

German as a Heritage Language in the USA



German as a Heritage Language in the USA

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- German School of Connecticut
- Coalition of Community Based Heritage Language Schools
- Western Connecticut State University

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Considerable body of research in both linguistic theory and language pedagogy has been developed for a number of heritage languages in the United States. Historically, German as a heritage language has been receiving less attention, although the gap is slowly being filled. This special event talk presents the current status of German as a heritage language in the United States and elsewhere internationally. Dr. Ludanyi will discuss the particularities of heritage languages from historical, linguistic, and pedagogical perspectives and articulate the differences in expectations and approaches to teaching a heritage and a foreign language.

As part of her talk, Dr. Ludanyi will present the community-based schools in the United States where German is taught both as a heritage and a foreign language. She will discuss both challenges and progress being made in teaching German as a heritage language and culture in the United States.

My name is RL, I am the president of the German Language School Conference which is the only nationwide professional organization to serve the private German language schools (mostly Saturday Schools) in the US.

I would like to thank Nemla for giving me the opportunity to speak to you today about a topic that seldom finds expression in learned conventions like this one. That is, I will speak to you about German as a heritage language (HL) in the US.

***Joshua Fishman -- the eminent and prolific sociolinguist -- who has been often called the father of US sociolinguistics -- and whose scholarly work has influenced and inspired many of us who are working in the area of heritage language (HL) education -- was one of the first in the US who spoke about Heritage Languages. He divided US heritage languages into 3 categories: They are: Colonial heritage languages.

[1] Fishman, J. (2001). 300-plus years of heritage language education in the United States. In J. K. Peyton, D. A. Ranard, & S. McGinnis (Eds.), *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a national resource* (pp. 81-89). Washington, DC & McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics & Delta Systems, pp. 81-89.

These are the languages of the various European people who came to this country before Independence.

1. Immigrant heritage languages

These are the languages of European and later immigrants from many countries who came thereafter.

1. Indigenous heritage languages

These are the languages of the native peoples of this country. Thus, my topics will be:



1. GERMAN as a COLONIAL LANGUAGE IN THE US
2. GERMAN as an IMMIGRANT LANGUAGE IN THE US

I will also speak about

3. GERMAN IN THE US CLASSROOM, in the past – and now

and about

4. GERMAN AS A HERITAGE LANGUAGE IN THE US
 - a. I will comment on the concept of HL
 - b. I will speak about community-based HL schools in general and about The German Community -Based HL Schools
 - c. I will speak about differences in teaching a HL vs. a FL/WL
 - d. I will conclude with comments on the challenges and successes of German HL teaching
5. I will offer some FINAL THOUGHTS

This is a huge topic. I can only give you the tip of the iceberg.

Let us start with a historical perspective and look at GERMAN during Colonial times.

The German presence in the U.S. dates back to colonial times. Already in 1608, German craftsmen, mostly carpenters, helped create the first American settlement in Jamestown. Then, in 1683, thirteen families of Mennonites and Quakers arrived in Pennsylvania and created Germantown which was the first German settlement in the U.S. Many more immigrants followed in these early days. They usually came for religious reasons and came largely from the western part of Germany. They also settled in Pennsylvania, also in New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina.

Their linguistic varieties leveled and created Pennsylvania Dutch, a new language. It is different from Standard German and it is featured as a language, separately from German, by the US Census. It remains alive till today.

Indeed, of all colonial languages in the US (Dutch in Manhattan and along the Hudson, Swedish and Finnish and others) only German -- in its transformation to Pennsylvania Dutch -- was able to survive as a spoken language from colonial times, and remains without interruption till today, over many generations. This is an exception, since the linguistic notion is that immigrant or minority languages will die after the 3rd generation.

Also, only German can show HL schooling since colonial times.



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German Immigrants in Colonial Times

- Preservation of German by the Religious Groups
- Pennsylvania Dutch

In their religious services the Amish even today sing from the *Ausbund*, a hymnal from 1564, of which the first American version appeared in 1742. – And the outlook for German, particularly among the conservative Old Order sectarians, is positive. It does not appear that they will give up their cohesive community life and their loyalty to their German HL for some time to come..

But not all newcomers in colonial times were religious refugees. By 1790, shortly after the Declaration of Independence (1776), the first US Census already counted 600,000 German immigrants. They mostly spoke Pennsylvania Dutch. Eventually a number of other dialects, e.g. Texas German, Pleitdeutsch, etc. appeared -- and still exist – although very much reduced in number and endangered.



