Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

Research Study

Constructing the Motherland: German-Canadian Positioning and the Tensions between Place and Space

JENNIFER DAILEY-O'CAIN, University of Alberta
GRIT LIEBSCHER, University of Waterloo

ABSTRACT. This article explores different ways in which German immigrants to Canada and their descendants construct their European German *motherland* in interviews. Based on seven representative excerpts from a larger corpus of interviews with a total of 92 participants, we show that interlocutors interactively position themselves and their family members in different ways with respect to their European place of origin, thereby constructing sociolinguistic spaces (see also Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013). We distinguish between the motherland *place* (or the original European homeland) and the motherland *space* (or the local space in Canada created to maintain a connection to the motherland place), respectively. Our interactional analysis reveals how participants position themselves and others with respect to the local motherland space by using different kinds of linguistic and cultural resources, and how these constructions and positionings differ among the first, second, and third generations of immigrants. We also find that tensions emerge between the motherland as a *place* and the motherland as a *space*. It is precisely the tensions between these two constructions of the motherland that form the crux of the interactions in this paper, whether right on the surface or in a more implicit way.

RÉSUMÉ. Cet article explore les différentes façons dont les immigrants allemands au Canada et leurs descendants construisent leur *mère patrie* européenne allemande dans des interviews. À partir de sept extraits représentatifs tirés d'un plus grand corpus d'interviews (avec 92 participants au total), nous montrons que des interlocuteurs se positionnent et positionnent les membres de leur famille de façon interactive par rapport à leur lieu d'origine européen, construisant ainsi des espaces sociolinguistiques (cf. Liebscher-Dailey-O'Cain, 2013). Nous distinguons entre le *lieu de la mère patrie* (ou la patrie européenne d'origine) et *l'espace de la mère patrie* (ou l'espace local au Canada créé pour maintenir un lien avec le lieu de la mère patrie). Notre analyse interactive révèle comment ils se positionnent et positionnent les autres par rapport à cet espace local de la mère patrie (en utilisant différents types de ressources linguistiques et d'autres ressources interactionnelles), et comment ces constructions et positionnements diffèrent entre les premières, deuxièmes et troisièmes générations d'immigrants. Nous constatons également que des tensions apparaissent entre la mère patrie en tant que lieu et la mère patrie en tant qu'espace, et que c'est précisément cette tension qui est au cœur de ces interactions, que ce soit de manière explicite ou implicite.

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

Keywords: *Positioning, interview corpus, migration, immigrant communities, Germany.*

CONSTRUCTING THE MOTHERLAND: GERMAN-CANADIAN POSITIONING AND THE TENSIONS BETWEEN PLACE AND SPACE[i]

In immigrant communities around the world, the idea of the community's *motherland*—or the place that has been left behind in a process of migration—can be a powerful and persistent idea. It can be the focus, whether explicit or implicit, of anything from family lore to local community events, and not just for the immigrants themselves but for their children and grandchildren as well, even many years after the family's initial migration. However, individual people's conceptualizations of that motherland can differ strikingly from each other. For example, for some it can be associated with homesickness or longing, while for others, there is more of a tendency for it to be associated with things that have been deliberately pushed away or put aside.

This article sets out to explore some of the different ways in which references to the European German motherland as a place emerge in interviews with German immigrants to Canada and their descendants, including those originating from German-speaking European regions outside of Germany. We are further interested in how the interlocutors in these interviews construct the motherland as a sociolinguistic space (see also Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013) through the associations they make between linguistic and cultural practices and the motherland as a place. We show that different immigrants construct different versions of the space by alluding to the tensions between *place* and *space* as well as by interactively positioning themselves and their family members in different ways with respect to the constructed space. In our analysis of seven representative excerpts from a larger corpus of interviews, we address the following research questions:

1) How do German immigrants in Canada and their descendants—from many national origins and times of immigration, and of many ages—allude to their European motherland as a place, thereby constructing a motherland space in Canada, and how do they position themselves and others with respect to that space?
2) Does the first generation of immigrants—who were born and lived in Europe before coming to Canada—construct the motherland differently from later generations who were born in Canada?

Our comparison of different constructions of the motherland will illuminate some of the ways that a remote geographic place can still loom large in immigrant communities by serving as one of the primary metaphorical building blocks for people's cultural identities.

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

MOTHERLAND, SOCIOLINGUISTIC SPACE, AND POSITIONING

In our previous work on German immigrants to Canada and their descendants (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013), we analyzed the ways in which interlocutors associate specific places in Canada with their German roots. In particular, we argued that people construct *sociolinguistic spaces* in which to create or maintain a relationship with those identities within Canada. The notion of *sociolinguistic space* is derived from the concept of *space* in human geography and sociology (e.g., de Certeau, 1988; Gieryn, 2000; Harvey, 1990, 1993; Lefebvre, 1991). Within these other social sciences as well as our own analysis here, *social spaces* are seen as being constructed—in the sense of social constructivism—through a bottom-up process of interaction between human beings. The concept of sociolinguistic space follows on the notion of social space by focusing on the idea that language plays an integral part in this construction (Stevenson & Carl, 2010; see also Li Wei's (2011) notion of "translanguaging spaces"). On the one hand, this bottom-up, spontaneous, and flexible construction of space in an interaction differs from the top-down, more rigid, and nationally-based "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983). However, both concepts are similar in alluding to big-D Discourses (Gee, 1999), such as that of immigrant communities' connection to the motherland, which becomes relevant both in terms of space and in terms of place. Spaces do not contain the *enduring* people and human practices that "everyone knows" are tied to a particular *place*, but the construction of space often relies on these enduring qualities that come to be associated with a particular place. In a migration context such as the one discussed in this article, two particular places are important: the *place of origin* (i.e., the motherland as a place), and the new *place of living* (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013). With respect to the concept of motherland, and as conceived within the place-space dynamics, we distinguish between the motherland place (i.e., the place of origin as the geographic location on the map), and the motherland space (i.e., a "Germanness" attributed to [narrated] linguistic and cultural practices as associated with the motherland place). In fact, the reason for the construction of this space lies in the fact that the motherland place is physically distant from the place where the construction of the space happens, such as from Canada as the new place of living. This distance may create tensions in the interaction with regard to assigning connections to the motherland place, and eventually the construction of identities, as we will illustrate with an example from our corpus in the following section.

