, shortly before dinner, C enters the kitchen, after being woken up from a nap.>

Mother:	*(Are you) okay? We just wait for the noodles.*
C:	<possibly also addressing M> *Ja, aber du meintest doch,*
	daß das Essen fertig auf dem Tisch steht.
Mother:	*Oh my god, I'm sorry* [( )] *salad, Clara.*

Such a contrasting effect can also be achieved by the immediate reformulation of an utterance in another language, as mentioned in the discussion of *non-first firsts* above (5.2.1.). In contrast to (52) though, such switches can also conflict with the father's language preference, as in example (72) where the reformulated utterance constitutes the second pair member of an adjacency pair. Apparently in this case, code-switching primarily expresses emphasis and in this case also a certain degree of annoyance.

(72) <8:564-5, during dinner, the father puts noodles on M's plate.>

Father:	*Enough for you? Is that too much?*
M:	*Too much. Weniger. Danke ist gut. Ist gut.*

5.3.6. Code-switching as a contextualization of parental authority

The utterances in which the children use code-switching to contextualize protest against their parents have a counterpart in such instances, where the parents want to stress their authority. To do so, they generally chose their language of preference, i.e.

their mother tongue. This is particularly true of the father, who rarely switches from German to English in general, but regularly does so when he wants to emphasize his authority, as in (73).

(73) <11:989-97, during dinner, a discussion about M's plans for the summer holidays.>
    M: Ich hab- Ich [war]--
    Father: Marie!
    M: gestern war ich (i' 'ne) gute Laune aber jetzt habt ihr alles verscheucht.
    C: Oh.
    Father: *Marie! Marie, if you keep this up, what's gonna happen is that you're not gonna go to Germany but you're gonna go to camp.*
    Mother: *And you know, you're going to be in camp-- like first in a day camp,*
    M: <laughs>
    Mother: *then you are in a swim camp, in a diving camp--*

The father's code-switching coincides with a relatively harsh rebuke of his daughter, creating tension which the mother quickly eases with her ironic statement. In her choice of language, she goes along with the father's switch, thus "taking his side" at least linguistically. In (74), a similar case can be observed in which the father switches from German to English when criticizing M's behavior.

(74) <11:611-17, in the kitchen, M removes cat hair from her sweater.>
    Mother: Du mußt halt dei' Katz bürsten, weißt du.
    M: ( )
    Mother: Jetzt den Orangensaft gemacht, und Wein--
    Father: *Okay, please, can you take that elsewhere, Marie, don't do that in the kitchen.*
    Mother: Ja, weißt du, du hast (sie n'--) in der Küche das--
    Father: *Can you go some place else, because (don't get it) in kitchen, it lies all over.*
    M: *I'll go outside.*

In this case, the mother fully agrees with the father's criticism, but expresses her agreement in her own language of preference. The daughter is thus confronted with criticism in both English and German, depriving her of an "escape route" as in (69). M's subsequent yielding is than marked by her acceptance of both her father's criticism and his choice of language. Interestingly, the mother's convergence with her husband's choice of language in (73) weakened the validity of his criticism, while her switch back to German in (74) strengthened it.

Just as was the case with the children's protests, parental authority may also be contextualized by code-switching away from the language of preference (75).

(75) <5:541-4, during dinner, the mother wants her daughter to participate in a music camp in the summer.>
    Mother: Die haben die *auditions* für's Jugend Orchester und da wirst du hingehen, <u>Madame</u>.
    M: Nein!
    Mother: *Yes*!
    M: Nein!

These examples demonstrate that code-switching per se can have a semantic value independent of its direction, a view that is supported by Auer (1995: 119; see also 5.5. below).

5.3.7. Code-switching contextualizing a change in emotional distance

Another context in which code-switching occurs frequently is the one described as a change of tone ("*Wechsel der Tonart*") by Auer (1983: 273).[128] Gumperz (1982: 80) uses the distinction *personalization* versus *objectivization* which is also fairly broad. In contrast to the examples discussed above, these distinctions are less clearly definable, expressing a speaker's change of attitude or tone, as in examples (76) and (77). Just as it does in the arguments discussed above, code-switching here coincides with a change in the emotional distance between the participants. In both cases the mother switches to English.

(76)   <2:231-4, in the kitchen, the mother, C and Philipp are present.>
Philipp: Also zwei Freunde von Susannah, die jetzt heiraten, im Mai,
die sind schon seit der *high school* zusammen.
Mother: Genau, das ist- das.. ist was durchaus normales.
Aber, *I couldn't do that. I'm not ready for that. I know that.*

(77)   <2:236-8>
C: Aber er wird wahrscheinlich zu *McGill* gehen und ( )
Mother: Werdet ihr euch dann wiedersehen? Aber des heißt ja wenig. *You can be friends.*
Hey, that's the good way of being together. You can be friends.

In neither example can an exterior, preference-related motivation for code-switching be found as all participants present share a general preference for German. But in both cases, the switch coincides with a change of tone, a switch from an "objective" statement (*das ist was ... normales* 'that's normal' and *des heißt ja wenig* 'that doesn't mean much') to a personal commentary (*I couldn't do that* and *you can be friends* respectively).

5.4. The interaction of code-switching and transfer

Whether to attract attention, to distinguish floors or topics, or to express a change in tone, all the cases of code-switching mentioned above have in common that their functionality in discourse depends on the contrast between the two languages, that is on their identification as separate, mutually exclusive entities. According to Gumperz (1982) this is a basic characteristic of code-switching.

> Code switching by contrast relies on the meaningful juxtaposition of what
> speakers must consciously or subconsciously process as strings formed
> according to the internal rules of two distinct grammatical systems.
> Gumperz (1982: 66)

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[128] Auer also includes the contextualization of arguments or dissent into this category

If lexical units from another language are transferred into an utterance, the juxtaposition is blurred to a certain extent. As shown in example (78), code-switching can be impeded or prevented by transfers.

(78)   <13:359-64, during the violin lesson, the two girls are alone.>
         M: .. Hör mal zu. Ich hab gelernt, piano ist kurzer Bogen, forte ist langer Bogen,
                    <screams angrily> und das tu ich auch, und jetzt sag hier nicht--=
         C: =Nein, das tust du nicht. Das tust du nicht.=
         M: =Doch des [tu ich.]
         C: [Exa]ggerate the bowing, okay!
         M: Ich- *I exaggerate*!

Apparently, M is not willing to accept C's contrasting choice of English and begins a German utterance. She doesn't conclude it though as the choice of German seems incompatible with the intended repetition of the verb *exaggerate*.[129] The lexical repetition of key terms is a typical pattern of protest which M uses several times in this conversation (see example 9 above).[130] It appears that M chooses between two possibilities of contextualizing protest; between challenging her sister's choice of language on the one hand and establishing lexical coherence by repeating the lexeme *exaggerate* on the other hand. She decides in favor of the "safer" cohesive variant. In other cases, the transfer of a lexeme or an idiomatic expression can trigger code-switching, as described in chapter 4 above (see example 43).

5.5. Interpreting the direction of code-switching

Particularly in the analysis of emotionally charged interaction between parents and children, the question arises whether the direction of code-switching contributes to its meaning. Gumperz, for example, tends to attribute semantic values to the languages themselves, thus remaining in the tradition of Fishman (1971).

> The direction of the shift may also have semantic value. In a sense the oppositions warning/personal appeal; casual remark/personal feeling; decision based on convenience/decision based on annoyance; personal opinion/generally known fact can be seen as metaphoric extensions of the 'we'/'they' code opposition. (Gumperz 1982: 93f)

Myers-Scotton (1990: 88f) also assumes that a switch from the we-code to the they-code increases the social distance between the speaker and addressee and connotes authority and education. The two examples given under 5.3.7. contradict this view,

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[129]The same sequence contains the only case in which a transferred English verb (*propose*) is used in the first person singular, also by M. However, *propose* is phonetically closer to German than *exaggerate*. M's false start in (132) seems to indicate that **Ich exaggerate*! is impossible and therefore a conflict arises between code-switching constraints and cohesion.

[130]In the violin lesson sequence, this pattern of protest occurs five times over a short span of time, both with and without transfers. The other reproach/protest pairs are:
(a)   C: Ganze Bögen! - M: Ich weiß ganze Bögen! <13:190-1>;
(b)   C.: Und wenn du deine *shifts* machst [...] - M: Ich weiß ich kann *shifts* machen. <13:227-8>;
(c)   C.: Da waren keine *dynamics* da, - M: Doch ich hab *dynamics* gespielt, <13:234-5>;
(d)   C.: So: sollt man ihn-- *pinkie*. - M: Ich halt meinen *pinkie* da, aber das tut weh. <13:248-9>.

though, as it is code-switching to English that expresses a greater emotional involvement. The distinction between the we-code and the they-code is difficult to maintain in a group whose members have different mother tongues and in a society that has two potential they-codes with English and French.

While most linguists studying code-switching work on the assumption that the languages in question symbolize underlying meanings or "values" (Gal 1979: 115) independent of the particular speech event, Auer claims that such a semantic value, if it exists at all, is constituted by a speaker's code-switching behavior. It is the result of code-switching, not the motivation for it.

> Der Nachweis der Funktionalität des Code-Switching ... alleine ist noch kein Beleg für die Existenz kontextunabhängiger Bedeutungspotentiale, die mit dem Italienischen bzw. dem Deutschen assoziiert werden. Damit im Code-Switching zur Neudefinition der Situation ein sematischer Wert zugleich aufgebaut und ausgenutzt wird, ist es vielmehr notwendig, daß die Richtung der Alternation stabil ist.[131]   (Auer 1983: 223)

In the present corpus, this is not always the case. Even when particular patterns are discernible (such as code-switching to German to mark instrumental talk), various counter-examples of code-switching in the opposite direction can be found.[132] Even in this respect, nothing more than a gradual distinction appears possible. Nevertheless it can generally be established that language preference plays a role in code-switching in emotionally charged contexts. In these situations it appears to be of particular importance for the speaker to stand on the most familiar linguistic ground.[133] This is supported by the fact that it appears to be the type of code-switching of which the speakers are the most aware (79).

(79) <2:163-8, in the afternoon, the mother and Philipp are in the kitchen.>
     Mother: Also Schimpfen zum Beispiel, find' ich ist einfach viel besser auf Deutsch. Weil, das tu ich gern, ne? und außerdem hab ich das- das hab ich halt drin, ne? Und wenn ich dann so richtig auch mit den Kindern einmal energisch werd', dann- das kommt dann auf Deutsch, also das ist-- Selbst beim- beim Georges wenn ich einmal- wenn wir einmal 'nen richtigen Krach haben, dann schrei ich den auf Deutsch an, also, und das ist ganz gut so. Er schreit auf Englisch zurück. Das fördert die Farbe der Konversation, so was.

As the mother's self-assessment indicates, the preference for the mother tongue in emotionally charged situations is not only valid in arguments with the children, but

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[131]"The proof of the functionality of code-switching alone ... is no evidence for the existance of context-independent potentials of meaning, which are associated with Italian or German respectively. In order for code-switching to simultaneously establish and use a semantic value that newly defines a situation, it is necessary that the direction of the alternaiion be stable."

[132]In her description of the code-switching behaviour of immigrants in Israel, Litvak Green (1985: 111) remarks: "*Yet in instances in which a wife asked for a favor and wanted to soften the tone of her request, a switch to another language was made [...] However, no particular language seems to serve the purpose as both Hebrew and English were used.*"

[133] See e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 48ff, 258ff). Harding and Riley (1986: 119) also give an example where a father switches to his native tongue to express his authority.

also among the parents themselves. In the case of the father, it has to be assumed that code-switching to English in arguments is not meaningful per se (other than his code-switching in other contexts), but that he always speaks English in these situations. Thus code-switching occurs only if English has not already been spoken before. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the father does not make a single German utterance in the context of an argument,[134] as well as by the fact that he continues to speak English if it has been spoken before. The following example (80) contains a (harmless) argument in a situation where English is the language of interaction. The father doesn't contextualize his rebuke by code-switching to another language, and the daughter continues to use English as well, maybe due to the fact that she is "right" and is therefore in no need of a strategy for retreat (as in 124). She is able to convince her father that she knows what she is doing.

(80)   <2:793-802, in the kitchen, M remarks that there have been no family dinners
        for a couple of days.>
        M: *For a long time=*
        Mother: *=Yea, because, [Saturday] we were alone,*
        Father: *[Careful with]&*
                    &the cat food!
        M: <to the father> *No, I won't put it in the cat food, don't worry.*
        Mother: *Saturday we were alone, Sunday we went together...*
        Father: *It's on- It's on minimum!* {referring to the burner}
        M: *It's supposed to be on minimum!*
                    Right now it just has to sit there till we put all mushrooms in there.
        Father: *Okay.*

The examples have shown that the distinction between discourse-related and preference-related code-switching is not always possible.[135] On the one hand, there is often a clear connection between a speaker's code-switching behavior and his or her language preference and competence. On the other hand, it can also be established that code-switching itself conveys meaning, as Auer (1995: 119) remarks: "*Many investigations have shown that the mere fact of juxtaposing two codes can have a signalling value of its own, independent of the direction of code-alternation.*"
To explain this relationship Auer (1983: 219) proposes a bi-directional model, according to which the potential of meaning of code-switching is constantly "used as well as produced." As far as the development of this potential of meaning is concerned, Auer (1983:302ff) develops the hypothesis that discourse-functional code-switching evolves gradually from preference-related code-switching. This view is supported by the fact that in Auer's data, the younger Italian-German children use

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[134]The father's only German utterance that is emotionally charged is a formulaic *Paß auf!* /'Watch out!'/ <11:630> (to M, during cooking).
[135]Compare Auer (1983:302): "*Die Unterscheidung [...] ist [...] nicht eindeutig, weil eine ganze Reihe diskursfunktionaler Alternationsphänomene zusätzlich präferenzbezogen, umgekehrt eine ganze Reihe präferenzbezogener Code switches auch diskursfunktional interpretiert werden können, beide Komponenten aber nachweislich vorhanden sind.*"

preference-related code-switching only, whereas the older children (ages 14 to 16) mainly use discourse-related code-switching.

The more often a speaker uses code-switching for reasons of language preference, the more likely it is for such switches to coincide regularly with changes in topic or tone, and thus to gradually serve as contextualization cues for such changes. This is also illustrated by the structural parallels between preference- and discourse-related code-switching. For example, the father's utterance pair discussed above in (60) *Who would like some more asparagus?* and *Des asperges? Ici, toi*? has the same structure as preference-related code-switching in non-first firsts, as in (52).

There is no evidence that the speakers themselves are aware of this function of code-switching (see Bentahila 1983: 233), but according to Gumperz (1982: 131) this is true of all contextualization cues: "*For the most part they are habitually used and perceived but rarely consciously noted and almost never talked about directly.*"

The present data suggests that strategies of discourse-functional code-switching are learned by the speakers independently of the respective languages. This view is supported by the fact that Philipp, as a guest, does not use discourse-functional code-switching between German and English at all, whereas the father does, despite the fact that his command of German (and thus his German-English bilingualism) is obviously rather limited compared to Philipp's. In a community like Montreal, where bilingualism is widespread, participant-related code-switching is an everyday phenomenon (see Bourhis 1984 and Heller 1982). Furthermore, code-switching is institutionalized in Canadian politics, where government officials alternate between French and English in their public statements. One can certainly assume that such a socio-linguistic environment favors the development of an independent semantic potential of code-switching.

6. Conclusion

There are two possible relations between an utterance made by a speaker during the course of a conversation and the text that immediately precedes it. Either the utterance is thematically connected to the preceding context or it interrupts the discussion and introduces a new topic. In the first case, the speaker has to use such linguistic means that establish cohesion in order to express continuity. In the second case, discontinuity needs to be contextualized by "*surface features*" (Gumperz), for example a change in prosody or style, or by particular lexical means.