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German as an Immigrant Language

- Preservation of German by the Secular Community
- Pennsylvania Dutch

It is interesting to note: The Kutztown University, PA, today has a Pennsylvania German Studies Minor. Also, twice a year, the Pennsylvania German newspaper Hiwwe wie Driwwe , appears.



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German Immigrants in Colonial Times
 Preservation of German in the secular community
 Pennsylvania Dutch



The Grundsau Lodge in eastern PA, which is said to have 3000 members, uses Pennsylvania Dutch in its Fersommling. In particular, during Groundhog Day or Grundsow Daag, the language spoken there is Pennsylvania Dutch.

So much for German as a vestige from colonial times.

Let's now look at GERMAN: as AN IMMIGRANT LANGUAGE IN THE US [1]

GERMAN AS A HERITAGE LANGUAGE IN THE USA

Table 1:
 German Immigration after Colonial Times (1820-1988)

Decade	Total immigration	German immigration	% of total
1820-1829	128,502	5,753	4.5
1830-1839	538,381	126,726	23.2
1840-1849	1,427,387	385,434	27.0
1850-1859	2,814,554	976,072	34.7
1860-1869	2,081,261	723,734	34.8
1870-1879	2,742,137	751,769	27.4
1880-1889	5,248,568	1,445,181	27.5
1890-1899	3,694,294	579,072	15.7
1900-1909	8,202,388	328,722	4.0
1910-1919	6,347,380	174,227	2.7
1920-1929	4,295,510	386,834	9.0
1930-1939	699,375	119,107	17.0
1940-1949	856,698	117,566	14.0
1950-1959	2,499,268	576,905	23.1
1960-1969	3,213,749	209,616	6.5
1971-1980	4,493,000	66,000	1.5
1981-1988	4,713,000	55,800	1.2
Total	49,753,412	7,028,258	14.1

As time went on, many more German-speaking people followed the first wave of immigrants.

Between 1820 and 1988, 7 million Germans arrived, and many more German speakers came from Austria, Switzerland, Russia, Poland, Romania, and other European countries. Some of the newcomers now were political refugees. Table 1 shows you the large number of the German-speaking immigration, and the percentage of the German immigration within the total

number of all immigrants to the US. Only after WW 2, from 1950 – 1960 will the immigration of Germans once more come up to the numbers of the 19th century.

Today, more than 350 years after the settlers from Krefeld arrived, and according to the US Census, German ancestry is the largest in the US. [2]

[2] Adams W. P. (1993). *The German Americans*, Max Kade German American Center, Bloomington, Indiana: University Press, p. 6

[3] Source: US Census Bureau, American Community Survey

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Table 2:
German Immigration after Colonial Times Largest Ancestry Groups⁵ in the USA (2000, 2015)⁶

2000 Results		2015 Results	
Ancestry group	Population	Ancestry group	Population
1 German	42,841,569	1 German	46,403,053
2 Irish	30,524,799	2 Black/African-American ¹ (non-Hispanic)	38,785,726
3 Black/African-American ¹ (non-Hispanic)	24,903,412	3 Mexican (of any race)	34,640,287
4 English	24,509,692	4 Irish	33,526,444
5 American ¹	20,188,305	5 English	24,787,018
6 Mexican	18,382,29	6 American	22,746,991
7 Italian	15,638,348	7 Italian	17,285,619
8 Polish	8,977,235	8 Polish	9,385,766
9 French	8,309,666	9 French	8,272,538
10 American Indian ¹	7,876,568	10 Scottish	5,409,343

But ... Ancestry may affect life experience, ranging from food preparation to the choice in music and Christmas customs, it does not mean language preservation. Indeed, if one looks at the statistics of German language maintenance, the numbers are less favorable. German lost 11 % from 1990 to 2000. But it still ranks in position 4. See Table 3.

The decline continues. In 2017 and 2018 we see German in the 7th - position on the list of the most spoken languages in the USA with 1,08 and 1.06 million speakers, respectively.



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Table 3. German Immigration after Colonial Times

Ranking of Top 10 non-English Languages Spoken at Home in the USA, 1990 - 2000

Primary Language	% change 1990 - 2000	Primary Language	% change 1990 - 2000
1. Spanish	+ 62%	6. Vietnamese	+ 99%
2. Chinese	+ 53%	7. Italian	- 23%
3. French	- 3%	8. Korean	+ 43%
4. German	-11%	9. Russian	+191%
5. Tagalog	+36%	10. Polish	- 8%

[4] Burton, James. "The Most Spoken Languages In America." World Atlas, Jun. 12, 2018, worldatlas.com/articles/the-most-spoken-languages-in-america.html.



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Table 4.