As we have pointed out elsewhere (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013), "[w]hen interlocutors construct a sociolinguistic space, they do so not first and foremost by constructing an image of the space itself—its borders and its shape—but also, and even primarily, by constructing images of their own and others' positions within that space,'' by means of a practice known as *positioning* (p. 25) (see also Bamberg, 1997, 2004; Davies & Harré, 1990; Day & Kjaerbeck, 2013). Positioning is accomplished when interactants make use of grammatical and other linguistic and non-linguistic resources, including interactive *contextualization cues* (Gumperz, 1982), to make relationships to social categories relevant, and hence acquire identities in interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). It can be seen as, "a dynamic alternative to the more static concept of role" (Harré & van Langenhove, 1991, p. 393), and as such, individual positionings

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

are not fixed and enduring, but always highly context-dependent and changeable from one moment to the next. In this article, we are specifically interested in ways in which positioning is used to construct identities (Deppermann, 2013), in this case with respect to the notion of the motherland.

Therefore, this article deals with the ways in which positioning is used to construct sociolinguistic spaces, but in contrast to our previous work, we focus here not generally on the way German immigrants and their descendants construct spaces in which to "be German" within Canada, but specifically on the ways in which these same German-Canadians draw on the motherland as a place in their constructions of those spaces. Unlike the Canadian German spaces they construct for themselves in Canada, the German-speaking motherland as a *place* is obviously not physically present in their daily lives, and some may have never even been there. However, as we will show, it is still a place with which they relate their lived experience of "Germanness." We argue that, in the process of this construction, one particularly intriguing aspect is the tension between motherland as *place* vs. motherland as *space*, which will be evident throughout the rest of the article. Moreover, in the data excerpts analyzed for this article, the tie to the motherland (whether place or space) becomes a pervasive concept for interlocutors to position themselves and others through practices or actions in story-lines (cf. Davies & Harré, 1990).

CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

Our choice of method is based on our interest in the connection between micro aspects of interaction and macro aspects of society, as seen through an analysis of the ways that interactants construct their own and others' identities, as well as the kinds of spaces in which those identities can thrive (e.g., de Fina, 2008). In pursuing this interest, we have chosen a qualitative interactional analysis that is largely based in conversation analysis (e.g., Sidnell, 2009) but which also attends to social categories and identities (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). The motherland as a migrant's place of origin is a specific macro aspect that plays an important role for immigrant populations such as the one we are concerned with: German Canadians. Our analysis is based on a corpus of interviews that we had previously collected for the more general purpose of analyzing the connection between language, space and identity in migration (see, among others, Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013). This larger corpus consists of 64 audiotaped interviews with 92 German-speaking immigrants and their descendants, conducted by a different native German-speaking research assistant in each of the two Canadian urban centres of Edmonton and Kitchener–Waterloo, between 2007 and 2008. The interview language was German, English, or a mix of both, depending primarily on the interviewees' preferences, but also on participants' language abilities as judged by the interviewers. The interviewers provided prompts for topics of the conversations that include questions around memories of the use of German in the family and in the towns, the celebration of German-specific holidays, and similar aspects concerning past and present contact with anything German, both linguistic and cultural.

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

For this article, we scanned the interviews for excerpts that contained references to the European German motherland as a place of origin. We then extracted these stretches of talk and carried out the qualitative interactional analysis as described above. In the process of the analysis, it became clear that interlocutors use references to their places of origin in ways in which to construct their own or others' identities as part of a motherland space in their local Canadian environment. We then started to see patterns among the selected instances, which led us to group them according to themes, as presented in the analysis section of this article below. Furthermore, some of these patterns made it evident that there are differences to these constructions along the lines of different immigrant generations. Hence, in our analysis, we distinguish between the first generation of immigrants (people born and raised somewhere in German-speaking Europe who immigrated to Canada as adults), the second generation (the immigrants' direct descendants who were born and raised in Canada) and the third generation (the immigrants' grandchildren). In addition, in order to acknowledge the special in-between status of immigrants who left German-speaking Europe when they were young children and completed their socialization in Canada, we further distinguished an additional subcategory of first-generation immigrants called the *1.5 generation* (Rumbaut, 2002, p. 49), that is, those who immigrated to Canada before they had reached the age of 18.

We locate our analysis of interviews with immigrants and their descendants among similar sociolinguistic work interested in the intersection of the micro and the macro (de Fina 2008). This includes research on *small stories* as the locus of this intersection, and in particular, the construction of identities within these stories (Bamberg, 2004; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008). While we focus in particular on the German diaspora, our participants' ways of constructing identities are not unlike those of other North American immigrant groups such as Italians (de Fina, 2008), in that they create spaces for themselves in the new place of living that link to their places of origin. With regard to German identity in North America, earlier work on constructing identities in interviews is rarer, but includes Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2010, 2013), Dailey-O'Cain and Liebscher (2011), and Kampen Robinson (2017). In building on our own previous research with a particular focus on the motherland for this article, we use a theoretical framework that includes the distinction between place and space, as well as the concept of positioning. We illustrate this method of analysis—as well as the aforementioned concepts of motherland place and motherland space—with a simple excerpt from our corpus below. The interlocutors in this case are the Edmonton-based interviewer (IntE), the 52-year-old 1.5-generation immigrant, Vera, (who moved to Canada at the age of three), and Vera's second-generation-immigrant daughter Oda.

Excerpt 1: "She never lived in Germany herself"[ii]

01 Vera: okay well uhm. my SISTer who never married and who adopted my children as her
02 own,
03 IntE: oh [okay
04 Vera: [is a huge traditionalist and and SHE (.) wants ALL traditions to be (..) GERman.