In language choice, multilingual speakers have an additional means for signalling continuity or discontinuity. Maintaining the language choice establishes coherence, as Auer (1983: 98) remarks: "*immer wenn nach dem Konvergenzprinzip sprachwahlkonforme nächste Turns präferiert werden, [...] werden Vorfeld und gerade formulierter Beitrag aneinander gebunden.*"[136] Changing to a different language of interaction on the other hand is a sign of discontinuity. Language alternation therefore functions like a contrast medium emphasizing discourse structures that are less obvious, but nevertheless existant in monolingual discourse. The two central phenomena of multilingual discourse described in this study, namely transfer and code-switching, can thus be assigned to a binary opposition of two fundamental discourse functions. As demonstrated under 3.5., transfers often contribute to establishing coherence (the choice of language remains the same at least for the two lexemes in question) and can therefore be regarded as an indication of continuity in discourse. Code-switching on the other hand (especially if discourse-related) is based on the contrasting effect of juxtaposing two languages, and it is therefore always of an interrupting, discontinuing nature.[137]

The almost complete absence of code-mixing in the present data emphasizes the fact that language use in this family differs from that of many multilingual communities. The reasons for this may be found in the distinction of different types of multilingual language acquisition, but also in the social conditions characterising a group of speakers. According to Romaine (1989: 166ff) multilingual language acquisition needs to be differentiated based mainly on two factors: whether the parents speak different languages or the same, and whether the language(s) used in the family is (are) spoken in the society as well. The prestige of a particular language is also of importance for the process of language acquisition, and that has led some linguists to differentiate between types of multilingualism based on the social class of which a

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[136]"According to the convergence principle, whenever a turn confirms the language choice ... the newly formed contribution is connected to the preceding context."
[137]Compare Scotton (1988b: 167).

speaker is a member.[138] The multilingual communities described most often in the code-switching literature, whose speech behavior is characterized by a high frequency of code-mixing (or "intrasentential code-switching"), are generally ethnic minorities with a low social status, be they Puerto Ricans or Mexicans in the US or immigrants from Asia or the Mediterranean area in Western Europe. In contrast to this "folk bilingualism", the type of multilingualism in which the parents speak different languages, is sometimes referred to as "elitist" or "additive" bilingualism.[139]

The languages in this study are all characterized by a high prestige, but the case nevertheless represents a combination of different types of multilingualism. On the one hand, the parents speak different languages, but the society in Montreal (and to a lesser degree in New Brunswick) is also characterized by bi- or multilingualism. The trilingualism of the informants therefore constitutes a special case for multilingualism research[140] as well as in the experience of the speakers themselves. Still, it seems that the development of the speakers' multilingual discourse patterns was influenced more by their different competences in the three languages than by their membership in a particular social class. It is precisely the asymmetry existing between the speakers' respective competences, that prevented the development of an unmarked mixed code and favored the contrasting use of alternation between the languages, i.e. code-switching.

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[138]Harding and Riley (1986:23) refer to Paulston, C.B. 1975. "Ethnic relations and bilingual education: accounting for contradictory data." *Working Papers on Bilingualism* 6: 368-401. See also Skutnabb-Kangas (1981).

[139]For example by Romaine (1989: 169). Harding and Riley (1986: 23f) reject the neglect of this type of multilingualism: "*They are likely, it is true, to be middle-class professionals, but this does not mean that their problems are somehow less real than those of, say, guest workers' families or people living in linguistic enclaves.*"

[140]The children's language acquisition corresponds to none of the six types listed by Romaine (1989: 166ff).

Appendix I: Transcription conventions

In transcribing the tape recorded data, I followed the principles stated by Schiffrin (1994: 423f) trying to "*use familiar notations*", "*use motivated notations*", "*use easily learned notations*" and "*use easily accesible characters.*" To ensure easy reading, I used standard orthography with a few exceptions, e.g. when rendering Franconian dialect features.

The notation combined characters used by Schiffrin (1994), but also by DuBois et al. (1993: 88f) and Gumperz (1993: 121). In order to achieve a higher degree of "legibility," I decided not to use letters as symbols in notation. For example, DuBois et al. use <*Q Q*> to mark quotations, but I preferred to use quotation marks instead. I also abstained mostly from the use of word-internal notation, unless it was necessary to mark intonation. Occasionally a phonetic transcription was added in braces and square brackets {[ ]} if the pronounciation deviated from the standard, or if variation in the pronounciation occurred. The order of the lines corresponds to the order of turns. In most cases, the end of a line indicates the end of an utterance, but sometimes several utterances are in one line. Different types were used to distinguish the three languages: German is printed in normal type, English in *italics*, and French is underlined.[141]

Symbols used in transcription

, .	The punctuation marks period and comma indicate speech pauses. A period marks that the speaker's intonation indicates the end of the utterance, a comma is used if this is not the case;
?	Rising pitch at the end of an utterance;
!	Raised voice, emphasis;
-	An interrupted word or utterance, reformulated later, i.e. false start;
--	Aborted utterance;
= =	One utterance immediately following another one, i.e. without a speech pause;
& &	An utterance is continued by the speaker after a brief interruption by another speaker;
[simultaneous]	Simultaneous utterances printed in square brackets, one below the other;
[[simultaneous]]	In a sequence of simultaneous utterances, dual square brackets are added for differentiation;
<laughs>	Non-verbal utterances, as well as comments on the manner of speaking are in pointed brackets;
..	Brief pause of two seconds;
...	Pause of medium length of three to six seconds;
...<8>	Longer pause, indicating the number of seconds;
(unclear)	Words that were not clearly intelligible in the recording;
(xxx)	Unintelligible passage, estimated number of syllables;
( )	Unintelligible passage, no further details;
^	A stressed syllable;

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[141]Words from other languages, e.g. Spanish, are also underlined.

:	A long vowel;
"Title"	Quotation or title;
#	Music, that is violin play in sequence 13; the duration is indicated as with pauses;
{ }	Commentary;
{[z]}	Additional phonetically accurate transcription (if necessary).

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Appendix II: Transcribed excerpts from sequence 2

<Late afternoon until early evening, first in the kitchen, during the preparation of dinner, then during dinner.>
<The mother, C, and Philipp are present, later also the father and M.>

195	C:	.. Was machst Du denn?
196	Mother:	Ich mach eine- ich mach *chicken*.
197	C:	Aber warum hast Du (denn xx).
198	Mother:	Weil ich die Soße mach, weißt du,
199	C:	Ah okay.
200	Mother:	und ich kann die in dem *pot* nicht richtig machen, weil der wird ganz schön warm,
201		da brennt's dann an. Und das (wird zu heiß). So die Soße a weng machen, und die Sahne,
202		ein Wein erst noch, und dann die Sahne und ein paar Rosinen noch rein. Wein.
203		Der Daddy hat gesagt um sieben, dann mach ich noch a weng Gemüse mach ich noch dazu.
204	C:	( )
205	Mother:	Aber du, jetzt weißt aber doch wie du üben sollst, das ist gar nicht schlecht.
206		Das ist schon prima, daß du bei dem warst.
207	C:	Ja weil also, der David (XX) {name}, also ich weiß nicht was der hat, aber der sieht nicht
208		die schweren Teile, und dann kann ich überhaupt nicht richtig üben.
209	Mother:	Ja ich merke auch, man merkt dir's sofort beim Üben an, du hast ein Ziel,
210		du weißt was du üben sollst. Da bin ich auch heilfroh. Nee, der ist so phlegmatisch und lahm.
211		Da ist also die-- seine Frau, von dem ist die Frau die ist total anders, die hat soviel Feuer.
212		Der *daddy- daddy has a crush on her.*
213	C:	Wirklich?
214	Mother:	Ich glaub' schon. *"Oh, she has these sparkling eyes.."*
215	C:	*No*, das hat er nicht gesagt.
216	Mother:	Nee, ich mein, ich bin ja auch froh, ich freu mich ja wenn er endlich mal
217		'nen *crush* auf jemanden hat, Mensch. Dann, bin's nicht immer ich. Das ist doch gut.
218		Da krieg ich a weng 'ne Pause, mal jemand anders, daß tut mir ganz gut.
219		Dann kann ich jemand finden der auf mich 'nen *crush* hat, das find' ich- das braucht man ab und zu.
220		Ist sonst so langweilig. Immer dieselben Leut' da um sich rum haben.
221	C:	Ja, genau, darum bin ich auch zum Andrew gegangen.
222	Mother:	Genau, ne? Wie lang bleibst denn jetzt beim Andrew, hast du das schon überlegt?
223	C:	Ah.
224	Mother:	Aber das ist auch sicher alles-- ich mein, weil du bist ja auch a weng jung,
225		und dich so festzulegen...
226	C:	<playfully> Also wir haben schon geplant, daß wir in zwei Jahren uns heiraten
227		und dann zwei Jahre darauf ein Mädchen haben und zwei Jahre drauf einen Jungen, und dann-- ..
228	Mother:	Ja in *New [Brunswick-]*
229	C:	[Zwillinge]
230	Mother:	In *New Brunswick* ist das schon, glaub- kann ich mir vorstellen daß das--
231	Philipp:	Also zwei Freunde von Susannah, die jetzt heiraten, im Mai, die sind schon seit
232		der *high school* zusammen.
233	Mother:	Genau, das ist- das.. ist was durchaus normales. Aber, *I couldn't do that.*
234		*I'm not ready for that. I know that.*
235	Philipp:	Aber die sind auch beide ein bißchen- bißchen plemplem.
236	C:	Aber er wird wahrscheinlich zu *McGill* gehen und ( )
237	Mother:	Werdet ihr euch dann wiedersehen? Aber des heißt je wenig. *You can be friends.*
238		*Hey, that's the good way of being together. You can be friends.* ..
239		(a weng was xxx damit zuviel xxx)
240	C:	<hums>
241	Mother:	*This is bilingual singing* da dada da dat. <sings> Aber weißt du was so lustig war.
242		Wir haben doch den akadischen Sender angehört,
243		dann war das so wie <sings:> "rumpumpum tängderängtängtäng jetzt simma b'suffa"
244		und das war zwar Französisch, hätte aber genauso in 'ner fränkischen Bierhalle sein können, ne?
245	Philipp:	Auf Tschechisch gibt's auch solche Lieder.
246	Mother:	Ja, na freilich.
247	Philipp:	Wo sich alles auf "<u>pivo</u>" reimt.
248	Mother:	Au ja das ist so .. ach heute abend gehn' wir-- nehm' ich dich noch nach *O'Leary's*-
249		<to C> zu *O'Leary's* geh' ich mit'm Philipp noch, ne? Das ist das einzig--
250		das ist 'ne irische Bar, das ist ganz lustig, das heißt wenn jemand drinsitzt, ne?
251		<laughs> Das ist das Problem! Ach nee, morgen abend gehen wir, wenn wir dich abholen!
252		Das ist wahr, ja wie krieg ich den Philipp dann da rein in die Stadt? Ja, ich auch.
253		Was macht denn der von acht bis zehn?
254		Soll der Daddy mit ihm nachkommen und dann gehen wir alle zusammen zu *O'Leary's*.
255		Sag dem Andrew, wir treffen ihn um zehn Uhr bei *O'Leary's*. Ach ihr dürft ja net in die *bar*!
256	C:	N-n.
257	Mother:	Ist ja Scheiße. Der is achtzehn, der Andrew, und kann net ei- in <u>Québec</u> kann er in die *bar*,

258		und hier darf man erst ab neunzehn. Das muß ihm doch stinken.
259	C:	Der darf--
260	Mother:	Das muß ihm doch wirklich stinken daß er nicht-- Des ist doch auch wirklich 'ne Gemeinheit, ne?
261		Aber in-
262	Philipp:	Ja, in den USA ist es einundzwanzig.
263	Mother:	Ja das ist-
264	C:	Der (daddy) hat rausgekriegt, daß er raucht.
265	Mother:	Ich weiß. Ach, weißt du was, kamen sie beide: "Weißt Du was mit dem Andrew los ist?"
266		"Sollen wir's ihr sagen?" "Ja sag mal, was is denn?"
267		ich hab jetzt gedacht ja ist er vielleicht homosexuell oder was. ..
268		"Der raucht." "Ja und das wußt ich schon lange." .. "Was!?"
269		Deswegen kann man doch jemanden net verurteilen!
270		Mein erster Mann hat auch geraucht, mein Bruder raucht, und meine--
271		Das ist doch net sein Fehler, aber sie hat eine Mission, sie kann ihm das Rauchen abgewöhnen,
272		das ist doch etwas! ..
273		Ich kann mir vorstellen, daß du net ewig mit ein'm smoker zusammen bleiben willst.
274		Also, siehste! Entweder=
275	C:	=Und er weiß daß ich das nicht mag. Er jedesmal ist er=
276	Mother:	=Ja, ich hab auch das Gefühl, der ist gar kein glücklicher Raucher. Überhaupt nicht.
277	Philipp:	Ich weiß nicht, wie es hier ist, aber in den USA kann man auch n-
278		könnte man kein glücklicher Raucher sein.
279	Mother:	Nee! Nee, kann man=net! Nee, es ist also-- ich find man ist dermaßen dis--
280		es ist schlimmer als wenn du so'n äh, als wenn du in (der Katholischheit) protestantisch bist.
281	Philipp:	ja. <laughs>
282	Mother:	Die protestants haben schon mehr Rechte als die Raucher.
283		Also so wie beim Tim Horton's {fast food chain} wo die in's Gefängnis gesperrt werden.
284		<laughs> Ist das nicht furchtbar!
285	C:	Aber echt.
286	Mother:	Also, die tun mir ja richtig leid.
287	C:	Ich hab das noch nie so schlimm gesehen.
288	Mother:	Also, das ist-- .. So, das ist besser. So sonst wird's zu- ich tu' das Fleisch rein,
289		damit's schön warm wird da drin.
290	Philipp:	In New York ist das schon ein bißchen lockerer,
291		bei manchen muß man schon auch 'nen Ausweis zeigen.
292		Kürzlich hat mich der bei dem deli gegenüber, wo ich bestimmt schon fünzigmal war,
293		hat er mich beim einundfünfzigsten Mal nach dem Ausweis gefragt,
294	Mother:	Ach du Schreck.
295	Philipp:	Und dann hat ihm mein deutscher Personalausweis nicht gefallen.
296	Mother:	Ach du Schreck.
297	C:	Da muß man einundzwanzig sein, oder?
298	Philipp:	Hm.
299	Mother:	Ja des ist schon blöd.
300	C:	(und hier neunzehn)
301	Mother:	Auch zum Bier kaufen muß man--?
302	C:	Ja, Bier kaufen, Zigaretten kaufen, alles.
303	Mother:	Zigaretten darf man auch nur mit neunzehn?
304	Philipp:	Zigaretten darf man in den USA mit achtzehn kaufen.
305	Mother:	Und wählen darf man auch mit achtzehn. Ich find' das so idiotisch.
306		Man darf wählen aber man darf net trinken.
307	C:	Man darf die Zukunft von seinem Land bestimmen, aber nicht=
308	Mother:	=aber man darf net prost sagen, wenn der gewinnt, den man gewählt hat.
309		Also ich find' das bescheuert. Das ist wirklich wahr. Das ist eine totale--
310	Philipp:	Das ist einfach übertrieben, so schlimm ist es auch nicht
311	Mother:	Ja ich find auch den Alkohol weniger schlimm als das Rauchen, na ja gut,
312		man darf ja noch trinken, ne?
313	Philipp:	Es gibt noch keine Trinkerzimmer <laughs> Aber daß man den Gutschein von der Fluggesellschaft,
314		daß man davon keine Flasche Wein von haben kann, also zum Essen einfach, ne?
315		fand ich also schon ärgerlich. Wir sind- wir waren ja letzte Woche in New Orleans,
316		und unser Flug hatte Verspätung und dann haben sie uns in ein Flughafenhotel gesteckt,
317	Mother:	Oh ja.
318	Philipp:	Und einen Essensgutschein für zehn Dollar.
319	C:	<laughs> Zehn Dollar.
320	Mother:	Und erster Klasse durft er heimfliegen.
321	C:	Ooh!
322	Philipp:	Das war gar nicht so: toll, auf dem Inlandflug.
323	Mother:	Ja da lohnt's sich nicht so sehr, des stimmt. aber es ist schon schön.
324	Philipp:	Im Januar bin ich erster Klasse von Frankfurt geflogen, das war toll.
325	Mother:	Das ist toll.
326	C:	Das ist echt. Ich weiß noch, als wir-- Oh!
327	Philipp:	Die hatten gute Filme auch.
328	C:	Oh!

329	Philipp:	Und die ganze Zeit, [also]
330	Mother:	[Alles] war besser.
331	Philipp:	drei Stewardessen für zehn Passagiere.
332	C:	Ja!
333	Philipp:	Alle fünf Minuten ..
334	C:	Champagner oder Orangensaft!
335	Philipp:	Schon vor dem Abflug!
336	C:	Ja, genau!
337	Mother:	Das ist schon toll, also--
338	Philip:	Und dann gab's da so'ne kleine Ecke mit *crackers* und äh=
339	C:	=Ja!
340	Philipp:	Zeitungen...
341	C:	und mit Riesentorten am Ende!
342	Mother:	Der gute Kuchen!
343	C:	Das war ne tolle Überfahrt!
344	Philipp:	Also die Filme waren prima. Und das war so bequem. Ich konnte den Sitz...
345		Ich konnte fast horizontal liegen, und da war so viel Platz, daß ich mit- daß ich wenn ich
346		die Füße ausgestreckt habe, den Sitz vor mir nicht berühren konnte.
347	Mother:	Das ist toll, ne? Also, das ist ja-
348	Philipp:	Und auch die Armlehnen, soviel Platz daß der neben mir- daß ich dem auch, also--
349	Mother:	Ja, der Hans hat schon gesagt, wenn er rüberfliegt, er will auf jeden Fall sich *up-grad*en lassen,
350		das machen, weil es ist Tortur wenn man also normale Klasse fliegt, ne?
351	Philipp:	Er hat kein *First* oder *Business* gebucht?
352	Mother:	Nee, er läßt es irgendwie dann drauf ankommen.
353	Philipp:	Also als wir zusammen hier waren, hat's geklappt, aber jetzt haben die ja irgendwie seinen Status
354		verändert. Die Lufthansa mochte ihn plötzlich nicht mehr. Ich weiß nicht, was da jetzt--
355	Mother:	Ach so, da wollt ich ihn nämlich anrufen, mit'm Automieten, weil- ob er 'ne Firma hat,
356		mit der er normalerweise verhandelt. Ob er da- Wir haben zum Beispiel mit Hertz-
357		*IBM* {Eng.} hat so'n Abkommen, und wir haben 'ne Gold Hertz Karte.
358		Und da hast du'n besonderen Tarif und auch besondere Möglichkeiten.
359		Und ich hab jetzt einfach mal unter unserem Tarif für ihn gebucht.
360		Aber ich weiß nicht ob das geht. Aber diese *deals* sind oft bloß für 'ne kurze Zeit,
361		und das war'n ganz toller *deal*. Ich kann des immer abbestellen, das ist kein Problem,
362		aber ich hab auf jeden Fall die-- für zwei Wochen ein Auto jetzt mal bestellt.
363		Aber ich muß jetzt mit ihm amal genau das machen,
364	Philipp:	Also, er wollte noch Bescheid wissen, wann ihr kommt und zu wievielen.
365		Aber wenn ihr nicht kommt...
366	Mother:	Nee, ich komm'. Im Juni. Ich komm' irgendwann Anfang Juni hin. Du fährst mit.
367	C:	Ja.
368	Mother:	Und wann kommst du nach Bonn?
369	C:	Aber ich ( )
370	Philipp:	Ich fahr Anfang Juni, am fünften.
371	C:	aber vielleicht ( )
372	Philipp:	Am sechsten Juni bin ich in Bonn.
373	Mother:	Gehst nach Montreal {Germ.} ich weiß. Du bist am sechsten Juni in Bonn.
374		Und wir kommen wahrscheinlich .. Und Du, wann kommst du an? Wann bist du net da?
375	C:	Ich bin am sechsten net da.
376	Mother:	Sechsten Juni, und dann fliegst du. Es kann sein, daß du alleine fliegen mußt.
377		Es kann halt daß ich schon eher losgeh'
378	C:	Ich kann das auch selber schaffen.
379	Mother:	Das glaub ich auch.
380	C:	Ich hab das so oft schon gemacht.
381	Mother:	Genau. Das muß jetzt einfach a weng warm gemacht werden. Jetzt muß ich schaun--
382		Jetzt schöne Champignons. Kleine Erbsen.
383	C:	Also dieses Jahr will ich nach Montreal, dann nach Deutschland, dann von Deutschland aus nach
384		Österreich--
385	Mother:	Ja. Du der Philipp hat einen tollen Vorschlag: und zwar hat er mir auf der Karte gezeigt,
386		da gibt's nördlich von Linz,
387	C:	Ä-hm.
388	Mother:	ist die tschechische Grenze und da könnte man also in einem kleinen Ort des Auto abstellen
389		und dann kan man mit Bus und Zug, das sind ungefähr zwei Stunden nach Prag hochfahren.
390	C:	Toll.
391	Philipp:	Also von Budweis.
392	C:	Ich will unbedingt nach Prag.
393	Mother:	Da ist nämlich so 'ne schöne kleine Stadt gleich an der Grenze,
394		und von da mit'm Bus nach Budweis, und dann hoch. Und da müßte man aber-
395		Wie find man das raus? Wie man da- Das man da Verbindungen hat oder wie man das macht?
396	Philipp:	Ja, ich weiß nicht, also die Zugverbindung kann man vielleicht sogar von hier rausfinden,
397		aber bei den Busverbindungen bin ich mir nicht sicher.
398	Mother:	Ja.
399	Philipp:	Aber, also von da nach Budweis ist auf jedenfall 'ne regelmäßige--=
400	Mother:	=Könnt ich das in Deutschland dann rausfinden, oder ist das genau so schwierig?

401	Philipp:	Also die Zugverbindungen schon, beim Bus weiß ich nicht, weil das ja irgendwie--
402	Mother:	Ja. Aber Budweis - Prag könnte ich rausfinden.
403	Philipp:	Ja das schon.
404	Mother:	Aber du denkst schon, daß nach Budweis von dem Ort--
405	C:	Also wir gehen [bestimmt nach] Prag?
406	Philipp:	[Ja, ja das ist]
407		also der-
408	Mother:	Na, wenn der Honza antwortet, sonst können wir nicht gehen.
409	Philipp:	Der Ort ist von Budweis-- Also der Bus braucht 'n bißchen, weil er öfter anhält,
410		aber das ist nicht weit, irgendwie dreißig Kilometer, also da fahren ganz oft--
411	Mother:	Da fahren oft Busse, also ist 'n normaler Busverkehr.
412	C:	Und dann kommen wir zurück und [dann geh' ich (nach ein *college*)].
413	Philipp:	[Also bestimmt alle zwei Stunden].
414	Mother:	Ja, weil wir dachten daß dann also--=
415	C:	=Ah toll. Ich hab so viel dieses Jahr.
416	Mother:	Und dann arbeitest a weng,
417	C:	Und dieses Jahr fangen wir nach *Labour Day* an. {Holiday at the end of summer}
418	Mother:	Das ist so toll, da hast noch ein oder zwei Wochen zum Erholen
419		nachdem du arbeitest.
420	C:	Also ich arbeite fünf Wochen.
421	Mother:	Fünf Wochen. Bis Ende August? und dann hast du vielleicht noch fast 'ne Woche
422		je nachdem, wann *Labour Day* ist.
423	C:	Ich hab sowieso die Wochenenden--
424	Mother:	Ja natürlich. Und du mußt ja wenn du heimkommst entspannt sein,
425		da liegst du da unten, kannst du mit *Andrew* Kanu fahren. Der will ja immer Kanu fahren. Hast
	du--	
426		Zeig mal dem Philipp unser Kanu, unten im Keller.
427	Philipp:	(xxx ist ja hier auch xx)
428	Mother:	Ja, ist toll, ne? Unser schönes Kanu.
429		<Philipp and C leave the room>
430		Ah ja, Salat machen ...<12> (Ein bißchen hiervon nehmen) und Salat.
431		Ach Spargel haben wir ja auch noch, das ist ja toll, Spargel. ( )
432		<C and Philipp return>
433		Ich hab schönen Spargel, dann machen wir Spargel heut' abend, eben.
434		Hab ich gerade entdeckt, der ist ganz toll der Spargel.
435		Dann tun wir das aber jetzt umladen in das 'nein. Halts warm.
436		Und, gefällt dir unser Kanu? Weißt du wie das heißt? Helmut!
437	Philipp:	Ach so, ich hab nur *"Old Town"* gesehen.
438	Mother:	Ja, aber wir wollen irgendwann noch des eingravieren, "Helmut". weil, das ist-
439		Der Kater heißt Rudi, das ist der Mittelname, und dann müssen wir noch,
440		das Segelboot, das heißt dann "Angermeyer". Ich hab doch a weng Geld gehabt, für'n Umzug,
441		und dann hab ich mir so "vom ersten Tausender wird des Kanu gekauft",
442		also ich will nämlich auch was sehen von dem Geld, net daß das dann untergeht
443		und dann ist nichts mehr sichtbar. Und wir haben ab und zu mal benutzt
444		und des macht auch Spaß wenn man gleich ins Wasser kann, weißt du. Na ja, also wenn-
445	Philipp:	Paßt auch zur Landschaft.
446	Mother:	Ja des paßt, das Kanu paßt wirklich. Ja, Motorboote sind hier nicht so arg,
447		im Winter die Skidous, ja also, diese Schneefahrzeuge, ja das ist schon eher--
448		die sieht man schon öfters, aber im Sommer ist eigentlich kaum- ganz selten ein Motorboot.
449		Unser Nachbar hat eins, aber der fährt nur ab und zu mal, nur zum fischen fort und so.
450		Aber Segelboote sind hier angesagt. Und das ist so angenehm. In Québec, die Motorboote!
451		Am *Lake Champlain*, ach langsam das macht keinen Spaß mehr.
452		Und der *Richelieu River* ist wie'n *highway*. Das ist dann auch nicht mehr schön.
453		Aber ich brauch' die für'n Spargel. Das ist das einzige wo ich den Spargel hinein--
454		Dann brauch ich's nicht noch amal auf 'ne Platte tun, dann tu ich's unter-- ...
455		*Chicken* Mus, ist ja furchtbar. Nee, das macht nichts.
456	Philipp:	"Mousse au *chick*olat".
457	Mother:	Das ist sehr weich geworden, sonst schneid ich die immer nur so a weng an
458		und dann hat man doch die ganze *chi- chicken breast*, aber ich hab des jetzt ganz--
459		des ist mir jetzt ganz auseinandergefallen. Na ja. Ich zeig dir's Bild wie's halt ausschauen kann.
460		...<14>
461		Dann kann ich nämlich da den Spargel drin machen.
462		...<18>
463		Peppen, das ganze. Zu mild, zu- zu brav. .. A weng a *zest*. So.
464		Da tu ich ein kleines Stückchen Petersilie drüber tun, daß das dann etwas
465		dekorativer ist, sonst schimpft die Cl- Marie. Die Marie ißt nämlich sehr mit dem Auge.
466		Und wenn das dann nicht so serviert ist das mag s' gar net.
467		Die hat auf einmal Hausaufgaben, merk' ich. Die hat schon das ganze Jahr geschimpft
468		"Ich hab nichts genug zu tun" aber jetzt in der letzten Zeit, hui! Dann kommt se, weißt du
469		"Ich hab eine *presentation*". Das hört sich an als ob sie einen *full-time job* hat, weißt du.
470		Ich hab' eine *presentation*.
471	Philipp:	Susannah hatte auch kürzlich eine. Sie mußte eine Stunde lang über "Le Corbusiers

472		Einfluß auf die tschechische Architektur" sprechen. Aber es ist gut gegangen.
473	Mother:	Clara hatte zwanzig Minuten oder eine halbe Stunde.
474	Philipp:	Ich mußte eine Stunde über Indianersprachen sprechen bei meiner letzten-
475		Das war furchtbar.
476	Mother:	Das ist ja furchtbar, eine Stunde lang, und du kannst vielleicht 'mal Wörter für fünf Minuten.
477	Philipp:	Ja ich hatte so zehn Seiten mit Beispielen, dann hab ich hin und her gezeigt.
478	Mother:	Aber es ist schon hart, ne? Clara mußte über, hatte doch über den Kafka--
479		das war auch eine- eine- ein Referat, also eine vorgetragenes Referat.
480		Über den Vergleich und äh gegen sein das Buch äh Übersetzung und das Original.
481		Und dann hat sie also da denen erstmal einen Deutschkurs gegeben. In Aussprache.
482		Und die Namen in dem Buch, das kommt ja in der Übersetzung überhaupt net raus.
483		Der heißt trotzdem *Captain* Lanz, aber der müßt eigentlich *Captain Spear* heißen.
484		Und dann würde das ganz was anderes sein. Und da-
485	Philipp:	Es gibt Übersetzer, die das machen.
486	Mother:	<on the phone> *Ja hallo? .. Oh hi, Oh hi, how are you, fine, fine, you wanna talk to Philipp?*
487		*Okay he's right there, ja?*
488	Philipp:	Hallo. *Hi, how are you? ( )*
489		<on the phone in the other room, unintelligible>
490		...<30> (*important*)
491		(*Maybe, here*) <laughs>
492		...<10> Oh. ( ) Ja. ( ) *Fine.*
493	M:	<enters the kitchen> Du Mami?
494	Mother:	Ja was ist denn?
495	Philipp:	[( )]
496	M:	[(Das du) Deutsch bist (hier lesen)]
497	Mother:	<reeds handwriting> "<u>Vous</u> <u>ne</u> .. <u>m'impressionnez pas</u> ... <u>dou- du- du tout</u> ..
498		<u>avec votre- votre, votre, votre</u>-"
499	M:	Da sind zwei (verschiedene).
500	Mother:	Ah ja. "<u>votre fraise</u>"
501	M:	<u>Non.</u>
502	Mother:	"<u>phrase, France</u>,"
503	M:	Nee das ist ein A.
504	Mother:	"<u>Français, Français.</u>"
505	M:	Die Dings, ähm (für die xxx ist die äh xx) Französisch
506		aber für die (<u>Acadiens</u> ist das) <u>Français</u>.
507	Mother:	Ah, ja.das ist süß. <u>Vous</u> [<u>ne m'impressionnez pas du tout avec votre</u>] vot-
508	M:	[<u>ne m'impressionnez pas du tout avec votre</u>]
509	Mother:	Hier ja, <u>votre</u>, ist da, <u>votre</u>.
510	M:	Mit 'nem E oder so <u>vot</u>--
511	Mother:	Mit 'nem E, ja, weil das- weil wenn du "<u>votreu</u>", dann ist das zu sehr ( ) weißt du.
512		<u>Votre Français, Français, Français.</u>
513	M:	Nee, das geht nicht halt( )
514	Mother:	(<u>Dictionnaire</u>) Da würd ich dir da oben hinschreiben, das-
515	M:	Halt die- Halt die echte.
516	Mother:	Ja genau.
517	M:	Was machst du denn?
518	Mother:	Ich koch.
519	M:	Was hast du denn eine Blume?
520	Mother:	Wie?
521	M:	Weil du an dem (irgendwas).
522	Philipp:	<on the phone>*They also came here, there's just nothing* [( )]
523	Mother:	[Weil ich also--]
524	M:	Okay, ich dusche mich jetzt.
525	Mother:	Du, äh, kannst du die-- andersrum, Marie, ja,
526		ähm, die- die Champignons, machst du die dann?
527	M:	Na ja, wann essen wir denn?
528	Mother:	Um sieben Uhr. Es ist jetzt sechs Uhr zweiunddreißig. ( ) Die machen wir erst dann.
529	M:	Ich möchte--
530	Mother:	( ) Das ist fei-- <M leaves>
531	Philipp:	<on the phone in the other room> (*going to Halifax*)
532		...<16>
533	Mother:	*That's right.*
534	Philipp:	<on the phone> (*And then, also*)
535		...<10>
536		( ) *I wouldn't mind.* ( )
537		...<19>
		<end of the tape, recording interrupted.>
		<A little later, the father has entered the room.>
538	Mother:	*Ojojoj, twelve kisses! Do you think I can do this?*
539	Father:	*Ah, ja* ( ) <from the other room>
540	Mother:	*You got a good deal. This is nice.*

541	Father:	*You want your .. (xxx)*
542	Mother:	<to herself> *And a few mushrooms...* und das andere- was mach ich-- und ein Salat, ..
543		(Jetzt tue ich) die schnell mal ins Ding 'rein.
544	Philipp:	(Soll ich helfen?)
545	Mother:	Ja wart' einmal. Ich geb Dir eine Blumenvase für die Blu-- Wo könnt' ich die denn hintun?
546		Ich hab' nur eine, ...
547		<to the father> *Ja I just see that. Ja I had no idea how this got here. ..*
548		*I saw it in the hallway already. That somebody there-- ..*
549		*Probably my horrible black ones. I'm sure. I mean--*
550	Father:	*( ) If you walk from outside to inside ( )*
551	Mother:	*I think I walked from the inside to outside. That's the bad thing.*
552	Father:	*Ah that's it.*
553	Mother:	*Yes.*
554	Father:	*The mud had dried and ..*
555	Mother:	*Yes that's--*
556	Father:	*as soon as you walk--*
557	Mother:	*So you came home earlier than I thought.*
558	Father:	*Jah.*
559	Mother:	*You know what we did? We were jogging afterwards.*
560	Father:	*You were jogging. Wow!*
561	Mother:	*Yes, we- we decided that s-some- .. we live healthier*
562	Father:	*Did Philipp (go on the xx) in his boots?*
563	Mother:	*No. He borrowed a- a pair of old running shoes. Marie decided which ones,*
564		*and she gave him you old jogging pants, and the old little outfit. You know the top?*
565		*And this is fashionable in New York again, he said.*
566		*The tights- .. we bought it in the seventies, remember? Got it--*
567	Philipp:	*The seventies ... - gray, like mouse gray.*
568	Father:	*Oh the mouse gray one, jaja.*
569	Mother:	*Do you have jogging pants? I couldn't remember. You don't have any?*
570		<to Philipp> *.. He's in aerobics, skin tights.*
571	Father:	*Tights, ja.*
572	Mother:	*I don't know wether he likes--=*
573	Philipp:	*=We might get a call from the New York Times, äh.*
574	Mother:	*Ja?*
575	Philipp:	Nur das ihr's wißt. *I had written a letter to the editor recently.*
576		*And Susannah said that they called and they're considering to- to print it, and ehm*
577	Mother:	*Oh!*
578	Philipp:	*They [might have-]*
579	Father:	*[Your article?]*
580	Philipp:	*No, it's just a letter. But ehm they might have questions .. or something. They wanted to=&*
581	Mother:	*=Oh [but that's super!]*
582	Philipp:	*& [know how to con]tact me, if they have questions.*
583	Mother:	*Philipp, this is great.*
584	Philipp:	<to the father> *Susannah couldn't-*
585	Mother:	*(Let me see- maybe I should take a [xx Blumen])*
586	Philipp:	<to the father> *[And she said] that the guy who called*
587		*from the New York Times had a (name) George something ..*
588		*George .. like Castanding or something.*
589	Mother:	*Castanza!* <laughs>
590	Philipp:	*He left a message and it sounded almost like Castanza.*
591	Mother:	*That's great, George Castanza!* Ja des ist hübsch, ja die Vase.
592		Mensch die sind hübsch die Rosen, Georges! *They look healthy.*
593	Father:	*Ja?*
594	Mother:	*They are gorgeous. Where did you get those. I have never seen .. New Brunswick ..*
595	Father:	*A roadside ah --*
596	Mother:	*Outside, look how they--*
597	Father:	*Roadside! .. Coming down Marr Road.*
598	Mother:	*They are beautiful, look at that!*
599	Father:	*They cost seven dollars.*
600	Mother:	*That's not bad at all, a dozen roses. When was the last time you gave me a dozen roses?*
601		*You must have a real bad conscience! .. Ja?*
602	(C:)	*Hm,* ja ..
603	Mother:	Mein Monsterwein hier. Aber jetzt muß es erstmal trocknen hier. Das tropft.
604		Die alte Blumenvase meiner Mutter kommt so schöner-- ..
605	Father:	<moans>
606	Mother:	*Clara, you need--* <to the father> *You can change actually. Because I'm not ready yet.*
607		*And you said seven o'clock. And I timed--=*
608	Father:	*=No, I said supper for seven.*
609	Mother:	*Well it's six forty, so.*
610	Father:	*You expect me just to drive in at one minute to seven, right?*
611	Mother:	*I know you. That's usually-- .. Those are the goodies, ja? Clara has one. .. Clara is so happy.*
612		*She's like a changed person. This, also-- She practised violin and said "Now I know what to do."*