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

05 *al*- although it's ODD because she never (.) lived in [germany herself and um
06 IntE: [um
07 Vera: and I don't know if- she- she perCEIVES a lot of them as german and she MAKES
08 them so?
09 Oda: even though they're probably just reminiscent of HE[R childhood
10 Vera: [yeah
11 Oda: and she I [think is associating those with german? somehow?
12 Vera: [yeah

In Vera's account, certain practices performed by her sister are described as, "German" (line 4) and in contradiction to the fact that the sister "never lived in Germany" (line 5), that is, the family's place of origin. Besides referring to the motherland as a place, the motherland space is brought into being or constructed by Vera by assuming a potential connection between the sister's practices and that place; that is, by narrating the sister's practices as pursuing traditions that Vera sees as reminiscent of the German motherland as a place. Her daughter Oda then contests the connection to the motherland as a place in line 9, when she disassociates these practices from Germany as a place to something the family has practiced in Canada during "her childhood." Hence, Oda moves away from the association of Vera's sister's practices with the European motherland to the association with the second-generation immigrant space that presumably originates in the new place of living. The motherland as a space, however, is still pervasive for Oda in that it lives on as an account for Vera's sister's German practices in Canada. Thus, even though these practices have been disassociated from the place, the motherland is still pervasive as a space. In addition, and most importantly from a theoretical point of view, both Vera and Oda construct the motherland space in providing a meaningful account for the sister's practices, whether it is through referring to the motherland place directly (Vera), or through alluding to a motherland space in Canada and, thus, indirectly referring to the motherland place (Oda). Either way, they are essentially alluding to the sister's (as well as their own) identity construction, as we will discuss now.

We argue here that the construction of the motherland space has implications for positioning, and, therefore, identity construction (Deppermann, 2013) on three different levels: the characters in the story-world (in this excerpt Vera's sister), the interlocutors in the immediate interaction at hand (in this excerpt Vera, Oda, and the interviewer), and the connection to macro-level discourses of identity construction from the broader society (in this excerpt the notion of Germanness). These levels roughly correspond to Bamberg's (1997, 2004) three levels of positioning, although level two in our understanding includes both discourse identities and social identities. For example, in Excerpt 1, Vera positions her younger sister as a "traditionalist" and, more specifically, as someone who "wants ALL traditions to be German" (line 4) (i.e., someone who associates "traditions" specifically with cultural Germanness). This positions Vera's sister squarely within a constructed German space, albeit one that is specific to the sister's Canadian life. The authenticity (Lacoste et al., 2014) of this positioning is immediately called into question in line 5, however, which Vera begins with the adverb of contrast "although,"

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

and then calls her sister's desire for German traditions "odd," specifically because she has "never lived in Germany herself." The effect of this is not just to cast doubt on the authenticity of the sister's positioned Germanness, but also to construct the European German motherland space as a more culturally authentic German space than their more local Canadian German spaces.

This positioning is then maintained until the end of the excerpt in lines 7–12, where Vera positions her sister as simply "perceiving" (line 7) the traditions she loves as German—thereby suggesting that they may not actually be German in an authentic way—and as, "making" these traditions German (implying that it is necessary to "make" them German because they are not authentically so on their own), in each case narrating the German tie as crucial. In contrast, Vera's daughter Oda suggests that Vera's sister does this as a result of associating those traditions with "her childhood" in Canada (line 9), moving away from the association with the motherland as a place to the motherland as a space, as discussed above. In doing so—and together with Vera who aligns with this character positioning through her interjected "yeah" in lines 10 and 12—both Oda and Vera are positioning themselves outside of the German Canadian space they construct of their sister ("HER childhood"), which is a level 2 positioning in Bamberg's terms. Moreover, they are creating positions for Vera's sister as well as for themselves that are very much within a master narrative of a heritage discourse, the level 3 positioning. Within this discourse, experience residing in the motherland is seen by both Vera and Oda as an essential condition for the ability to construct a truly authentic German space, even in Canada. The lack of this connection to the motherland as a place then creates the tension between motherland as place versus space in this excerpt. This tension leads to two results: making Vera's sister practices (and her) less than authentically German, and positioning Vera and Oda even farther than Vera's sister outside of the constructed German space.

ANALYSIS

In order to answer the research questions outlined in the first section above, we searched through the dataset of interviews from both Edmonton and Kitchener-Waterloo, for passages in which the idea of the European German motherland was made relevant, whether explicitly or implicitly. Then, within the passages found, we identified three common, recurring themes in the ways that participants construct the motherland as a sociolinguistic space by positioning themselves and others with respect to it. We have called these *political and mental maps of the motherland* (excerpts 2 and 3), *the motherland as a destination* (excerpts 4 and 5), and *merging motherland place and space* (excerpts 6 and 7). Representative excerpts illustrating those identified themes are analyzed in the next section.

Theme 1: Political and Mental Maps of the Motherland

One of the recurring ways that our participants construct the motherland is by making relevant their current relationships to the political borders of their European German place of origin,

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

thereby constructing a local Canadian motherland space. Complicating this construction, however, are two things: First, the fact that the borders of German-speaking Europe have shifted many times over the past 200 years, and second, the fact that some of our participants came from (or descended from those who came from) German-speaking enclaves outside of Germany. In addition, there are ways in which political boundaries may, but may also not correspond to participants' *mental map*s of this space, a concept from behavioural geography referring to the mental images people use to conceive of places by imagining associated characteristics like their edges, districts, or identifying landmarks (Lynch, 1960). The next two excerpts are examples of how this relationship between political and mental maps can play out.

The participants in excerpt 2 are the Waterloo-based interviewer (IntW) and the second-generation immigrant, Bob. In the excerpt, Bob makes reference to something many immigrants and their descendants have to deal with regarding their motherland: The fact that the official borders of that space may have changed since the time of their own or their ancestors' immigration. When those borders are referred to directly, turning the motherland into a specific place identified on a map, these conflicting time periods can complicate its construction. The following occurs as part of a discussion about the distinction between what some older German-Canadians still controversially call *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans born in parts of German-speaking Europe outside of the boundaries of the former Nazi-era German *Reich*), and those that some call *Reichsdeutsche* (ethnic Germans born within those boundaries) (cf. Dailey-O'Cain & Liebscher, 2011; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013, pp. 235–253).