613		*And she said now finally it's all falling in place. And she's motivated and--*
614		*.. It's a different story .. all together. I'm really glad.*
615		\<to Philipp> Du darfst des wieder auf den Tisch stellen.
616	Philipp:	H-hm.
617	Mother:	Da drüben. .. Weil das .. hab ich jetzt doch nicht gebraucht.
618	Philipp:	Welchen Tisch?
619	Mother:	Auf den kleinen, da wo's war. Jetzt muß ich Champignons putzen.
620		\<to the father, whom she believes to be in the other room> *I'm so glad she- .. we pushed that little-*
621		*we did that little push. .. And we got a Gazette, Georges they have a new lay out for the Gazette!*
622		{English language daily in Montreal}
623		\<to herself> *Oh he's gone.* Das macht nichts, ja.
624		\<the phone rings> ( ) *Georges* das ganze-- Nee, das da. Wo ist es denn?
625	Philipp:	Hier.
626	Mother:	Ach das da. \<on the phone> Ja hallo? .. *Yes? ... Fine, fine. ... Ja. Okay no problem.*

\<interruption of the recording>

\<recording continued after the phone call>

627	Mother:	\<to Philipp> sind wesentlich Musik verständiger als in Montreal. {Germ.}
628		*No pushy parents. No "go, you have to do this."* Nee, ganz liebe nette Leut',
629		und äh- die üben mit ihren Kindern, die sind also auf Zack, Die Kinder spiel'n auch besser.
630		Und die Kinder sind nicht-- da merkst den Unterschied zur Großstadt,
631		die Kinder sind nicht so gestreßt. Das ist wirklich 'n Unterschied.
632		Äh, und ich hab' auch weniger- weniger Eltern die so--
633		in Montreal hab ich ja sehr viel die Eltern erziehen müssen. \<laughs>
634		Das war furchtbar weil-- Und den Eltern beibringen, daß- daß man auch,
635		weißt du .. *the idea of a commitment, that you say "I go and I ... I .. I- I stick it out for a year."*
636		(Und danach geh ich weg,) Das gibt etwa in--
637		Und es ist halt auch 'ne Sache, die immer schwächer wird.
638		Das merkst ja auch, wenn du dir überlegst mit Arbeitsplätzen und allem.
639		Da ist kein *commitment* von 'ner *company* mehr da. Daß die sagen *"okay* wir sind *your--* ..
640		Ja, ich verlang daß du *loyal* bist, aber ich bin's nicht."
641		Ja und so, aber das überträgt sich ja langsam überall hin. Und ich muß ehrlich sagen,
642		das ist hier, dadurch daß das vielleicht noch a weng 'ne altmodischere Gegend ist
643		oder so, wesentlich besser. Also die Eltern, die arbeiten mit den Kindern,
644		die Kinder sind immer vorbereitet. Selbst bei Kindern wo ich Angst hab',
645		die vielleicht auch mal Schwierigkeiten haben mit ihren *focus,*
646		aber die Eltern arbeiten mit den Kindern und die-- Da bin ich fei echt froh.
647		Das ist für mich 'n Kinderspiel hier.
648	Philipp:	Meine Mutter würde-- hätte sicher auch lieber Kinder, also zu unterrichten, in so'ner Umgebung.
649	Mother:	Es ist wirklich leichter. Also das muß ich sagen. Die Großstadtkinder oder auch, sagen wir mal,
650		na kann man gar nicht sagen, Bonn ist-- na ja doch, aber Bonn und Köln ist ja ein Raum praktisch.
651		Der Streß ist halt der Großstadtstreß praktisch schon. Und auch das man dann sagt:
652		"Du mußt das und das und das machen" und ja, einfach hier die Leute, die lassen die Kinder
653		einfach mal spielen, hab' ich das Gefühl auch. Und es ist nicht so daß jeder gleich im *day care* von
654		der Windel an sein muß. Und das ist schon ein Unterschied. Das merkt man den Kindern an.
655		Also, da bin ich sehr positiv überrascht, weil das find ich schön, ne? Das ist ja für die Übungen--
656		( ).. a weng erschöpft vor.
657	Philipp:	Verspannt von der Fahrt. Auch die Übernachtung in Boston, die haben nämlich ein sehr schönes
658		chinesisches Sofa, ist aber ziemlich kurz, .. mit Holz- Holzlehnen.
659	Mother:	Unseres da oben ist hart auch, ne?
660	Philipp:	Das macht aber nichts.
661	Mother:	Macht nichts? Weil das ist auch--
662	Philipp:	Da kann ich ausstrecken, die Füße.
663	Mother:	Ja, das ist noch'n Gästebett. Drum hab ich schon gesagt, also wenn Hans und deine Mutter
664		kommen dann in's Schlafzimmer, weil da haben sie das bequemste Bett im Haus.
665		Und da haben se auch mehr Ruhe. Und das- das geht uns-- Das ist Urlaub dann, weißte,
666		mit allem drum und dran, so richtig. Und wir haben das ja immer, bloß was anderes--
667		Und ich hab ja das Studio unten, da kann ich auch'n Bett hinstellen. Und dann ist das dann--
668		Und das ist auch wir haben unten unser Bad und die haben oben ihr Bad,
669		das ist also, da geht man sich net--
670		Die Clara ist sowieso nicht da, und die Marie hätte eigentlich in Deutschland sein sollen.
671		Hat alles abgeblasen. Wie sie gehört hat das der Hans kommt.
672		"Wenn der Hans kommt will ich da sein" ... Glaubst gar nicht. Sie hat sich so geehrt gefühlt,
673		als sie dann im November da-- \<whispers> (Nee also die, "der Onkel Hans ist)
674		mein bester Onkel", und mein bester-- nee, das ist eine *show,* unheimlich.
675		Drum hat sie ihrer Freundin in Bayreuth geschrieben daß eben ihr Onkel kommt, und ...
676		Du ich hab schon bezahlt für die Fahrt nach Frankreich, mit der Klasse. Haut die alles hin.
677		Kannst Du Dir das vorstellen. Ich hab gesagt: "Marie, der Hans versteht das,
678		wenn Du nicht da bist." "Ja aber *my uncle is coming, I have to be home."* Ist ja wahnsinnig ne?
679		Ich mein, darauf kann ich nix sagen. Ich zwing dich nicht, daß du jetzt nicht da bist,

680		das wär ja auch nicht--
681	Philipp:	Hm.
682	Mother:	... So jetzt langsam mal den-- ein Weißbrot noch. Aber es ist auch so,
683		dadurch daß wir ne Stunde weiter sind fühlt sich das erst wie sechs Uhr an,
684	Philipp:	Ja, ja.
685	Mother:	Ja weil, es ist auch so hell. Und- und ich mein, im Sommer ist das schön mit der Stunde länger,
686		also daß wir eine Stunde weiter sind, weil dadurch hast du unheimlich lange Abende, ne?
687		Das kommt jetzt in den Ofen 'nein.
688	Philipp:	Ist ja eigentlich komisch, ich mein, warum ist das eigentlich so? Weil's ja nicht--
689	Mother:	Na ja, weil's halt noch weiter östlich geht. Und wir sind eben am Anfang der *time zone,* ne?
690		Das ist ja an dem- ja was heißt, wir sind-- na ja in *Nova Scotia,* an die andere Küste,
691		ist ja noch einmal ein Stück weiter. Aber warum *Newfoundland* dann noch einmal eine halbe Stund
692		weiter ist, das versteh' ich nicht, so viel östlicher ist das ja dann auch nicht,
693		das ist ja nur eigentlich nördlich, ne? Aber das ist komisch. Aber die haben immer ihr
694		Extrawurscht. Aber, damit bestrafen sie sich im Grunde ja selber, weil die alles nämlich alles, kein
695		*(TV),* kei' Fernsehshow, nix haut hin bei denen. Wenn Du deine Nachrichten immer erst um-- um halb,
696	Philipp:	um halb,
697	Mother:	Um halb. Also! Das würd mich schon stören, du. ... ( ) So, ich geb dir jetzt eine Bürste.
698	Philipp:	.. Für die Pilze?
699	Mother:	Ja, genau, für die Pilze abbürsten. Wart' einmal, die muß ich erst sauber machen.
700	Philipp:	Ich versteh nicht wieso sich die *New York Times* sich so 'ne Mühe gibt mit dem-- Also ich hab--
701		das waren fünf sechs Sätze, dieser Leserbrief.
702	Mother:	Ja. [Ach so?]
703	Philipp:	[Den] hab' ich einfach so per *e-mail* geschrieben, bestimmt so in fünf Minuten.
704	Mother:	Ist doch klasse.
705	Philipp:	Die wissen das n-- <laughs>
706	Mother:	Ja, bitteschön. Einfach a weng abbürsten.
707	Philipp:	Wohin?
708	Mother:	Einfach-- gute Frage. .. Ich muß einmal den Kuchen-- .. das also, also irgendwas--
709		jetzt hab ich so 'ne große Küche, aber trotzdem ist alles un-- .. So ein bißchen unorganisiert, halt.
710		Aber das macht auch Spaß, so besonderen Besuch zu haben, daß hat man ja nun nicht immer, ne?
711	Philipp:	Soll ich's jetzt einfach mal in die Pfanne legen?
712	Mother:	Nee, einfach-- suchste, ja, 'nen Extraplatz. Warte, .. Das da 'nüber. Da kann das kochen.
713		das kommt jetzt--
714	Philipp:	Die Stiele abmachen?
715	Mother:	Die Stiele ab- Nee die kannste dranlassen, die sind sauber. Die sind ganz frisch, die Pilze, also da--
716		Was brauch ich jetzt als nächstes? Ich brauch' die- die Pfanne brauch ich, ..
717		Da tun wir die Pilzchen einfach so a weng dünsten, das schmeckt nämlich gut dann,
718		mit Thymian und--
719		.. Marie! .. Die macht nämlich bei uns die- die Champignons ...
720		erst die Soße, angedünstet,
721		... dann kann sie den Rest machen. (Ich brauch jetzt)
722		... Das ist da drin, das geht da 'rein.
723		Brot ist im Ofen, .. okay. Jetzt gibt's Salat. Salatschüssel hab ich schon 'nunter...
724		So jetzt wird hier--
725	Philipp:	Wieviele Pilze soll ich machen?
726	Mother:	Schon noch a weng mehr, fast alle. Das kannst du, würd ich sagen--
727		Das schmeckt gut, so einfach gedünstete Pilze ist was gutes.
728	Philipp:	Ja.
729	M:	<enters the kitchen> *Okay,* jetzt soll ich die Pilze-- ?
730	Mother:	Pilze, Ja, der- der Philipp macht sie sauber..
731	M:	*Okay.* ... Danach muß ich 'n (Päckchen nehmen)
732	Mother:	Ja ja, dein (Päckchen kannst du dann), ne? (Du wirst) professioneller. :.
733		Dann fehlen noch die Nudeln .. aber die mach ich ganz am Schluß erst wenn ich fertig--
734		das heißt, das Wasser kann ich jetzt schon mal hinstellen. .. Das ist wahr. ( )
735		...<8> Also ( )
736		...<15> Das Nudelwasser und dann den Salat. ..
737		<to the father> [*Hello,*]
738	M:	[Es ist] komisch mal ein richtiges [[Essen zu haben.]]
739	Mother:	[[*you look good.*]]
740		Schau mal, was auf dem Tisch steht, Marie.
741	Father:	*Thank you.*
742	Mother:	*Ja, you look very good.*
743	M:	*Wow!* Blumen! Rosen!
744	Mother:	Ja, der *daddy* hat Rosen gekauft. Also ich glaub der hat a ganz schlechtes Gewissen.
745		<to the father> *Bad conscience, huh?*
746	M:	*Why do you--?*
747	Father:	*Ahm, tomorrow, I don't know at what time I'll finish.*
748	Mother:	*Oh, that's good actually.*

749	M:	<laughs> *That's good. Now he knows!*
750	Mother:	*Ja, maybe, you want to entertain Philipp in the evening?*
751	Father:	*I won't* [*be around.*]
752	Philipp:	[*I don't need*] *to be entertained.*
753	Mother:	*Oh, you won't be home. Where are you tomorrow?*
754	Father:	*I have a conference call that starts at five o'clock,*
755	Mother:	Ach Gottes [Willen,]
756	Father:	[*last*] *time it took till eight- thirty?*
757	Mother:	*Oh then, I know. I'll äh- then, we'll figure something out.* =
758	Father:	[=*I won't-* .. *I won't--*]
759	Philipp:	[*I don't need to be enter*]*tained.*=
760	Mother:	=*Because I have* [[*choir.*]]
761	Philipp:	[[*I can*]] *entertain myself.*=
762	M:	=*Mami? Do we cook them in the whole or do we cut them?*
763	Mother:	*Oh, you shou-- we-- The big ones maybe you can cut. I just have to .. cook the ( ).*
764	Father:	*The weather is picking up, and it seems to be-*
765	Mother:	*Snowing. It snowed already.*
766	Father:	*But tomorrow it's supposed to go up to nine degrees.*
767	Mother:	*Oh, that's ni- that's nice.*
768	Father:	*In a way it's good, it's .. falling slowly.*
769	Mother:	[*Ja.*]
770	M:	[*The-*] *The snow melted* [[*today.*]]
771	Mother:	[[*Why*]] *we don't get the floods that way,*
772	Father:	*Ja.*
773	Mother:	*because it can be very dangerous otherwise. No, I don't mind that part.*
774		*But it's so funny, Philipp has to get used to ah the brightness in this house ..*
775		*it's so bright.*
776	M:	*It is?*
777	Father:	*If the sun comes out, you've got to wear sunglasses!*
778	Mother:	*He said to Susannah too. "Oh well, I'm in the kitchen, it's snowing,*
779		*but I need sunglasses." "What?"* <laughs>
780	M:	*Well in Ansbach, it's always very grey in the wintertime.*
781		*You always need a light when you're reading.*
782	Mother:	*No, we don't need light, even in the winter..It's really-- ..*
783		*Yea, we use less electrity for light here than in Montreal.*
784	M:	*The wintertime is the brightest season.*
785	Philipp:	Soll ich die einfach alle machen?
786	Mother:	Ja, mach se alle, die schmecken gut, Mensch.
787	M:	*'cause in the wintertime we're closest to the sun. That's why it's so light.*
788		*But it doesn't mean necessarily that it's warm.*
789	Mother:	<to herself> *Salad, and this. That's why I cook a nice meal tonight,*
790		*because we, we haven't had anything together* [*for-*]&
791	M:	[*For*] *lo:ng!*
792	Mother:	&*for a couple of days.*
793	M:	*For a long time*=
794	Mother:	=*Yea, because* [*Saturday*] *we were alone,*
795	Father:	[*Careful with*]&
796		&*the cat food!*
797	M:	<to the father> *No, I won't put it in the cat food, don't worry.*
798	Mother:	*Saturday we were alone, Sunday we went together...*
799	Father:	*It's on- It's on minimum!*
800	M:	*It's supposed to be on minimum! Right now it just has to sit there,*
801		*till we put all mushrooms in there.*
802	Father:	*Okay.*
803	Mother:	*So we had, I figured, I even baked a cake, Georges.*
804	M:	<to the father> Okay, that's okay.
805	Mother:	*This morning, after you guys left, I made a banana loaf and a nice peach--*
806	Father:	*Fantastic.*
807	M:	*Yea, you can put that--*
808	Mother:	*Ja, I was very busy, .. I figured-- ...We need to get the noodles?*
809		*What kind of noodles do you want? .. Quick ( )*
810		...<8>
811	Father:	*You .. need more salat, or?*
812	Mother:	*No, finished. .. I need- Marie, I don't need this, I need- here,*
813		*yes you can put it in a bag.*
814	M:	.. Haben wir mehr Butter?
815	Mother:	Butter hab'n wir, ja. Brauchst Du mehr Butter?
816	M:	Ja. Okay, warte, ich muß a weng sehen (nach den) Pilzen..
817	Father:	O:h, du hast eingekauft!
818	Mother:	*And we have,*
819	Father:	Im Kuhlschrank. {[ku:l...]}
820	Mother:	*we have also- .. we have asparagus. ..*