Excerpt 2: "People assume Germany which you see in the map today"

01 IntW: um (.) does this- distinction (.) kind of- occur to you here, or (.) do you perceive this
02 distinction [still? like
03 Bob: [um (.) oh yes. in fact sometimes if there is a blank. (..) uhhm (..) if I put
04 down *german* people assUME, (..) germany which you see in the map today,
05 IntW: hm-hm,
06 Bob: so I- I have sometimes put in the blank EAST PRUSSian.
07 IntW: yeah,
08 Bob: cause that describes (.) you know baltic area (.) where my parents CAME from

The excerpt begins with the interviewer attempting to get Bob to explain how he perceives the distinction between so-called Volksdeutsche and Reichsdeutsche, indexically using the locative adverb "here" (line 1) and the time adverb "still" (line 2), which together serve to root the question very clearly within the present-day Canadian context. In answering the question, then, Bob evokes the frame of filling out some sort of official form (perhaps a government form such as a census form) in which he has been instructed to define his ethnicity—the very act of which is itself a form of positioning. Bob explains (lines 3–4) that if he identifies as German in such a form, a misunderstanding can result on the part of the unspecified "people" reading his answers—they would, "assume Germany which you see in the map today."

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

This construction of the European German motherland space is complicated by two different time points: the time of Bob's parents' immigration to Canada, when the German Reich still existed, and the present day, when the boundaries of the current-day Federal Republic of Germany are quite different. At the time of their immigration, the geographical area where they were from as "East Prussians" (line 6)—their motherland place—was located within what would have been thought of at that time as Germany; however, by today's map, it is a part of Russia. This conflict makes Bob reluctant to position himself as German on an official form. Bob's cited reason for this is externalized as being attributable specifically to the hypothetical people who might read the form, as animators of the notion that the so-called Volksdeutsche do not count as genuinely German (cf. Goffman, 1974). In terms of positioning, he is creating an animator voice through which he positions himself. In other words, he himself does not take a stance on whether it would be less accurate for him to refer to his identity as German than it would be for a different immigrant descended from, say, Berliners to describe himself as such. Instead, he attributes this stance to those people who could conceivably deny Bob his Germanness by virtue of not having been descended from people born within the boundaries of current-day Germany. Still, his knowledge of the potential conflict between these differing mental maps is enough for him to position himself, both in a level-one positioning as a character in the "story world" of a person filling out a form, and simultaneously in a level-three positioning that makes reference to a larger societal notion of Germanness—toward the edges of the constructed European German motherland rather than squarely within it. He does this by referring to himself not as German, but as East Prussian. In other words, his own mental map of what qualifies as German (an identity that we know he is at least sometimes willing to accept for himself by virtue of his willingness to voluntarily participate in our study) does not correspond to what he believes other people's mental maps could conceivably be, and this contributes to a tension between the motherland place in Europe and the motherland space constructed within the story-world of the filling out of the census in Canada.

Excerpt 3 also deals with the conflict between mental maps and changing political boundaries, but in this case the distinction is between the boundaries of Germany before and after unification in 1990. The participants are the Edmonton-based interviewer and the 1.5-generation immigrant Veronika, who came to Canada at the age of six. The mental maps—and resulting constructions—of the European German motherland place by the younger interviewer and the older interviewee differ due to their varying ages and life experiences. This excerpt takes place toward the end of the interview, when they are winding down by talking about the Edmonton-based interviewer's brother and which German city he lives in.

Excerpt 3: "That's an old map, East Germany and West Germany"

01 Veronika: i'd have to get my german MAP [now WHERE'S my german map REAL quick
02 IntE: [yeah hahahahahaha
03 Veronika: i had it here (..) and it was kind of neat because it was (.) funny looking for
04 different THINGS (.) THERE'S my german map. (..) LEIPzig. of course we were

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

05 in hannover celle gifhorn müden (..) so where (.) is (.) that.
06 IntE: uh::, there, this is where my brother lives? (.) karlsruhe? (..) and i live close to,
07 freiburg it's not ON the map. it's- [it's um (.) right there
08 Veronika: [mm, (..)
09 mm, okay,
10 IntE: yeah (..) that's an OLD map east germany and west germany hehehe
11 Veronika: ye:s? WELL, that's okay?
12 IntE: yeah, it's still-
13 Veronika: i needed one, so there it is

Veronika responds to the Edmonton interviewer's mentioning of Karlsruhe, the German city where her brother lives, by saying that she would "have to get [her] German map" (line 1). After retrieving the map, she begins by first identifying the places where she herself has been on it, and then asks the interviewer to locate Karlsruhe on that same map. The interviewer complies in line 6, and then also points out the general area where she herself lives when she is in Germany (lines 6–7). At this point, the references are entirely to the European German motherland place.

The difference in positioning begins in line 10, when the interviewer comments on the specific map they are using to point out these places of living, referring to it as, "an old map, East Germany and West Germany," followed by several particles of laughter. Her laughter comments on the map as a relic of pre-unification times, and implicitly positions the interviewee's practice within a level 2 positioning as strange in using this old map for pointing out people's current places of living within a Germany that now has different political boundaries. Through this positioning, the interviewer rejects the version of the European German motherland represented by the map—one that ceased to exist when she was still a small child—and proposes an alternate construction of that motherland that corresponds to the current unified German political boundaries. With this rejection, she also positions herself within a certain level 3 post-unification discourse of a positive unified Germany without previous borders. Veronika, however, does not join in with the interviewer's laughter, indicating that she does not think of the idea of the pre-unification German boundaries as something funny or strange or even connected to a post-unification discourse that she may, indeed, not be aware of. Instead, she defends the map as, "okay" (line 11), that is, as perfectly useful for the purpose for which she needed it ("I needed one, so there it is", line 13). This positioning serves to reject the interviewer's alternate construction of the European German motherland as the one corresponding to the present-day political boundaries, and asserts that the version of that motherland corresponding to the boundaries on the map—as the version Veronika herself makes reference to when she reconstructs it as a motherland space by referring to places she has visited or from which her family descended as relevant anchors in her own everyday German reality in Canada—is at least equally valid. In other words, the interviewer and Veronika are using different versions of the motherland place to construct a common local motherland space, and that tension emerges when addressed explicitly through their positioning.