821		*What do you think about, like, we go to Halifax? I think it makes more sense than ...*
822	M:	*Than Montreal? {Engl.} Yes!*
823	Mother:	*Because it's something new for him. And ah- And it's, all together, it's less driving.*
824		*And it's distributed. Like, if we go Wednesday, then we go Saturday we-*
825		*back to Bangor. It's a bit more.. It's still shorter that way. And I just-- I mean--*
826	Father:	*But it's a--*
827	Mother:	*And Monday I'm supposed to do a meal for you guys. How can I do that, if I--=*
828	M:	*=Why are you supposed to do a meal?*
829	Father:	*Well, no. I- I talked to Bill.*
830	Mother:	*Hm.*
831	Father:	*And they were organizing that-- ... There's two of them who can't stay, so he--*
832	Mother:	*Oh, I see.*
833	Father:	*So the reason why we're gonna have a .. start at nine thirty was that*
834		*they were thinking, maybe we could have lunch together.*
835	Mother:	*Oh, I see, because I felt so bad, I had just told you that I would be doing this.*
836	Father:	*That's fine. .. Ahm, I'm just thinking of what other options could be,*
837		*because you have to figure, you're gonna spend eight hours in one day in the car.*
838	Mother:	*I know.*
839	M:	*In one day?*
840	Father:	*Yes, four hours there, four hours back.*
841	Mother:	*Ja, but I was thinking-*
842	Father:	*As to?*
843	Mother:	*t- to go and take the ferry.*
844	Father:	*Take the ferry?*
845	Mother:	*Ja. To do a roundtrip.*
846	Father:	*Oh ja!*
847	Mother:	*I mean, ja it costs a bit, but Georges, Montreal {Germ.} costs us even more.*
848	Father:	*D-Do you have the departure time?*
849	Mother:	*They have everything, I just have to figure it out. I have not yet--*
850	Father:	*As to when you get there and--*
851	Mother:	*Ja, it has everything on it. But I thought, wouldn't that be nice, we take-*
852		*we take the ferry back! When is-- Depending when the last ferry goes. Or we take it to-*
853		*whatever is better, ne? But I think probably going way back is nicer, less driving. When is-*
854	Father:	*There is one at eight-thirty.*
855	Mother:	*Ja, we can take the latest at eight-thirty. So I phone them--*
856	Philipp:	*So how long does it take?*
857	Father:	*Ahm-*
858	Mother:	*Arrival? Is arrival? Because dann sind wir nämlich gleich--*
859		*ich- I will phone them and find out.*
860	Father:	*Phone and find out.*
861	Mother:	*Also wether we need to reserve.*
862	Philipp:	*<reads> "Save a hundred and eighty driving kilometers."*
863	Mother:	*Ja. No, and it's relaxing, it's fun to be on the boat. I mean, it's a different thing, ja.*
864		*And I thought, that would be a nice--=*
865	Father:	*=And you get to see the other part,*
866	Mother:	*That's--*
867	Father:	*you never see.*
868	Mother:	*That's right. And it's kind of a little holiday. And, hey, for the two of us?*
869		*I can't be there on your birthday, so how about if we- if we have a little--*
870	M:	*Listen, daddy, you pick me up on Wednesday!*
871	Mother:	*Ja. We have a- .. That just, ah, would be nice to do something.*
872	M:	*(xx x x)*
873	Mother:	*Ich hab noch an Deckel, wenn Du--*
874	M:	*No I- ich brauch den Deckel nicht.*
875	Mother:	*Okay, they are done, so welche Nudeln wollt ihr denn?*
876		*Ich hab' Penne, ich hab' Linguini und ich hab' Spaghetti.*
877		*.. Okay, quick. Water is boiling.*
878	Philipp:	*Penne.*
879	Mother:	*Penne? okay.*
880	M:	*Penne is gut.*
881	Mother:	*(Den Wein) schnell zum servieren. ... Wie groß ist der Hunger? Big, small, medium?*
882	M:	*Ähm, medium.*
883	Mother:	*Medium.*
884	Father:	*Njem..*
885	Mother:	*Big?*
886	M:	*Medium.*
887	Mother:	*Okay, what's leftover-- .. Wir haben auch Salat und--*
888	Father:	*You dumped the package in?*
889	Mother:	*No, not nine hundred gramms.*
890	Father:	*<laughs>*
891	Mother:	*We're civilised here.*
892	Philipp:	*Ten years ago, [I could have eaten] a pound.*

893	Mother:	[*I know, this is n--*]
894	Philipp:	*But not anymore.*
895	Father:	*Not anymore!*
896	Mother:	*Not anymore! But he beat us jogging. But tomorrow we will go again.*
897	M:	*It was just because of my dumb ear!*
898	Mother:	*Jogging.*
898	Father:	*Your ear?*
899	M:	*Ya, my ear started to hurt.*
900	Mother:	*You know, when sh- when her circulation goes--*
901	M:	*It starts to crackle.*
902	Mother:	*It- it starts to- to affect her. She has to pace herself. That's okay, Marie.*
903		*Do it regularly and then it will get better and better, you get more and more...*
904	Father:	*Ja.*
905	Mother:	*because than, you won't get so .. aah,*
906	Father:	*Your body won't work as hard.*
907	Mother:	*Ja. That's it.*
908	M:	*Well, it doesn't work hard, it's just my dumb ear.*
909	Mother:	*No, but* [*I mean you breathe too--*]
910	Father:	[*No, it's your circulation.*]
912	M:	*I breathe because otherwise it's no good for you. I breathe for a certain reason.*
913	Mother:	*Okay.*
914	M:	*If you don't breathe, your muscles don't get oxygen.*
915		*If your muscles don't get oxygen, you--=*
916	Mother:	*=Did you know that? That if you breathe-- I don't know these things,*
917		*I just breathe because otherwise I get blue.* <laughs>
918	Father:	*I don't breathe.*
919	M:	*No, when you exercise,=*
920	Father:	*=Especially running.* [*I hold my breath.*]
921	M:	[*you breathe i:n*] *and out, i:n and out.*
922	Mother:	*That's a new way.*
923	M:	*'cause like, especially, when people lift weights,*
924		*they have the tendency to hold their breath when they're pushing up?*
925		*That's not good, you have to breathe regularly.*
926	Mother:	*Where is the wine? .. Okay, this is boiling. .. We need some butter on a little plate, Georges.*
927	M:	*Yes,* Pap. .. (Mag ich ihn xx) Papi *now.*
928	Mother:	*Why "pappy", Marie?*
929	M:	*Because it sounds more like "Papa". I prefer it, to "daddy". "Daddy" is dumb.*
930	Mother:	*"Daddy is dumb."*
931	M:	<laughs> *No offense.*
932	Mother:	*Asparagus.*
933	Father:	*.. (Finger)*
934	Mother:	Ja, der ist gut, der schm--
935	M:	Wieso hab'ich denn den "*pappy*" immer "*daddy*" genannt?
936	Mother:	*Bread, bread.* Gecut. *Bread* haste gecut. *Where is the-- ah you,* ja here,
937		*and we put a little napkin in there. Napkins are in the closet, over there.* Im Schrank.
938	M:	Wieso habe ich den Papi immer *daddy* genannt?
939	Mother:	*Ten minutes.* .. Sieben, acht, neun, zehn. *Okay,* was ich sagen wollte, Brotschneiden, Georges!
940	Father:	Brotschneiden? Wir haben zehn Minuten.
941	Mother:	Nee, wir haben-- Ja zehn genau, das Brot ist so heiß und so--
942	Philipp:	Papier?
943	Father:	Ist es nicht--
944	Mother:	Papier, ja.
945	Father:	Ja das ist schön.
946	Mother:	Oh, der *daddy* spricht Deutsch!
947	M:	Uuuuhhh!
948	Mother:	Ich wollt ja Wein haben, den hab'ich jetzt nicht, na, dann gibt's eben kein Wein in der Soße,
949		ganz einfach.
950	Father:	Du tanzt hier zu viel.
951	Mother:	Ich tanz zu viel?
952	Father:	In die Küche.
953	Mother:	Heh, du kannst doch Foxtrott. Komm mal her.
954	Father:	Foxtrott?
955	Mother:	Pam-ta-tam, pam-ta-titi, pa-ta-titi .. *Now don't look.* Titi-ta-ta. *Steer me now, I don't steer you.* Ti-ti
956		ta-ta, ta-ta- .. hab'n wir alles gemacht, am Samstag. Hat Spaß gemacht.
957	M:	<laughs> Mein Vater hat des Tanzen gelernt.
958	Mother:	Da-da-dam. *It's not Polka, it's Foxtrott. Stay still, it's still dance, it's a classic.* Da da dam dam.
959	M:	*It's the one where they all wear* [*those (xx)--*]
960	Mother:	[*We should do*] *more ballroom dancing. It's fun!*
961		*Some sport.*
962	M:	*Daddy, Foxtrott is the one where they wear* [*ball gowns.*]
963	Mother:	[*Ja, here's a knife.*]

964	M:	*and Polka is the one when they wear those polka-dot (weird) dresses.*
965	Mother:	So, *salad is* fertig. .. Das kommt fort. *So what's, oh ja, Wine Georges,*
966		*you can pour us a sip of wine. I'm surprised we haven't had it yet.*
967		Oh, ja, den Spargel muß ich raus. ...<15> So, auf eine Platte.
968	M:	*Okay,* meine- meine Dinger sind fertig.
969	Mother:	Okay. Mach's sie aus und halt sie nur- tu sie in 'ne Schüssel und halt sie warm.
970		Das ist das allerbeste. Ich mach das jetzt auch mit'm Spargel so. .. Der ist sicher zu weich.
971		Ach Gott, der ist fast zu weich geworden. Ist das nicht schlimm?
972	M:	Ja, das ist furchtbar!
973	Mother:	Des ist aber schon a weng schade.
974	M:	Das ist nicht der, der nicht gut schmeckt? Du hast einmal einen ganz harten gekauft.
975	Mother:	Nee das ist nicht--
976	M:	Der war ganz dick.
977	Mother:	Nee, der ist wunderschön.
978	M:	Ist der dünn?
979	Mother:	Der ist-- Weiß gar nicht mehr, wo ich den gekauft hab'.
980	M:	Ich mag nur die Köpfe.
981	Mother:	Der hat so schön ausgeschaut.
982	Father:	*Ruth!* {Engl.}
983	Mother:	Ja?
984	Father:	<from the other room> *You should ( )before we ah ( )....reservation.*
985	Mother:	Oh ja. ..
986	M:	Huch, der Ofen ist an.
987		...<18>
988	Mother:	Jetzt brauchen wir, eine Schüssel für die Nudeln, und, ach ja, Untersetzer brauchen wir.
989		<goes to the dining room>
990		...<12> *Oh they look so nice. Beautiful.*
991	Father:	<from the dining room> *Ja, good. ( ) ..*
992	Mother:	Oh, warte, warte, ich geb' dir. <laughs>
993	M:	Oh, genug für (xxx) kann ich ein bißchen lernen.
994	Mother:	Du- ( )
995	Philipp:	*I'm just taping if you don't mind.*
996	Father:	*That's fine.*
997	M:	*They are so beautiful!*
998	Mother:	Butter is *over here, where it says "butter",* "Butter",
999	Father:	*I was looking--*
1000	Mother:	"Butter", auf Deutsch sogar. Steht da auf Deutsch, "Butter" ..
1001	M:	"Beure"
1002	Mother:	"Beure" steht auch drauf, also ist ein dreisprachiger-- *a trilingual fridge.*
1003	M:	<from the kitchen> Mami! Jetzt möcht' ich ( )
1004	Mother:	Oh, des ist fünfzig Prozent Rabatt. *Over there.*
1005	M:	Das ist nicht fünfzig Prozent, es ist fünfzig *cent!*
1006	Mother:	*Oh, sorry.*
1007	M:	Du würdest es gerne fünfzig Prozent--
1008	Father:	Öl ist fertig, Marie?
1009	Mother:	Öl ist fertig, ja.
1010	Father:	Salz auch?
1011	Mother:	Ja.
1012	M:	Wieso hast Du Salz benutzt?
1013	Mother:	Salz? Weil ich- ab und zu benutzt man auch Salz. Aber wir haben auch 'n Käse. Parmesan.
1014	Father:	Ooh.
1015	M:	Was ist denn, Daddy?
1016	Mother:	Was?
1017	M:	Der hat "ooh" gesagt.
1018	Father:	Der Butter ist nicht hart.
1019	M:	Die Butter!
1020	Father:	Die Butter ist nicht hart.
1021	Mother:	Das ist ja gut wenn se nicht hart ist, deswegen ist sie ja im Butterfach.
1022		C'est pour ce que c'est dans ce p'tit ...
1023	Father:	Compartiment?
1024	M:	Tiedois!
1025	Father:	Tiedois, compartiment.
1026	Mother:	Oui, *Okay,* Moment. Ich brauch...
1027	M:	Wo soll ich die Butter hin tun?
1028	Mother:	Auf den Tisch!
1029	M:	Wo? ..
1030	Mother:	Du kannst deine Schwester mal.
1031	M:	( )
1032	Mother:	Nee.
1033	M:	Okay, ich hol' die Clara.
1034	Mother:	Sagst ihr das Essen ist gleich fertig. .. Haben wir genügend Käse da drinnen?
1035		*We have also the other Parmesan. We have the other kind, because Clara bombards her noodles*

1036		*with Parmesan, and she shouldn't use only the good cheese, she can use the cheap stuff.*
1037		*She drowns it in- in the-- .. So,* jetzt ist des gleich fertig. ...
1038	Father:	*Was-*
1039	Mother:	*Chicken. But the lid broke.*
1040	Father:	*The lid broke?*
1041	Mother:	*Well it fell once and it in thousand .. pieces.*
1042	Father:	*When was that?*
1043	Mother:	*(That) was about a month ago.*
1044	Father:	*Is that why there are dents in the floor in some places?*
1045	Mother:	*No, that's not because of that. The dents come from my head.*
1046	Father:	*(I can see in your eyes) it's so ( ).*
1047	Mother:	*No no, this is when I bang my head on the floor,*
1048	Father:	*Oh yes.*
1049	Mother:	*and say "Oh I don't wanna live here anymore! I want to move to the city!"*
1050		*Those are the dents. The ellbows--*
1051	Father:	*So does that work? Your construction works?*
1052	Mother:	*Yes it works, of course it works, I have done several meals like that already.*
1053	Father:	*You've been hiding this from me.*
1054	Mother:	*with aluminium foil.*
1055	Philipp:	*That's how my dad does lasagna.*
1056	Mother:	*Ja, this-- And he broke his lid too, you know, obviously.* <laughs> *I didn't break it.*
1057	M:	Wie ist das passiert?
1058	Philipp:	*It got broken by itself.* <laughs>
1059	Mother:	*I o- I- I took it out somehow. And all of a sudden I had a piece of glass in my hand.*
1060	M:	*It splintered?*
1061	Mother:	*No. It's a kind of a- it's not real glass. This stuff.*
1062	Father:	*Oh, Pyrex, is indestructable.*
1063	Mother:	*That's what they say.*
1064	M, Philipp:	<laugh>
1065	Mother:	*That's what they say.*
1066	M:	*The one time, Richard, you know, he said this is indestructable plastic,*
1067		*and he- he held it, or something, and cracked it.*
1068	Mother:	*Who was that?*
1069	M:	Richard!
1070	Father:	*Because-*
1071	Mother:	Richard?
1072	M:	*Yeah,* [*he had those-- This teach- your class-*]
1073	Father:	[*Ruth had it in her hands before.*]
1074	M:	*.. your German one who plays you- either violin or whatever.*=
1075	Father:	=*Have you* [*never read the*] *fine print in any of these warranty cards?*
1076	M:	[*The plastic, the-*]
1077	Mother:	<laughs>
1078	Father:	*"All warranty is* [*can* [[*celled*]] *as soon as it's in the hands of Ruth".*]
1079	M:	[*Hey!* [[(*As*]]*soon as*)]
1080	Mother:	[[*Yes.*]]
1081		<to M> *When?*
1082	M:	*A long time ago. Two years ago.*
1083	Mother:	*Where? At- at-*
1084	M:	*In Montreal.* {Engl.}
1085	Mother:	*At our place?*
1086	M:	*Yes! He stepped on it. On the- on the porch.*
1087	Father:	*He was doing a demonstration.*
1088	M:	*We were having the traditional apricot cake community thing, you know. You know how they*
1089		*always bake cake,*
1090	Mother:	<to C> (*Are you*) *okay? We just wait for the noodles.*
1091	C:	Ja, aber du meintest doch, daß das Essen fertig auf dem Tisch steht.
1092	Mother:	*Oh my god, I'm sorry* [( )] *salad, Clara.*
1093	M:	[Sonst hätt'ich dich nicht (auf dem)]
1094	Father:	*Are you coming from Tibet? She looks like one of these- .. how do you say?*
1095	Mother:	*Frozen people!* <laughs>
1096	Father:	*Sumo wrestlers who are in training.* <to C> *You gotta eat first though.*
1097	Mother:	<to the father> *You are really a pest!*
1098	Father:	*Four hundred pounds. Of pure blubber.*
1099	Mother:	*We start tonight. We force-feed her.*
1100	Philipp:	*And then you get hunted by Eskimos.*
1101	Father:	*She does her hair that way, is that right?*
1102	Philipp:	*That's true.*
1103	M:	*Chopsticks. We have the chopsticks.*
1104	Father:	*They use the chopsticks for your hair to do it up.*
1105	Mother:	*Yes that's right. You have them actually--*
1106	M:	*Like Whiley in "Boston Commons"! That is hilarious.*
1107	Father:	*Oh ja, Whiley.*

1108	Mother:	*<to Philipp> Do you watch "Boston Commons" sometimes?*
1109	Philipp:	*No.*
1110	Mother:	*That's a cute show, actually. It's funny. Not at the same level as "Seinfeld", it's a different like--*
1111	Father:	*Especially when you have been accross the bridge, to Harvard Square, you know exactly where it's*
1112		*been, in all the .. you know, University buildings--*
1113	Mother:	*It's a brother and a sister, west, from the west, from ah-*
1114	Father:	*No:!*
1115	M:	*From Virginia.*
1116	Father:	*From the south!*
1117	Mother:	*From the south, whatever.*
1118	M:	*The south!*
1119	Father:	*Alabama!*
1120	Philipp:	*From West Virginia.<laughs>*
1121	Mother:	*"Gna gna", they talk like this.*
1122	Philipp:	*They say "ya'll"?*
1123	M:	*Her name is "Whiley Priches".*
1124	Mother:	*And she is a student there and he is- he is- he works with the- like, in the student office and in all*
1125		*that, ja? So he's really funny. And he's no that educated, but he helps his sister along.*
1126		*He keeps an eye on her. So funny. It's really nice. That's on Sunday evening.*
1127	M:	*Sunday and Monday evening. Tonight.*
1128		*<C turns on some music>*
1129	Mother:	*Oh, tonight, oh good.*
1130	M:	*Oh I got a dumb sting.*
1131	Mother:	*<about the music> Is that "down up"?*
1132	M:	*Oh no! <turns music off>*
1133	C:	*Marie!*
1134	M:	*They're not good.*
1135	C:	*No!*
1136	Mother:	*Leave them.*
1137	M:	*Like everybody listens to it. I'm getting sick of it. ..*
1138		*And "Clumsy" especially, beh!*
1139	Mother:	Okay, Salat rein. .. Setz dich.
1140	Philipp:	*Where do I have to-? Where should I sit?*
1141	Father:	*Oh, wherever. .. Here, or there.*
1142	Philipp:	*Okay.*
1143	Father:	*Or you want to sit at the end?*
1144	Philipp:	*That's fine, whatever.*
1145	Father:	*I have to serve all this stuff. ...<17>*
1146	Mother:	Clara, setzt dich hin.
1147		*<to the father> Softer, the chicken, than I thought.*
1148	Father:	*Hm.*
1149	Mother:	*Everything is on the soft side. Well, if you have problems with your teeth,*
1150		*[you will like the meal.]*
1151	M:	*[The same with the]* Champignons, *they turned out--=*
1152	Father:	*=(xx) Take that off before I (do: ze off), please. <laughs>*
1153	Mother:	*I mean, just don't worry about your teeth.*
1154	M:	Die sind "al dente", *daddy. ...<9>*
1155	Philipp:	*Our friend in the south says ya'll all the time.*
1156	Father:	*You all.*
1157	Philipp:	*He even said "I could take ya'll's picture."*
1158	C:	*<laughs> "Ya'll's picture."*
1159	Father:	*And this is the- ah your friend who's so well read, right?*
1160	Philipp:	*Ja, he is- he has a-=*
1161	Father:	*=He just knows when to switch, right?*
1162	Philipp:	*I think [he- .. Supposedly--]*
1163	Father:	*[Or he's well read but--]*
1164	Philipp:	*Susannah says that in New York he has sort of a Southern accent, but when--*
1165		*now that he's in the South, he talks like everybody else.*
1166	Father:	*Ja.*
1167	Philipp:	*But, he always says "right quick". ..*
1168	Father:	*He adapts to the environment he's in. ...*
1169	Mother:	*<from the kitchen>* Nudeln kommen gleich! Momenterl. *Here we go.*
1170	Father:	*Oo:h!*
1171	Mother:	Okay, wir fangen gleich hier an. Das ist ganz einfach, dann brauchen wir sie gar nicht
1172		erst abzusetzen. Schön noch einmal. *Oh, we have another course, a black box.*
1173		*What's in there? A good di-- the spices, ja? Salt and pepper? Ja.*
1174	M:	Genug.
1175	Mother:	*Ja, And the red is the* Paprika, *right? Here you go. Don't be shy, Georges, dig in.*
1176		*Okay, so, there is* le chickén.
1177	C:	"Le" chicken.
1178	Philipp:	Danke.

1179	Mother:	*And this is chicken* oben, ja, mit *chick^en* oben drauf, weil daß das *chick^en* nicht zu *dry* wird.
1180		Denn das wär ja sonst-- .. *Help yourself, don't be shy.* ..
1181	Philipp:	Danke. Das muß ja für fünf reichen.
1182	Mother:	Ja also, die sind keine großen Fleischesser.
1183	C:	(mir da--)
1184	Mother:	Wart, brauchst erst die Nudeln.
1185	C:	Gut! Oh!
1186	Mother:	So.
1187	C:	(*Spicy*).
1188	Mother:	Okay, hier, Spargel, und da ist Käse schon mal, wenn du möchtest.
1189	Philipp:	Danke.
1190	M:	Hier sind die Nudeln.
1191	Mother:	Okay, darf ich dir gleich was geben, mein lieber Mann.
1192	Father:	Ja, bitteschön.
1193	M:	Uh, das Hühnchen zerfällt.
1194	Mother:	Ja-
1195	C:	Da drauf.
1196	Mother:	Ach, da drauf, oh Entschuldingung! Wart einmal.
1197	Father:	<to M> Warum (hast Nudeln ge- xx)?
1198	M:	Für die Soße!
1199	Father:	Ist nicht soviel Soße.
1200	Mother:	Geh doch mal an deine Nudeln. *With so much chicken, you can only get so much sauce.*
1201	M:	(Du hast kein Ding) auch nicht? Das ist genug, Mami. .. Das ist genug.
1202	Mother:	Okay. Genug. Den Spargel für'n-- Ach, du hast noch kein Spargel. Und der--
1203		Die Champignons, die darfst dir auch schon nehmen. Bitteschön. Das ist warm, ne?
1204		Ich hab' fei gefühllose Hände. Kommt mem Alter.
1205	M:	<laughs>
1206	Mother:	Ja, die schlauen Sprüch kommen jetzt alle auf diese schwarze Maschine!
1207	Philipp:	Nicht dran denken.
1208	Mother:	Nee. Also es kommt auch gar nicht unbedingt-- es ist dann--
1209	Philipp:	Das wird ja dann- das wird ja dann eher ausge-- Aber, nat-- Ach die mag ja keine.
1210	Mother:	
1211		Du magst-- *Careful, this is hot.* Clara mag auch Spargel.
1212		Clara mag auch Huhn, da mußt du dir noch Huhn nachnehmen.
1213	M:	Kann ich bitte Käse haben?
1214	Mother:	Ja der kommt auch gleich, der Käse.
1215	Philipp:	Soll ich dir mal was Nudeln--?
1216	Mother:	Nee, hier. Ja du kannst dir nehmen, was du willst. Ach, Nudeln, ja.
1217	Philipp:	Nein, dir, dacht ich.
1218	Mother:	Ja so zwei Löffel, oder was. Ich sag dann-
1219	M:	<giggles> Wir haben die Armen [übereinander.]
1220	Mother:	[Ich sag dann] Stop.
1221	M:	(Das ist) ganz lustig. Ich glaub's nicht da--
1222	C:	Schmeißen alles auf ihren--
1223	Mother:	So, und jetzt auch ein Stück Schinken. Da hab ich mir jetzt dafür, ein bißchen, und a bißle Soße,
1224		a weng Soße.
1225	C:	Ich ma:g ni--
1226	Mother:	Ja, komm Kind. Also, du willst bei *NBTel* arbeiten und kein Fleisch essen?
1227		Das gibt's doch net. Also weißt du.
1228	M:	Das macht viel Sinn, Mami.
1229	Mother:	Nee, das geht wirklich nicht. .. Da ist nämlich mehr da, als du denkst. Schau her.
1230	Father:	Champignons?
1231	Mother:	Oh, ja, Champingon. Bitte, bitte. Champignons. So jetzt glaub ich ham' wir die Teller bald voll. ...
1232	M:	Welche CD ist das?
1233	C:	*Lost Highway.*
1234	M:	Oh.
1235	C:	"Rammstein."
1236	Mother:	Ist das das wo der Rammstein ist?
1237	C:	Ja, aber das ist erst später.
1238	Mother:	Und wann kommt der Film raus?
1239	C:	Der ist schon-- Der spielt schon in *Moncton.*
1240	Philipp:	In *New York* auch schon.
1241	Mother:	In *Moncton* ist er schon!
1242	C:	Ja, in *New York* erst recht.
1243	Mother:	Wir müssen mal im Ding gucken, im- im Programm, vielleicht läuft der schon in- in *Saint John*.
1244		Also, ich würd' mir den fast--
1245	C:	Der Andrew hat ihn am Sonntag, glaub ich, gesehen.
1246	Mother:	Ohne dich!
1247	C:	Ja, ich war ja schon weg!
1248	Mother:	Ja, Gott sei Dank! *You had so much to do.* Wann- *When would you have done all this.*
1249	Father:	Kann ich auch die Butter haben?
1250	Mother:	*Your history studying. When would you have done this.* Also guten Appetit.

1251	Father:	Guten Appetit!
1252	M:	Guten Appetit! ..
1253	Mother:	Super, endlich was zu essen.
1254	Philipp:	Lecker.
1255		...<9>
1256	C:	Das ist alles das Ganze--
1257	M:	Dein Huhn ist sehr gut.
1258	Mother:	"Mein" Huhn! Das hat im Keller gegackert vorher.
1259		Also ich möcht' mal einen *toast propos*en.
1260	M:	*Toast propos*en!
1261	Father:	*Toast.*
1262	Mother:	Ja, für die schwarze *box.* <laughs> *I propose a toast to Philipp.*
1263	Father:	*To Philipp!*
1264	Mother:	*Thank you for coming, it makes my life so much more fun!*
1265	Philipp:	*Mine too.*
1266	Mother:	*That's good. And to everybody who loves you and is not here: tough luck.*
1267	M:	Zum Wohl.
1268	Mother:	*We have him.*
1269	C:	Die Rosen sind schön.
1270	Mother:	Gell, die hat der *daddy* gekauft.
1271	C:	Sehr [schön.]
1272	Mother:	[Der] hat ein schlechtes Gewissen,
1273		ich weiß nur noch nicht warum. Das kriegen wir schon noch raus heut' abend, ne?
1274	C:	Ja.
1275	Mother:	*I'm on the watch out, in case this guy crosses. I don't know where he is right now.*
1276		*I think he's over there.*
1277	M:	H-hm. Ich würde denken.
1278	Mother:	"Ich würde denken."
1279	M:	Was denn?
1280	Mother:	Entweder ich denk, oder ich denk nicht. "Ich würde denken." So was-- <laughs>
1281	M:	Was? Ich weiß nicht? Ich- ich--
1282	Mother:	Das ist schon richtig. Du hast schon recht, daß du denken würdest,
1283		denn du denkst ja doch nicht. <laughs>
1284	M:	Danke.
1285	C:	Was für nette Eltern.
1286	Mother:	Hm. Also, ich entschuldige mich, der Spargel war zwei Minuten zu lang im Wasser.
1287	C:	Ja.
1288	M:	Zwei Minuten.
1289	Father:	Aber die Nudeln& ..
1290	C:	Zwei.
1291	Father:	&schmeckt gut.
1292	Mother:	Die sind al dente.
1293	Philipp:	Der [Geschmack ist noch] da.
1294	Father:	[al dente xxx]
1295	Mother:	Hm?
1296	Philipp:	Geschmack ist noch drin, im Spargel.
1297	Mother:	Oh ja, und man muß net--
1298	M:	Aber zum Glück ist der Spargel nicht so hart.
1299	Mother:	Nee, zu hart ist er net,
1300	M:	Weil das ist auch nicht gut.
1301	Father:	Die champignons {[♠❦①□i✳🄟①s]} schmecken sehr gut.
1302	Mother:	Die hat ja auch die Marie gemacht. Al dente macht die das.
1303	M:	Und der Philipp hat sie gebürstet.
1304	Mother:	Oh ja! *That's the whole thing.*
1305	Philipp:	*Secret ingredient.*
1306	Father:	Exactement.
1307	Mother:	Hm. ... In deiner Arbeit mußte dann sagen. Ja, da war der eine .. war zweisprachig Englisch
1308		Französisch. Die anderen waren zweisprachig Deutsch Englisch.
1309		Und drum klingt das jetzt eigentlich wie viel mehrsprachig, aber das stimmt gar nicht.
1310	M:	Was denn?
1311	Mother:	Na, der *daddy* sagt "exactement", ja? mitten 'nein. ..
1312		Wir reden also so .. Kauderwelsch.
1313	M:	Das ist eh, ( ){about the CD} .. Ich hab lieber "*Ice*".
1314	Mother:	Was ist "*Ice*".
1315	M:	Das ist des Lied von *Smashing Pumpkins* auf der CD.
1316	C:	Ich hab soviel Knoblauch.
1317	Mother:	Du, ich hab keinen einzigen.
1318	M:	Ich hab keinen.
1319	C:	Also ich mag den sonst ...
1320	Philipp:	Das ist doch Zwiebel?
1321	C:	Ja, aber das daneben. Ich bin nicht so blöd. <laughs>
1322	Mother:	Na ja. .. Nee.

1323	C:	Guck dir den großen Knochen an.
1324	Mother:	Ist der grün? Oder wie?
1325	M:	Der Schinken ist grün.
1326		...<14>
1327	Mother:	Kauft die äh Susannah beim koscheren (bu-) Metzger?
1328	Philipp:	Nee, nie.
1329	Mother:	Also, da ist das fei nicht so genau.
1330	Philipp:	Nee. Niemand in der Fa- also nicht mal die Großmutter, ess- essen koscher, nur der--
1331		die Großmutter in Florida hat 'nen neuen Freund, seit 'nen paar Jahren, und der .. ißt koscher.
1332	Mother:	Da muß sie ja...
1333	Philipp:	Ja, die Großmutter ist aber schon so senil, daß sie das nicht mehr merkt. <laughs>
1334		Aber, wenn- wenn-- Das Problem ist nur, daß wenn die Großmutter mit ihrem Freund kommt,
1335		dann muß man denen irgendwie 'n koscheres Essen vorführen,
1336	Mother:	Ach Gott.
1337	Philipp:	aber sonst--
1338	Mother:	Das ist sicher Arbeit, ne?
1339	Philipp:	Also, das ist im Prinzip nur vegetarisch. Der ißt dann halt kein Fleisch. ..
1340		Aber es gibt bei uns in der Nähe einige--
1341	Father:	Und, wo wohnt die Großmutter von Susannah?
1342	Philipp:	Also, die ähm väterlicherseits, die wohnt in Florida. In- Ich glaub' bei Miami.
1343	Father:	Ah ja.
1344	Philipp:	So weit ich weiß. .. Und die andere in Philadelphia.
1345	Mother:	Und die in Miami hat wohl 'nen Freund?
1346	Philipp:	Hm. Die wohnt in 'nem Seniorenheim, wo nur alte Juden sind.
1347	Mother:	Na, aber, das ist so-- Das ist warum ich eigentlich nie nach--
1348	Philipp:	Susannah haßt das. Und Susannahs Mutter haßt es auch.
1349	Mother:	Furcht-- Ja, aber ich mein'.
1350	M:	Aber wo wir- aber in Miami, wo wir waren, damals, da waren nicht viele,
1351	Mother:	Nein.
1352	M:	da waren nur ein paar, wie halt normal.
1353	Mother:	Aber die Bustouren, lauter alte Leut-- ist schon hart.
1354	C:	Aber in unserem Hotel waren es meistens ältere Leute.
1355	Mother:	Das ist also-- Drum zieht's mich eigentlich nicht nach Florida, weil irgendwann land' ich da sowieso.
1356	Philipp:	<laughs>
1357	M:	<laughs>
1358	Mother:	*One day we will be there in Florida, so why--? Is that the new heaven, maybe?*
1359		*I mean nobody can define that and maybe it's Florida?*
1360	Father:	*That's Heaven's gate.* {name of a suicide cult, in the news in the spring of 1997}
1361	Mother:	*Heaven's ga-- that's right. Heaven's gate.*
1362	M:	*Wasn't Heaven's Gate in California? ..*
1363	Mother:	*I don't know.*
1364	Father:	*It's a cult.*
1365	M:	*I know, but still-- they're all over, but still?*
1366	Mother:	Hm. ..
1367	Philipp:	Also es gibt schon-- also unser Supermarkt hat auch koschere Sachen,
1368	Mother:	Hm.
1369	Philipp:	Es gibt schon auch koschere Restaurants aber die sind dann auch immer teurer.
1370		Es gibt auch koschere China-Restaurants.
1371	Mother:	Was?
1372	M:	Echt!?
1373	Mother:	Ich wußt gar nicht das--
1374	Philipp:	Hm- und auch-- Wir hab'n in *New Orleans* 'n Buch gesehen *"Cajun Food"*-
1375		*"Kosher Cajun Food"* Kochbuch. *Cajun food* is alles mit *shrimps.*
1376		Man darf aber .. auch keine *shrimps* essen, als .. wenn man koscher hält.
1377	Mother:	Ach, nicht einmal? Ach du Schreck.
1378	Philipp:	Das wär' der- Susannah meinte, daß wär' der Grund ..
1379		warum die Familie von ihrem Vater eigentlich nicht koscher ißt,
1380		weil die aus *Baltimore* kommen und immer Hummer oder Krebse essen.
1381	Mother:	Ja. Und das- das ist nicht sau-
1382	Father:	Und warum ist *shrimp* .. nicht *kosher*?
1383	Mother:	*Cause it's a--*
1384	Philipp:	*Whatever it- They only-- only sea animals that have fins, I think, are allowed, can be eaten,*
1385	Mother:	*Hm.*
1386	Philipp:	*supposedly.*
1387	Mother:	*That's funny.*
1388	Father:	*That's written in the Thora, I suppose?*
1389	Philipp:	*Ja, well, that is supposedly part- ja part of the definition of- of kosher,*
1390		*that sea animals can only be eaten when they have fins.*
1391	Mother:	*Hm. Also, I guess when they move more. Because what you see all the deposits and everything*
1392		*goes into like the shrimp and the crabs and all that, and the lobsters because they don't move*
1393		*very much. Ja? And not like a fish.*