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

Theme 2: The Motherland Place as a Destination

This section contains two excerpts in which visiting the motherland is made relevant, along with different kinds of positionings in terms of constructed closeness or distance. In excerpt 4 below, the interviewee, Fran, a second-generation German Canadian, associates going to Germany with a positive image of her childhood, thereby constructing closeness, but simultaneously as a vacation spot, thereby constructing distance.

Excerpt 4: "It feels like home [or] being on vacation"

01 IntW: verbinden sie vielleicht mit dem- mit dem deutsch sprechen
do you maybe connect a particular feeling with- with
02 ein bestimmtes gefü:hl, oder (.) was anders is als wenn
speaking German, or something else that's different from
03 sie englisch sprechen?
you speaking English?
(2.0)
04 Fran: ehem (.) das muss ich auf englisch sagn ((chuckles))
uhum I have to say it in English
05 IntW: ja? ja gerne.
yes? yes sure.
06 Fran: um (1.0) german to me and everything german, (.) um (.) esPEcially
07 when i GO to germany, feels like (.) feels like home.
08 IntW: ah, ja,
I see, yeah,
09 Fran: feels like my childhood (.) ja, it's- it's really hard to explain,
10 for instance when i go to that, *have you been to the
11 christkindlmarkt*, [at: (1.0) ja.
12 IntW: [ja den kenne ich ja.
yes I do know it yes
13 Fran: i mean- it's sort of- it's a german feel, and i really feel (1.) i go back to
14 my childhood whenever i do, go back to germany or go to that
15 christkindl[ma:rkt or:
16 IntW: [yeah
[1 minute omitted]
43 Fran: ich meine eben:, even though i wasn't born there [i.e. in Germany],
I mean even-
44 it still feels like i am coming home somehow
[15 seconds omitted]
55 IntW: und wie ist es dann wenn sie von einem deutschlandbesuch
and how is it when you are coming back to Canada from
56 wieder nach KANada zurück kommen?

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

visiting Germany?
57 Fran: eh (.) i don't know. dann komm ich auch nach HAU:se natürlich
then I am coming home as well of course
[15 seconds omitted]
70 Fran: you know, like actually going back to germany is (.) you know it (.)
71 i guess (.) pa:rt of it is (.) i feel at home and yet it's- it's like
72 being on vaCAtion [at the same [time, you know what i mean [right?
73 IntW: [yeah [yeah [mm hmm.
74 Fran: when the, vaCAtion is usually the best times that you ha:ve right?

This excerpt starts with a question from the Waterloo-based interviewer about how Fran feels when speaking German, which she answers by subsuming language under "everything German" (line 6) that she experiences as "home." The result of this is the construction of the motherland as a *space within Canada* rather than a *place in Europe*. Interestingly enough, however, her own language use at this point exhibits a code-switch into English (line 4) deliberately marked by a flagging of that switch and also with laughter, perhaps recognizing the potential irony of needing to use English to describe feeling at home in Germany. This, too, serves to project a typical German Canadian way of life: German childhood that takes place in Canada where switching between languages is common. This positioning also becomes evident when she talks about going to the Canadian-based Kitchener Christkindl Market (line 11) and visiting Germany (line 14) exhibiting the same home feeling for her. Fran is then challenged by the interviewer on the similarity of that feeling (lines 55–56), a similarity, which would allow Fran to potentially position herself towards both Canada and Germany as her home. Implicitly, the interviewer is challenging a level 3 positioning alluding to a wider societal discourse about the possibility of having multiple homes in immigration contexts versus one home or motherland. Fran then refers to the European German motherland place in terms of both, "feel[ing] at home" (line 71) and "being on vacation" (line 72), through which she positions herself as simultaneously close to and distant from the constructed motherland space. The construction of Germany as a vacation spot for her also raises positive feelings (line 74), but at the same time, it indicates that Fran feels like a foreigner or a tourist in this European motherland place that she had just called home earlier in this excerpt, thereby creating a tension between motherland space and motherland place and evading a level 3 discourse of one person-one home.

The construction of the motherland simultaneously or alternatingly as both home and vacation spot reverberates throughout our corpus. Further constructions in other excerpts from our interviews are tied to the motherland as the place of ancestry and heritage, which comes with complex and, arguably, conflicting kinds of positionings. One example of this can be seen in the next excerpt, as displayed by the second-generation immigrant Sam, who is also talking to the Waterloo interviewer.

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

Excerpt 5: "Actively German, no, positive about our German heritage, yes"

01 IntW: assoziieren sie dann deutschland als ihr heimatland oder
do you then think of Germany as your home country or
02 wie denken sie, wenn sie an deutschland denken?
how do you think about it, when you are thinking of Germany?
03 Sam: well (.) knowing that (.) the saxon people from transylvania came from
04 saxony (.) of course we feel there s- we are GERmans.
05 IntW: ja
yeah
06 Sam: from my father's point of view, (.) i m not sure when: (.) the german people
07 went to that area, but there was some sort of rumour (.) that I heard my father say
08 that somebody back there (.) was from al- alsace lorraine,
09 IntW: achso hmm.
I see
10 Sam: where that information came from I do not know.
11 IntW: hmm.
[10 sec omitted, in which he mentions his name]
20 Sam: I would have to go back to the to the cemeteries there and the: the uh
21 the records that they have in their churches to find out.
22 IntW: ja.
yeah
23 Sam: uh several years ago uh (.) uh (.) a relative more on the [German name]
24 side of the family (.) uhm (.) contacted the canadian relatives >>a a german lady<<
25 and i hav- i sent an email to her and i ve I haven't received anything back
26 in the past half [year,
27 IntW: [ach[so
I see
28 Sam: but I was hoping to find some EXtra information about (.)
29 what she has learnt eh (.) genealogically.
30 IntW: achso mhm mhm [(.) mhm mhm
I see
31 Sam: [but ((clears throat)) do we consider ourselves uhm
32 actively german,=no, uhm are we (.) are we:: POSitive about our german heritage=yes,

At the beginning of the excerpt, it becomes clear that Sam understands the interviewer's question as being about his family's inclusion or exclusion within a German space, in particular the space directly associated with the motherland place demarcated by the current political boundaries of Germany. His use of the word "well" (line 3) at the start of his answer indicates an anticipated dispreferred answer, in which he positions his family as German but placing their origin outside of current-day Germany (i.e., "Transylvania", line 3). In line with this exchange,

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

the aforementioned word "well" (line 3) may indicate his awareness of the disjuncture in space based on past and current geographic maps. After providing further detail about tracing his family origin to Alsace–Lorraine (line 8) and exploring the idea of going to the cemeteries there to find more information (lines 20–21), the narrated connection to the motherland place is further strengthened by mentioning that the Canadian family was contacted by a German relative in Germany because of the potential to trace genealogical connections. This specified interest in the European German motherland stands in stark contrast with Sam's disinterest for things associated with the German space in Canada which his fellow German Canadians construct for themselves locally (lines 31–32). In not considering themselves, "actively German" (line 32), Sam positions himself and his family as on the edges of—or arguably even outside of—the Canadian German space that is associated with activities such as going to German clubs, attending German-speaking schools, or even speaking German at home, activities that are typically associated with a level 3 positioning of a diaspora immigrant. At the same time, Sam's connection to the European German motherland place is still maintained through his genealogical interest. Through these rather different associations made explicit in his positioning, the tension between the motherland place and the motherland space are made apparent.

Within our larger corpus, this interest in genealogy is mentioned by several other second and third generation German Canadians, and in each case visiting Germany means first and foremost tracing family genealogy. While Sam distances himself from the German space in Canada, for others, this heritage connection goes hand-in-hand with an active participation in the German space in Canada. The positive, sometimes nostalgic, image of the European German motherland place that these participants hold is strongly associated with that space. A level 3 positioning towards this heritage-driven nostalgia can also be seen in the excerpts in the next section.

Theme 3: Merging the Motherland Place and Space

While this last section is still concerned with the construction of the motherland in German-speaking Europe, the interlocutors in these last two excerpts construct these spaces from the perspective of those spaces' specific connection to Canada. The following excerpt is from a conversation between the Edmonton interviewer and Ushi, who immigrated with her parents from Germany to Canada as a teenager.

Excerpt 6: "I don't remember. Isn't that terrible to say?"
01 IntE: do you also do the: nikolaus, (.) on: the sixth, of december, where
02 you have to put your boots out?
(1.0)
03 Ushi: No:, (are- I remember did) in GERmany,
04 IntE: ((chuckles))
05 Ushi: u::h no:, but we did put our shoes out,

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

06 IntE: yeah.
07 Ushi: in GERmany, I remember THA:t.
08 IntE: and that's when you got the nuts as well (.) nuts an:: [(2.0) f- fruit
09 Ushi: [yeah i suppose.
10 [MAYbe we did, i don't remember. [[(.) isn't that terrible to say?
11 IntE: [mhm. [[mhm
12 hm, (.) (they're) little things
13 Ushi: yeah i think we had so many things going, (.) that some of these things (.) uh
14 (voice cracking) y- you know, i remember christmas morning and all the, (.) the tree:
15 and all that kind of stuff.
16 IntE: hm:,
17 Ushi: and ALL the baking and ALL the cookies and, you know
18 IntE: ((chuckles)) yeah

When the interviewer asks Ushi about the Nikolaus custom at the beginning of the excerpt, it is obvious that Ushi does not immediately remember that custom, since the interviewer provides several prompts: first the name, then the date, and then a description (lines 1–2). Finally, Ushi recognizes that custom, after which she strongly negates doing the Nikolaus custom in the motherland space within her Canadian home (line 3), while at the same time affirming participating in the custom while visiting (lines 3–7) the European German motherland place.

The tension in participating in a custom in one context (the European German motherland) but not in another (the Canadian motherland space) creates a tension between motherland space and the motherland place. The tension is also created through her own level 2 positioning as someone who *should* remember these customs, thus aligning herself with a level 3 discourse of practicing one's heritage. In fact, she then (line 10) feels bad not remembering about the nuts and fruit that the interviewer asks her about (line 8). The fact that she finds it "terrible to say" (line 10) that she does not remember suggests that it would be expected of her to remember and possibly to continue that tradition in Canada, a positioning expected in a country with an explicitly articulated heritage language ideology, as is the case in Canada (König et al., 2015), where some degree of language maintenance is often perceived as inherently tied to immigrant identities. It is also possible that she feels she needs to remember because she grew up in Germany (i.e., she once had a physical connection to the European German motherland place that now seems lost). The loss of that memory of German traditions that at least the interviewer (a person who was born and raised in Germany) seems to find important enough to bring up in a question is then narrated by Ushi as shameful. After being consoled by the interviewer (line 12), Ushi provides a reason for the loss of those memories: They had "so many things going" (line 13). She then starts listing several (European German) Christmas traditions, thereby demonstrating that she has that knowledge associated with the motherland place, through which she can in turn position herself within a German space constructed around those memories of the motherland. Through this positioning, she is also able to align herself with the interviewer

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

at the end of this excerpt (lines 17–18), drawing on memories that the interviewer from Germany confirms as memorable for her as well.

Another aspect of the ways participants may merge motherland place and space is discussed in the last excerpt. Here, the Edmonton-based interviewer is talking with Dirk, a fairly recent first-generation immigrant in his thirties who is constructing commonality as a feature of the German motherland space in Canada. The excerpt is preceded by a discussion of the differences in Germany and in Canada in the use of *du* versus *Sie* (which are, respectively, informal and formal pronouns corresponding to the English pronoun "you") (Liebscher et al. 2010; chapter 5 in Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013).