1394	Father:	*So kidneys aren't allowed? They're not kosher at all?*
1395	Mother:	*Kidneys? Do they eat kidneys? I don't know, liver?*
1396	Father:	*Can't be? If you use that definition? Anything that cl- to the sea is--=*
1397	Mother:	*=But they eat* gefillte fisch *and that's with carp, ne?*
1398	Philipp:	Ja, der hat ja Kiemen.
1399	Mother:	*But carp is a bottom eater, is at least as garbage eating as a lobster.*
1400		*That's kind of funny. But it has- It has--*
1401	Philipp:	*I don't really understand exactly. For example, wine- kosher wine.*
1402		*Wine is kosher when it is ahm produced by Jewish people.*
1403	Mother:	*I mean ....*
1404	Philipp:	*And I don't understand why other food, for other food that doesn't count,*
1405		*I mean Chinese people are allowed to make kosher food.*
1406	Mother:	*[Ja.]*
1407	Philipp:	*[I] don't understand wh- why that is.*
1408	Mother:	*Like with sauce--=*
1409	Father:	*=I thought it had to do with certain- well, mixing or--*
1410	Mother:	Hm.
1411	Philipp:	*Ja, other stuff- The fact that you're not allowed-*
1412		*you're not supposed to mix milk and* [meat].
1413	Mother:	[and] *meat, ja. Like this you couldn't eat.*
1414	Philipp:	*You can't have a cheeseburger.*
1415	Mother:	*They cannot have a creamy sauce.*
1416		*I know, Linda Schwarz was always upset about that she said: "I love creamy sauce"*
1417		*They look- the smells--*

<End of the tape, interruption of the recording.>

<Continuation of the recording, shortly after.>

1418	Mother:	Morgen--
1419	Philipp:	Ich mach die Musik mal'n bißchen leiser,
1420	Mother:	Ja.
1421	Philipp:	weil das--
1422	Mother:	*Very good. ..* Ja und morgen gehen wir mal [die andere Richtung,]
1423	M:	[Kann ich bitte Käse haben?]
1424	Mother:	mal runter zur *shipyard road,* da ist 's nämlich schön.
1425		<to the father> *I wanted to show him*
1426	M:	Danke.
1427	Mother:	*shipyard road, just that this was an old wh- wharf once, ja? But they have construction,*
1428		*you know they have all the trucks.*
1429	M:	*What are they doing?*
1430	Father:	*They have a house being built.*
1431	M:	*Oh, the nice house, the one that's- that's on the nice beach.*
1432	Mother:	*It's no-*
1433	C:	*It's not taking the beach.*
1434	Mother:	*You still can- can go to the beach.*
1435	M:	*I wonder who- to whom it belongs?*
1436	Father:	*He owns the beach.*
1437	Mother:	*He owns the beach?*
1438	Father:	*Oh, ja.*
1439	M:	*No! Hn-n, Susan told us--=*
1440	Mother:	*=That would be another lot. That would be another lot.*
1441	C:	*That's another lot.*
1442	Mother:	*The beach is- is further.*
1443	M:	*It's behind the beach.*
1444	Mother:	*He owns his beach, that's right, but the big, sandy beach is beside that.*
1445	Father:	*Ah, okay.*
1446	Mother:	*You know--*
1447	Father:	*But then it's--*
1448	Mother:	*That's not taken.*
1449	M:	*There are two tiny-- 'cause it kind of forms a bay.*
1450	Father:	*In other words, he's between-- ...*
1451	Mother:	*There's still a stretch, y- you can see it.*
1452	Father:	*Ah yes, (where that goes--) ...*
1453	M:	*That beach just is wonderful. But you can't build anything there really,*
1454		*because it's all swampy.*
1455	Mother:	*Ah, they built in--*
1456	M:	*Ja. And than you destroy the* [(*beach at .. cat*] *hill*).
1457	Mother:	[*They ahm--*]
1458	Father:	(xxx? *That's yours.*)
1459	Mother:	Noch etwas von dem Salat. .. Aber es ist-- .. ( ) ...
1460	M:	*If they were to .. built a house like in .. New Guinea, on stakes, that'd be nice.*
1461	Mother:	*A-hm.*
1462	M:	*Nice grassroots.*

1463	Mother:	*A grass root house.*
1464	Father:	*(It's all like Guinea, huh?)*
1465	C:	Im Winter.
1466	Father:	*Sort of like in North Carolina, on the outer .. Cape Hatteras?*
1467	Mother:	*Hm.*
1468	Father:	*All the houses there are on stakes.*
1469	M:	*Oh, cool. I'd like to travel more.*
1470	Mother:	*In .. Virginia Beach has houses (like that) it's true. In Summer--=*
1471	Philipp:	=Ich kann dir ja mal die Fotos aus *New Orleans* zeigen.
1472	Mother:	Ja, du, die ham lauter Säulchen. Die Häuser sind so schön, Marie. ...
1473	C:	Das Lied war toll.
1474	Mother:	Ja? ...
1475		Und was mußt du alles heut machen, Clara?
1476	C:	Kemie, ähm .. für mein Schwimmen muß ich Hausaufgaben machen,
1477		und 'n bißchen Englisch.
1478	Philipp:	Schwimmen? .. Trockenschwimmen?
1479	M:	<laughs>
1480	Mother:	Mit der Axt und a bissle ..
1481	C:	Nein.
1482	Mother:	*Take a pick axe a bit abolish-- she has to practise for swimming.*
1483	Father:	*You have to practise blowing the whistle?*
1484	C:	*No.*
1485	Mother:	*Holding the breath. .. How many minutes?*
1486	Father:	*I know! Mouth to mouth resuscitation.*
1487	Mother:	*Oh, should we invite Andrew?*
1488	C:	*Ah, ja, good.*
1489	Mother:	*Okay. No problem. I hope you [practise that stuff] with him.*
1490	M:	*[(He is her) boyfriend]*
1491	C:	*Oh, I should, ja.*
1492	M:	*So when did he come back?*
1493	C:	Gestern abend.
1494	M:	Hat er Hausaufgaben gemacht? Hat er studiert?
1495	C:	Ich weiß nicht. Ich glaub ja.
1496	Mother:	*She's not responsible for his school work. She's only his girlfriend.*
1497	M:	*She wants him to flunk so they can graduate together [and] go to McGill together.*
1498	Mother:	*[Oh.]*
1499		*Oh, I see. I don't think he wants that.*
1500	M:	*No. He doesn't like it.*
1501	Father:	*Possessive.*
1502	Mother:	*Hm. I don't think-*
1503	Father:	*Domineering.*
1504	Mother:	*I don't think he would take that very well.*
1505	M:	*I think .. he would like it better, if ahm you don't see each other for a good six years*
1506		*and then you meet each other? .. In- like, you set a time and date when you meet.*
1507		*And then meet each other and see what you have accomplished in all these years*
1508		*that you haven't been together. That would be kind of cool.*
1509	C:	*Some people do that.*
1510	Mother:	*Maybe you could do that, Marie.*
1511	M:	*Like exchange students. They come here and they say, you know, "in five years,*
1512		*let's meet in Paris under the <u>tour</u> of Eiffel on Valentine's Day. At seven o'clock."*
1513	Mother:	*I think that's new.*
1514	M:	*That's what they do. And they tell each other their life story.*
1515	Father:	*So there's a hundred people under the Eiffel Tower.*
1516	Mother:	<laughs>
1517	Father:	*"Are you the one?" "Are you the one?" ..*
1518	Mother:	*That's funny.*
1519	Father:	*You have to have- but, you have to arrange that, you have to wear a sign, you know.*
1520	M:	*"I'm Paul, I'm here for Marie."*
1521	Mother:	<laughs> *Ah, we got it! It's Paul.*
1522	M:	*No, [I don't like Paul!]*
1523	Father:	*[Freudian slip!] What a Freudian slip! Oh, my God!*
1524	C:	*(It was her) subconscience (that was working.)*
1525	Mother:	*I thought it was Hume!*
1526	M:	*I don't like him, I don't like anybody.*
1527	Mother:	*Hume is my favourite.*
1528	M:	*If you like him, go out with him.*
1529	Mother:	*He's cute.* <to Philipp> *You- You would like Hume. He's so nice.*
1530		*He has this sparkle in the eyes.*
1531	M:	*You only saw him one afternoon.*
1532	Mother:	*He left a good impression on me. ..*
1533	M:	*Wait until Ed.*
1534	Father:	*Ed?*

1535	Mother:	*Oh.*
1536	C:	*Ed "I".*
1537	Mother:	*Oh, Marie, Ed, oh my god. .. When w- When we came, in July.*
1538	Father:	*Is he in a direct .. line to the (xx)*
1539	Mother:	*How- How is Ed, related to the- to our-? .. No! I care, I go for money, the third time,*
1540		*I go for money. So I have to know.*
1541	C:	*He's ugly.*
1542	Mother:	*I know he's ugly, but money is ugly, so who cares? That's the way th--*
1543	M:	*You marry him, after like a week of marriage she's says bye bye.*
1544		*Nice living in your castle. Now give me your money.*
1545	Mother:	*Yes. "Show me [the money."]*
1546	M:	*[the money]* <laughs>
1547	Mother:	*I went into the Trinity church, ja. The- The: church for the loyalists, ja.*
1548		*And in the summer they give tours there, right? So, there was this young student,*
1549		*very milky face, blond, and glasses, and, he tried to explain and a-*
1550		*And then he noticed that I asked a few questions, and then he noticed that I had an accent.*
1551		*And he said to me "Where do you come from?" And I said "From Montreal",*
1552		*which is the truth right? He said "Oh, I'm sorry, I can't give you the tour in French."*
1553		*I said "Oh, I'm really upset. But could you give it to me in German? There I come from."*
1554		*And he was really-- "No". I said "You should at least have one more language, I mean,*
1555		*this is an international city here, I have heard.*
1556	M:	<laughs>
1557	Mother:	*And it's a bi- the only bilingual province in Canada. I'm really upset."*
1558		*And I was really teasing him all the-- And then afterwards, well we talked, I asked him,*
1559		*well "do you go to high school or what" And he had just graduated from Saint John IB.*
1560		*And I said, "oh, my daughter is coming to join this program", and ah*
1561	C:	*Kann ich bitte--?*
1562	Mother:	*so I talked and [finally&]*
1563	C:	*[A bunch] of geeks.=*
1564	Mother:	*=&when- when Clara came- she wasn't there.=*
1565	Father:	<with changed voice> *=You're one of them geeks.=*
1566	Mother:	*=And then we came back. And I showed her the church, and who was there? this Ed,*
1567		*And I said "Oh, I have to introduce you-" and I had no idea, and he is Ed (XX) {name},*
1568	Philipp:	<laughs>
1569	Mother:	*Ja. So Clara, how did you find out that this was Ed--*
1570		*that I had talked to Ed (XX) {name}? how did that work?..*
1571	M:	*Rumours!*
1572	C:	*Marc said that "Ed (XX) {name} had met your mother this summer*
1573		*because he had worked in the church."*
1574	Father:	*Where does Ed live? Up the hill?*
1575	Mother:	*Across the street, maybe. Up the hill? And how does he know-*
1576	C:	*Cause he went to IB. And all IB people mingle.*
1577		*I mean, I know all the grade twelve IBs. ..*
1578	Mother:	*Ja, but-*
1579	C:	*It's interbreeding, I mean, nobody-*
1580	M:	*Hm.*
1581	C:	*No.* <laughs>
1582	Father:	*(It's only 'cause) Marc is the only o- who throws parties here in Saint John.*
1583	C:	*No.*
1584	M:	*Everybody [goes to Marc]*
1585	Father:	*[goes to Marc]'s house.*
1586	C:	*Everybody knows the grade-twelves, (but Mami--)*
1587	Mother:	*He had graduated from grade twelve.*
1588	C:	*Ja, he- He had just graduated from grade twelve.*
1589	Mother:	*Ja but he was finished with grade twelve.*
1590	C:	*Yes, well--*
1591	Mother:	*Also da ist noch [Fleisch übrig.]*
1592	C:	*[(X) was to] another high school when he was in grade twelve.*
1593		*( ) grade eleven this year.*
1594	Mother:	*Meat. .. Georges.*
1595	M:	*Mami. .. Mami? .. Mami! Talking about inbreeding,*
1596	Mother:	*Ja?*
1597	Philipp:	<laughs>
1598	M:	*ahm the people here-- I'm tell-- No, I'm telling--*
1599	Father:	*We go from (XX) {name} to inbreeding...*
1600	M:	*No, I'm telling you about my classmates, okay?*
1601	Father:	*Who would like some more asparagus?*
1602	C:	*They all are ugly because they all are interbred.*
1603	M:	*You know how--*
1604	Father:	<u>Des asperges? Ici, toi?</u>
1605	Mother:	<u>Moi.</u>
1606	Father:	<u>Combien?</u>