Excerpt 7: "Here we're all somehow of Germany"

01 Dirk: ja aber des hat auch- (.) des könnt vielleicht auch damit zu tun haben
yes but this also has - it could also maybe have to do with the fact
02 dass man sich halt (.) irgendwo als so ne: (.) gemeinschaft sieht (.)
that we see each other somehow as part of a community
03 also dass es- (.) wir sind jetzt alle irgendwie hier von deutschland,
so I mean that- here we're all somehow from/of Germany
04 IntE: ja
yeah
05 Dirk: und damit sind wir auch n bisschen enge::r und dieser ganze sie quatsch
and that means that we are also a bit closer and all this 'Sie' rubbish
06 IntE: ja
yeah
07 Dirk: muss da jetzt nicht mehr sein halt (.) ne,
isn't necessary anymore you know
[10 sec omitted, mentioning names of Germans in Canada]
15 Dirk: ich mein hier kommt ja auch jeder- oder fast jeder kommt ja von überall anders her=
I mean here everyone or almost everyone comes from other places
16 IntE: ja.ja.
yes. yes
17 Dirk: =jetzt (.) sprechen jetzt nich alle DEU:TSCH (.) aber du hast halt schon n gewisses
now (.) not everyone speaks GERman but (.) there is an understanding of sorts
18 gefühl dass man dann halt (.) was zusammen macht (.) oder man man sich zumindest
that you're doing something together (.) or that you see yourself as belonging
19 irgendwo: eh (.) in der gruppe irgendwie zusammen sieht halt ne,
to the group somehow
20 IntE: ja. ja.
yes. yes

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

Dirk's first comment is made in response to the interviewer saying that she is using the pronoun *du* (the informal second-person pronoun) more often with people in Canada than she would use it in Germany. At the beginning of the excerpt (lines 1–2), he explains the prevailing *du* use in Canada with reference to a *Gemeinschaft* [community], the common denominator of which is that everyone is "von deutschland" (line 3). Although the preposition *von* [from] is not grammatically incorrect here, it is far more common in German to use the preposition *aus* ("of" or more literally, "out of") to convey being from a place. The use of *von* here instead, therefore, indexes the closeness of the German Canadian community rather than the image of the trajectory from Germany to Canada, as would be inherent in *aus*. In other words, Dirk's use of *von* highlights being *of* rather than *from* a motherland place. The specific regional origin within the European German motherland place is therefore less important, which Dirk alludes to more specifically later (line 15) when mentioning that "almost everyone comes from other places," and adding in quick succession that not everyone (needs to) speak German (line 17) in, for example, the German clubs. Rather, for Dirk, the feeling of commonality within the constructed motherland space seems solely attributable to different community members' origin in and mutual ties to the European German-speaking motherland place. Interestingly, however, Dirk's reference to the fact that the prevailing use of *du* within the German-speaking community in Canada is different from the ways in which second-person pronouns are used in German-speaking Europe conveys a recognition that the perhaps somewhat ironic source of this specifically Canadian German sociolinguistic norm lies in a feeling of unity traced back to the community's common origins in the very European German motherland place where the norms of second-person pronoun usage continue to be different from the Canadian German ones. This difference in linguistic norms creates a tension, then, between motherland place and motherland space.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

We have argued that the geographical and cultural distance between the place of origin (the motherland place) and the new place of living creates several tensions in the construction of a motherland space. In the analysis of our excerpts, three themes emerged: that of positioning around political and mental maps of the motherland, that of positioning around the motherland place as a destination, and that of positioning around the merging of the motherland place and the motherland space. We now come back to our research questions: In what ways do our participants construct a motherland space in Canada through their positioning; what tensions emerge through that positioning between that space and the original motherland place of origin; and do differences emerge in this positioning among the different immigrant generations? We discuss these research questions with respect to each of the identified themes.

With respect to our first research question about how participants position themselves in terms of both motherland place and motherland space, several generalizations can be abstracted from our findings. First, tensions do in fact emerge between the ways that the motherland place of origin and the motherland space in Canada are constructed. We find that these tensions are

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

attributable first and foremost to the geographical distance between the two that is inevitable in any situation of migration, as the motherland place is not physically present in the day-to-day any of our participants' lives and is therefore reconstructed by each immigrant family in different ways. However, it is also attributable to cultural differences that emerge between motherland place and motherland space that tend to emerge over time, as the European place of origin goes through changes after their family's own migration that immigrants to Canada and their descendants may or may not be aware of. Also playing an important role in this is the heritage language ideology in Canada that often links language maintenance and the maintenance of some sort of connection to the motherland to the authenticity of individual migrant identities. Several different kinds of linguistic and interactional resources participants use to achieve their positioning are: personal stories in which they narrate their own and family members' experiences associated with the motherland as a place, conversational resources commonly associated with strategic positioning such as employing the voice of others (as animator in Goffman's sense) rather than their own voice, and reacting (in alignment or disalignment) to conversational moves by the interviewers that raise assumptions about or challenge participants' positioning.

With respect to our second research question about whether the different immigrant generations construct the motherland differently, we find that a number of additional interesting generalizations can be made, though these differ somewhat between our three themes. In the first theme, it is the first and 1.5 generations—those migrants who were born in Canada or came to Canada before the age of 18 rather than any of the subsequent generations—for whom the tension around geographic boundaries and mental maps can be identified. This is perhaps not surprising, since for the generations born in Canada, the map of the European motherland is not part of their own biographies and therefore not an inherent challenge to their positioning, but this pattern is still intriguing in its consistency. By contrast, in the second theme, the tensions around the motherland place as a destination emerge specifically for those generations born in Canada rather than for the first and 1.5 generations. In excerpt 4 this comes about because of a wider societal discourse that promotes an expectation that immigrants and their descendants will inevitably return to the motherland as visitors. In excerpt 5 this involves tracing familial connections through one's genealogical roots as a way of positioning oneself with respect to both motherland place and the local Canadian motherland space. In both cases the fact that this tension exists in our data only for those generations born in Canada makes sense because the first and 1.5 generations have an inherent connection to the motherland place as a part of their biographies, while the second and later generations need to establish that connection in their own ways. Finally, in the third theme it is again the first and 1.5 generations—those generations born in German-speaking Europe—who merge the motherland place and the motherland space in order to create and simultaneously blur the tensions between the two, positioning themselves with respect to them in a way that takes the stance that it is either impossible to remember or unimportant to pinpoint exact locations in the motherland place. As a result, the distinction between the motherland place and the motherland space becomes

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

deliberately opaque, glossing over any biographical inconsistencies that might otherwise come about for those who have lived in both places.

CONCLUSION

This article has focused on some of the ways that German immigrants to Canada and their descendants construct the European German motherland as a sociolinguistic space in interviews, how they position themselves and others with respect to that space (using different kinds of linguistic and cultural resources), and whether these constructions and positionings differ among the first, second, and third generations of immigrants. We found tension between the motherland place and the motherland space that results from the geographical distance between the two, as well as cultural differences between the two that develop over time, causing them to become more distinct. This tension also stems from the heritage language ideology common in Canada and the perceived authenticity of individual migrant identities. Some differences between the immigrant generations were also found, in particular with regard to the ways in which they relate to mental maps and the facts that arise from their own biographies.

To conclude, we would like to stress the importance of analyzing not just language, but specifically language-in-interaction, for constructions of the motherland in a situation of migration, since it is there—in the small stories and in the back-and-forth between interlocutors taking different stances—that the tensions between place and space become evident in the construction of identities.

REFERENCES

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities*. Verso.
Bamberg, M. (1997). Positioning between structure and performance. *Journal of Narrative and Life History, 7*, 335–342.
Bamberg, M. (2004). Talk, small stories, and adolescent identities. *Human Development*, *47*, 366–369.
Bamberg, M., & Georgakopoulou, A. (2008). Small stories as a new perspective in narrative andidentity analysis. *Text & Talk, 28*(3), 377–396.
Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies, 7*(4–5), 585–614.
Dailey-O'Cain, J., & Liebscher, G. (2011). Germans from different places: constructing a German space in urban Canada. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics 23*(4), 315–344.
Day, D., & Kjaerbeck, S. (2013). Positioning in the conversation analytic approach. *Narrative Inquiry, 23*, 16–39.
Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *The Journal of Social Behaviour, 20*(1), 43–63.

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

De Certeau, M. (1988). *The practice of everyday life.* University of California Press.
De Fina, A. (2008). Who tells which story and why? Micro and macro contexts in narrative. *Text & Talk, 28*(3), 421–442.
Deppermann, A. (2013). How to get a grip on identities-in-interaction. *Narrative Inquiry, 23*(1), 62–88.
Gee, J. P. (1999). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method*. Routledge.
Gieryn, T. F. (2000). A space for place in sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *26*, 463–496.
Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis*. Harper and Row.
Gumperz, J. (1982). *Language and social identity.* Cambridge University Press.
Harré, R., & van Langenhove, L. (1991). Varieties of positioning. *Journal of the Theory of Social Behaviour, 21*(4), 393–407.
Harvey, D. (1990). *The condition of postmodernity: An enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. Blackwell.
Harvey, D. (1993). From space to place and back again: Reflections on the condition of postmodernity. In J. Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam, G. Robertson, & L. Tickner (Eds.), *Mapping the futures: Local cultures, global change* (pp. 1–28). Routledge.
Kampen Robinson, C. (2017). Speaking Mennonite at school: A narrative analysis of the role of language in immigrant educational experiences. *Language and Literacy: A Canadian Education E-Journal, 19*(3) [Special issue], 74-87.
König, K., Dailey-O'Cain, J., & Liebscher, G. (2015). A comparison of heritage language ideologies in interaction, *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 19*(4), 484–510.
Lacoste V., Leimgruber, J., & Breyer, T. (Eds.). (2014). *Indexing authenticity: Sociolinguistic perspectives*. Mouton deGruyter.
Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of space* (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.). T.J. Press Ltd. (Original text published 1974).
Li, W. (2011). Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*, 1222–1235.
Liebscher, G., & Dailey-O'Cain, J. (2013). *Language, space, and identity in migration*. Palgrave Macmillan.
Liebscher, G., Dailey-O'Cain, J., Müller, M., & Reichert, T. (2010). Negotiating identities through pronouns of address in an immigrant community, *Pragmatics, 20*(3), 375–400.
Lynch, K. (1960). *The Image of the city*. The MIT Press.
Rumbaut, R. G. (2002). Severed or sustained attachments? Language, identity, and imagined communities in the post-immigrant generation. In P. Levitt, & M. C. Waters (Eds.), *The changing face of home: The transnational lives of the second generation* (pp. 43–95). Russell Sage Foundations.
Sidnell, J. (2009). *Conversation analysis: An introduction*. Wiley–Blackwell.
Stevenson, P., & Carl, J. (2010). *Language and social change in central Europe: Discourses on policy, identity, and the German language*. Edinburgh University Press.

Journal of Belonging, Identity, Language, and Diversity (J-BILD)/
Revue de langage, d'identité, de diversité et d'appartenance (R-LIDA)
2021 • Vol. 5(1) • 11-31 • ISSN 2561-7982 •
Special Issue: *Boundaries and Belonging: Language, Diaspora, and Motherland*

[i] The research for this article has been supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) with a grant for the project "German Identity in Urban Canada: A Qualitative and Quantitative Study of Language and Discourse" (SSHRC#410-07-2202). We would like to gratefully acknowledge this support as well as the use of resources in Grit Liebscher's Social Interaction, Language and Culture Laboratory (SILC Lab) supported by the Canada Foundation for Innovation (#37510). We would also like to thank our peer reviewer for his helpful comments on earlier versions.

ii The transcription conventions used throughout this article are as follows: Original utterances as said by the participants are in normal type and English translations (where necessary) are in italics directly beneath them. The transcript differs from usual orthographic spelling, in that CAPITALIZATION in the transcript is used to mark intensity, a half-rise in intonation is indicated with a comma, a full rise is indicated with a question mark and falling intonation is indicated with a period. False starts are indicated with a dash. A star indicates a noticeable change of tone or quality of voice, as in *german*. The beginning of conversational overlap is indicated with an open square bracket, and a change in voice quality with asterisks. Laughter is indicated with laugh particles (e.g., hehe) or with a note in double-parentheses ((chuckles)). Pauses lasting a beat (.) or two (..) are indicated as shown; longer pauses are indicated in seconds.