1607	M:	*You know how on average--*
1608	Mother:	<u>Moi, je ve...</u>
1609	M:	Mami! Du weißt doch wie normalerweise in der [Klasse] in Montreal&
1610	Mother	[Danke]
1611	M:	&daß nur drei Kinder oder zwei Kinder die Brillen haben?
1612	Mother:	Ja?
1613	M:	Hier sind acht Kinder in meine Kla- haben acht Kinder in meiner Klasse Brillen.
1614	Mother:	Ich weiß das, ich weiß es.
1615	Father:	Marie? <offers asparagus>
1616	C:	Das ist echt schlimm, [soviele Leute haben Brillen.]
1617	M:	[N-n, n-n! Wenigstens acht!]
1618	Mother:	Ja?
1619	Father:	Noch was Marie?
1620	M:	Nein, nein, kein App-
1621	Father:	Clara?
1622	Mother:	*For you.* Sind da noch *mushrooms*, Pilze, übrig?
1623	M:	Nein, nur Pilzsoße.
1624	Father:	*Nouilles*? Kann ich--
1625	Mother:	Keine <u>nouilles</u>.
1626	Father:	Keine <u>nouilles</u>?
1627	M:	Ist da noch Huhn übrig?
1628	Mother:	Ja.
1629	M:	Kann ich bitte Huhn haben. Huhn ist sehr gut.
1630	Mother:	Aber Huhn kommt mit Nudeln.
1631	M:	Der *daddy* kann die Nudeln haben, ich werd nur ein kleines bißchen Huhn haben.
1632		Nicht alles. Du kannst alles essen. .. Danke!
1633	Father:	Bitte schön!
1634	Mother:	Wir ham auch noch Nachtisch, Leute. .. Was wollt' ich--? Ja aber, trotzdem.
1635		Das war doch dann-- Wo ist denn der Ed jetzt? Der studiert doch irgendwo, nehm' ich an.
1636	M:	In *Moncton.*
1637	Mother:	Doch nicht in *Saint John*?
1638	C:	So hat er auch nicht--
1639	M:	Die französische Universität.
1640	Mother:	Ja, eben. <laughs>
1641	Father:	*He's now vice president of a big communication systems at MIT technologies.*
1642	Mother:	*Ja, right.* <laughs> *Is that (KMFDM)? ... Who's that?*
1643	Father:	<from the kitchen> *He's now general secretary--*
1644	M:	*(Marilyn Manson)*
1645	Mother:	<to Philipp> Aber hier mußt du sehr aufpassen, weil du kannst immer--
1646		Ich habe doch keine Ahnung gehabt, wer das ist. Ich wollt ihn noch verarschen und sagen
1647		"Die Stadt stinkt." Das hab' ich bestimmt auch gesagt. Und warum stinkt sie?
1648		Weil einer seiner Onkel sie verstinkt. Oder vielleicht ist es sogar sein Vater?
1649		Vielleicht ist er der "*Smelly*", der Sohn vom "*Smelly*". Ich hab doch ka Ahnung! Stell dir vor du. ...
1650	Philipp:	Also "*Greasy*" ist dann der mit den Fritten? Ach nee, das ist *(X--)* {name}
1651	Mother:	Nee, das ist *(XX)* {name}. Der *Greasy* macht so *lubricants*, so- so Öle, so- so Schmierzeug, Schmieröle.
1652		Und der "*Oily*" macht das Benzin, und der "*smelly*" macht das Papier. Ganz einfach!
1653	M:	Aber, der *Arthur (XX)* {name}, dessen--
1654	Mother:	Das ist der *oily*?
1655	M:	N-n.
1656	Mother:	*Arthur (XX)* {name}--
1657	M:	Der *Arthur (XX)* {name} ist nicht in eine Sache. Der kontrolliert seine Brüder!
1658	Mother:	Um Gottes Willen!
1659	M:	Der ist der *head guy:*!
1660	Mother:	Das ist der, der oben auf *Mount Pleasant* wohnt, in dem Ding.
1661	M:	Der ist aber sehr lieb. Der ist überhaupt nicht--
1662	Mother:	Die Marie hat denn schon--
1663	M:	Ich hab mit dem abend gegessen. Und mit seiner Tochter.
1664		Ich war in seinem *summer cottage*, ich war in seinem Saab, ...
1665	Mother:	Kannst du dir das vorstellen?
1666	Philipp:	Und warum?
1667	Mother:	Ja, warum! Gute Frage.
1668	M:	Unsere Nachbarn,
1669	Mother:	Der Pfarrer.
1670	M:	dessen Schwiegertochter ist- ha- ihre Schwester ist mit dem *(XX)* {name} verheiratet.
1671		Die ist so in ihren d- dreissicher, und er ist so in seine sechzicher.
1672	Mother:	Das ist dessen zweite Frau, ja?
1673	M:	Und die hat 'ne Tochter und jetzt leben sie zusammen, ...
1674	Mother:	<the father returned> *I really had a laugh when Dan, the minister, explained me what hard life--*
1675		*and all of a sudden, divorce is forgiven. Because he married her.*
1676		*Dan (XX)* {name} *married Arthur (XX)* {name}.
1677	Father:	*Ah, okay.*

1678	Mother:	*Isn't that great? We sit right at the right spot, we get all the gossip, ja?*
1679	M:	*<laughs>*
1680	Mother:	*And- And we hadn't been even here a week and we knew all this,*
1681		*because they phoned us and said would you like to come to the New River Beach,*
1682		*it's a beautiful beach at the Bay of Fundy. Not far from, it's about forty minutes drive, ja? Not far.*
1683		*But it's really not far. For here it's not far. Bangor is fa- further, right?*
1684	Father:	*Twenty minutes from my office.*
1685	Mother:	*Hm. See, if we lived downtown, we would be closer, Georges. I always told you that.*
1686	C:	*We have our own beach here.*
1687	Mother:	*Yes. That's right.*
1688	C:	*And it's warmer.*
1689	Mother:	*Aha. Yes that right, this water is warmer.*
1690	M:	*But the other one has a sandy beach.*
1691	Mother:	*Ja, it's nice, the beach is really nice. So we went there this time. And there, in the car,*
1692		*his wife warned me, she said "Please don't mention that Saint John stinks. And don't say*
1693		*anything, because I have to warn you. You're going to- Probably, you're going to meet*
1694		*Arthur (XX) {name}'s wife with her daughter, because she's the sister of my daughter in law,*
1695		*who was here visiting, and she went to the beach with us. So, please,*
1696		*don't say anything bad about (XX) {name}!" 'cause she knows my opinion, ja?*
1697	Philipp:	*Hm.*
1698	Mother:	*"So, just take it easy." So that's how we-- I met, I saw her shortly, but you stayed on with the*
1699		*others.*
1700	M:	*We went for supper.*
1701	Mother:	*Ja, and she went out for supper--*
1702	M:	*I showered in his cottage, and I went inside. The kitchen is beautiful!*
1703	Mother:	*She came home, she said "Ah, this is so beautiful!" Ah.*
1704	M:	*But they don't have a nice pathway from their place to the beach.*
1705		*You have to go through these rose bushes, and you get all prickly and everything.*
1706		*So it's not that good.*
1707	Mother:	*That's your task, design something!*
1708	M:	*All you have to do is just cut the hedges and put in the pathway.*
1709	Mother:	*God, no, that's too easy!*
1710	M:	*But no, they don't- they- like, they had asked-*
1711	Father:	*Make it sound expensive and then they'll buy it.*
1712	M:	*No! It's just that- they need privacy.*
1713	Mother:	*Ja. .. Marie. And then, we heard on the radio, that the home where he was on Mount Pleasant--*
1714		*Here in Saint John. There were demonstrations in front because of the oil refineries had problems.*
1715		*And-*
1716	M:	*They always go to him if they have trouble. Always him. It's always his fault, never his brother's.*
1717		*No, no, no. Always his fault. That's- That's not nice though.*
1718	Mother:	*Now, the guy we saw at (Billy's) restaurant. We went for--*
1719	Father:	*He's J.D.?*
1720	Mother:	*That's J.D. (XX) {name}. We had-- That's really funny. We were out just one evening,*
1721		*Georges and I we were inthe market there, in the place, sea food.*
1722		*And, it was a friday evening after a snow storm and we were the only ones in the restaurant,*
1723		*and really it was cozy, because King's Square was full of snow, and we had a table*
1724		*right by the window. It was really nice. And all of a sudden there came this man in,*
1725		*like a scallion, like out of Addams Family.*
1726	M:	*Ja, the- the: waiter in Addams Family, that's what.*
1727	Mother:	*Like that, exactly like that. Like the butler. He came in.*
1728	C:	*Frankenstein.*
1729	Mother:	*He sat there, and he ordered a Cesar's salad. I remember, because I said "what is this, oh look at*
1730		*this." You see that face once, and you'll never forget it in your life. And then he,*
1731		*I don't know what else he had, but th Cesar's salad I remember.*
1732		*And he was very short to the person there. And- and then, Saturday, I bought a paper.*
1733		*And I opened the paper, and in the back of a page, there were all these awards for people who*
1734		*were working for (XX) {name}. And guess who was dangling there, it was this J.D. (XX) {name}.*
1735	M:	*<laughs>*
1346	Mother:	*And I said "George, we saw him yesterday! This is the guy!" Wasn't it funny.*
1737	M:	*I still remember what he had the day we were there--*
1738	Mother:	*He had this cold air about him.*
1739	M:	*When we had supper together, but not with the J.D. with A. (XX) {name}, Arthur, he-*
1740		*we all had Cesar salads,=*
1741	Mother:	*=Oh, it seems to run in the family!*
1742	M:	*And then, the other ones, they all had fish and chips. He had--*
1743	Mother:	*You had a burger?*
1744	M:	*No.*
1745	Mother:	*Fish and chips? No!*
1746	M:	*He had a huge, I don't know, big entree with scallops and all the seafood you can get.*
1747		*Well we were at Fundy Haven. And, he just dug it in, he loved it. He had about twenty buns,*
1748		*<laughs>*
1749	Mother:	*Marie- Marie had conversation with him.*

1750	M:	*Ja, he asked me a couple of questions, and the wife was nice to me too.*
1751	Mother:	*So there you go.*
1752	M:	*He's okay.*
1753	Philipp:	*We were invited for dinner once at a former boyfriend of Susannah's mother from college,*
1754	Mother:	*<laughs>*
1755	Philipp:	*who lives on Park Avenue, and he's really wealthy. Ahm- It was the first time I felt poor.*
1756	Mother, M, Father:	*<laugh>*
1757	Philipp:	*It was incredible. There apartment just felt incredibly rich. There, just- anyone--*
1758		*like he-- they live around Seventieth Street on Park Avenue, that area-*
1759	Mother:	*Ja.*
1760	Philipp:	*And Park Avenue is very expensive,*
1761	Mother:	*Ja.*
1762	Philipp:	*and that it's the most expensive part of Park Avenue. they had a- we had-*
1763		*wh- when we had dinner, his wife was there and his youngest daughter,*
1764		*and I think she was twelve. And she was wearing some kind of- of sort of suit outfit,*
1765		*I think it looked like came out of a fashion show-*
1766	Mother:	*Designer clothes, ja.*
1767	Philipp:	*It probably cost three thousand dollars and she was wearing that for dinner.*
1768		*And she was so bratty, she just ate one string bean.*
1769	Mother:	*<laughs>*
1770	Philipp:	*And didn't really look like healthy at all, she was very thin.*
1771	Mother:	*Oh my god.*
1772	Philipp:	*and talked about how this- ahm she goes to a private school in Riverdale and*
1773		*how one of her classmates is Itzhak Perlman's son, and--*
1774	Mother:	*Oh my goodness! Ja-*
1775	Philipp:	*The apartment was very nice. It was a very strange experience.*
1776	Mother:	*Ja. So, Ed [(XX) {name} goes- went to a public school!]*
1777	Philipp:	* [It's just, I mean I never knew that there were people that rich.*
1778	C:	*'<to the mother> Because of IB.*
1779	Philipp:	*And they just show it so much in New York.*
1780		*That whole area on the Upper East Side is incredibly rich.*
1781	Mother:	*Ja. Well, that's in the States, these differences.*
1782	Father:	*Well, here--*
1783	Mother:	*Here we have richs, here we have that too.*
1784	Father:	*Here, the (XXs) {name} are all billionaires,*
1785	Mother:	*Ja.*
1786	Father:	*multi-billionaires. They don't have any special thing, like when you go out and--*
1787	Mother:	*That is the strange thing in Saint John. They live beside the dump. I showed him a little bit.*
1788		*That's why Georges didn't want to live there. Because you open your eyes and you see that shack*
1789		*in front and you are in a palace, ja? And this why it's so hard.*
1790		*Because in normal cities you don't have that, you a whole area which is nice,*
1791		*and then you have a whole area which is slum. There it's house by house.*
1792		*And this is kind of strange.*
1793	C:	*Mount Pleasant is a bit of an exception.*
1794	Mother:	*Ja, but still, [you look] over the hill and you have- not that good.*
1795	M:	* [But still]*
1796	Father:	*Depending where you are on Mount Pleasant.*
1797	C:	*Where Andrew lives, you can't see anything.*
1798	Mother:	*Andrew, ja. That house, Philipp liked that right away. That house is nice.*
1799		*But, that house wasn't for sale. Hey, too bad, they bought it before us. But it's maybe better,*
1800		*that you're not living accross your boyfriends' house -ses and all that.*
1801	M:	*If we had bought it, than he would have boarded with us!*
1802	Mother:	*With Marc!*
1803	M:	*Oh, that'd be hilarious!*
1804	Mother:	*Maybe Andrew would have boarded with Marc, if we had for some reason lived accross.*
1805	M:	*Maybe he--*
1806	Mother:	*If we had bought the little house in the corner--*
1807	Father:	*Little house in the corner?*
1808	Mother:	*Na, the one which was for sale! The tiny one for one twenty something.*
1809		*The tiny one. But then, we- Then it would have been a triangle: Andrew, Marc, Clara.*
1810	M:	*All her men!*
1811	Mother:	*That would have been too exciting. But- but she said that Marc is not sportive.*
1812		*I thought he's sportive?*
1813	Father:	*Marc?*
1814	M:	*Why would Marc-*
1815	Mother:	*<to the father> You don't know him. You know Marc? Have you seen ever ..*
1816	M:	*He doesn't look sportive. He isn't sportive.*
1817	Father:	*<to the mother> Ja, but he doesn't look sportive. Who do you think is sportive? He's a big--*
1818	M:	*It's like saying "Pavarotti is a football player"!*
1819	Philipp:	*He might be!*
1820	Mother:	*That's right! Well he's stocky? and he's-*
1821	C:	*chunky.*

1822	Mother:	_Chunky. He has nice curly hair. I could see that when he was a pirate._
1823	M:	_<laughs>_
1824	Mother:	_I fall for curly hair you know._
1825	Father:	_That's a goatie he put on._
1826	Mother:	_No. No, no he had here. Chest hair._
1827	C:	_Chest hair._
1828	Mother:	_He has lots of chest hair. His father is Lebanese, you know. Good stock here._
1829	M:	_See daddy, competition. She has a new_ [one.]
1830	Father:	[Does he] _shave his back yet?_
1831	C:	_Oh, I don't know._
1832	Father:	_I don't know!_
1833	Mother:	_Andrew, does he have hair here?_
1834	C:	_I don't know._
1835	Mother:	_People told me that if they have hair here, they are rich. But I had two husbands with that,_
1836		_and I'm still poor. Something is not right. They tell me. Too bad, should have stuck with, I don't know._
1837	M:	_Daddy doesn't have much chest hair._
1838	Mother:	_It's enough for me._
1839	M:	_Very low standards. For chest-- If you went for lots of chest hair, then you might be rich._
1840		_You haven't--_
1841	Mother:	_I don't like monkeys, you know, I-- <laughs> In_ Montreal _in Cavendish Club, you know, they are,_
1842		_most of the men, they have lots of hair, right? Some, they are like monkeys, it's all over, right?_
1843		_<laughs> Sometimes I say, "Hui, the zoo is not here!"_
1844		_<to C> Cavendish Club. And it's all curly. All curly all over._
1845	Father:	_If somebody denies the evolution of man from the apes, just send them to Cavendish Club._
1846	Philipp:	_Ja there-- At the .. museum in Bonn, the_ Rheinisches Landesmuseum,
1847		_they have a- there is a life size statue of a_ Neandertal _man--_
1848	Mother:	_We went there, Marie and I._
1849	Philipp:	_And when I was sixteen=_
1850	Father:	_=Not just Marie, I was there too._
1851	Mother:	_That's right, you were there too._
1852	Philipp:	_When I was sixteen and I played in a tennis club on a team, there was one guy on our team_
1853		_who looked exactly like the statue. <laughs>_
1854	Mother, M:	_<laugh>_
1855	Philipp:	_He was kind of short. And he was really strong too. He-_
1856	Mother:	_Oh ja, they were strong in those days. I'm glad they don't- they're not alive anymore._
1857		_I couldn't cope with a_ Neandertaler.
1858	M:	_Mami, you wouldn't be so sure if they were alive anymore._
1859	C:	_There is a conference that their brain is bigger than ours._
1860	M:	_Ja, they're smarter._
1861	C:	_Nein, das nicht- ah--_
1862	Mother:	_They had nothing to fill in really. Come on, we have all this stuff to put in!_
1863	M:	_Not necessarily. How would you know?_
1864	Mother:	_I would just think so. I mean, life was so much simpler in those days._
1865	M:	_Ja.<laughs> That's what they said when they invented the dishwasher._
1866	Father:	_Those were those challenges._
1867	Mother:	_Dishwasher for me. I haven't challenged the computer yet._
1868		_So, excuse me, the dishwasher is still a challenge for me!_
1869	Father:	_Gotta fix the mouse though._
1870	C:	_Oh, yeah, it's so annoying!_
1871	Father:	_Gotta clean out the (reedle xx)_
1872	Mother:	_We have to have Rudi after the mouse. It starts behaving._
1873		_Maybe, instead of pretending to be a skunk, he could be a real cat and chase that mouse._
1874	M:	_He's not a skunk, he's a racoon._
1875	Mother:	_Ja, but he pretends to be a skunk. And chases people._
1876	M:	_He's funny. We should really paint that white streak on his tail._
1877	Mother:	_Ja._
1878	M:	_It would really freak people out._
1879	Father:	_But then he'd become roadkill._
1880	Mother:	_Ja, that's right. <laughs> This way, they still think in afterthought, "this is a cat"._
1881		_We better watch. But skunks are allowed to be killed, to be rolled over._
1882	C:	_That's not fair though._
1883	M:	_Can you sue somebody for killing your cat? .._
1884	Mother:	_I don't know._
1885	M:	_Can you get cat life insurance?_
1886	Philipp:	_In the States-- <laughs>_
1887	Mother:	_I'm sure. If you can prove it, maybe, that somebody-- <about music>_ Rammstein, _I like the words_
1888		"Heirate mich!" _... I don't drive anymore._
1889		_... <to Philipp>_ Willst du noch ein bissle Wein haben?
1890	Philipp:	Ja, doch, gerne.
		<the father leaves the dinner table and the recorded conversation continues for another half hour>

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Von 1968 an erschienen die von Prof. Dr. Hansjakob Seiler herausgegebenen Arbeitspapiere des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft. Nach der Emeritierung von Prof. Dr. Seiler im März 1986 wurde eine neue Folge mit neuer Zählung und dem Zusatz "Neue Folge" (N. F.) begonnen. Herausgeber ist das Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.

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