Ranking of Top 10 non-English Languages Spoken at Home in the USA, 2017 - 2018

Ranking Primary Language Spoken at Home in the USA	Non-English speakers 2017	Non-English speakers 2018
1. Spanish	37.58 million	37,458,470
2. Chinese (incl. Cantonese, Mandarin, other Chinese languages)	2.88 million	2,896,766
3. French /French Creole	1.30 million	2,047,467
4. Tagalog	1.59 million	1,613,346
5. Vietnamese	1.41 million	1,399,936
6. Korean	1.14 million	1,117,343
7. German	1.08 million	1,063,773
8. Arabic	951,700	924,374
9. Russian	905,800	879,434
10. Italian	723,600	708,966

Nevertheless, as stated by the Ethnologue in 2019 : The over 1 million German speakers who live in the USA -- regardless of their legal status -- they may be born in the US or abroad -- are by far the largest concentration of German-speakers outside of Europe.

Language is also a sociological phenomenon. It is needed for social interaction. What do we know about the German immigrants in colonial times and thereafter and German in public life?

Although German immigration to the US was large, German immigrants were not active politically and their language never rose above immigrant status. Neither Prussia nor any of the other German

states attempted to establish a colonial empire in North America. This led the German settlers to accept their language as subordinate to English. If there was any display of Germanness, it was not in the area of politics. The so-called Muehlenberg legend, i.e., that German for one vote might have become the language of the land, is just that: a legend. While the bulwarks of German language in those years from 1820 to 1920 -- the church and the schools, particularly in urban settings -- were progressively -- sometimes unwittingly -- converting into English, there were some German voices who showed concern about such language shift. The publisher of the Detroit newspaper Atlantis, Christian Esselen, used the term "Schmelztiegel" already in 1857, long before the metaphor 'melting pot' appeared in modern English in 1908 as the title of a play by Israel Zangwill.

[5] Eberhard, David M., Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2019. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Twenty-second edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.

Fast forward: More than 150 years later, long after the publication of the Atlantis, the loss of German as a language and a community identification in this country, was taken up again by another publication.

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German-Americans: The silent minority

"America's largest ethnic group has assimilated so well that people barely notice it ..."



The Economist, February 7, 2015, German-Americans. <http://www.economist.com/news/united-states/21642222-americas-largest-ethnic-group-has-assimilated-so-well-people-barely-notice-it>.

A Feb. 5th, 2015 edition of the Economist describes the German Americans as "The Silent Minority." Reference is made to the Germans who were the largest ethnic group in Chicago at the beginning of the 19th century. The Chicago Symphony was often referred to as the German Symphony and the conductor spoke German to the musicians. But while archives and museums point to smaller ethnic groups who lived in Chicago, e.g. the Lithuanians, Poles, Swedes, Jews and others, no mention is made of the large German population in this city.

Why ?

LET'S LOOK AT THE US GERMAN CLASSROOM.

Before the introduction of mandatory public education in the US, local groups oversaw the schooling of their children. They used their own languages, their HLs, for two reasons:

- a. to prepare the students for a life in their communities
- b. but more often than not, because there was no one who could teach in English

[6] <https://www.economist.com/united-states/2015/02/05/the-silent-minority>

[7] Holli, Melvin G. (1995). "*German American Ethnic and Cultural Identity from 1890 Onward*". In Holli, Melvin G.; Jones, Peter d'A. (eds.). *Ethnic Chicago: A Multicultural Portrait*. William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. p. 93 ff.

In addition to the German parochial schools that were connected to the community parishes -- in the 1830s and 1840s with the arrival of the Thirties and the Forty- Eighters, which were refugees from the 1848 Revolutions -- secular German schools were established, also bi-lingual schools. They were often more modern and forward looking and introduced many new pedagogical principles which included, among others, for the first time in the US, the distribution of free textbooks.

In her investigation of the German-English Bilingual Schools in America, Carolyn Toth (1990) points to Cincinnati as a pioneer city in German education. She describes the early German parochial and independent schools where German was maintained, also learned, as belonging to the "most extensive system of private and public bilingual schools" that was created by the Germans immigrants to the United States.



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German in the US Classroom



The First Kindergarten in Watertown Wisconsin



Margarethe Schurz

To mind also comes Margarethe Schurz, the wife of Carl Schurz, the Secretary of the Interior. She created the first German HL-based German Kindergarten, a “garden where children can grow,” in Watertown, Wisconsin, first for her own children, then also for her neighbors. She was born and grew up in Germany, and as a teenager, she had become acquainted with the person and the educational philosophy of Friedrich Froebel, who was a student of the educator Pestalozzi, and who was one of the founders of modern education.

[8] Tooth, (1990). *German-English bilingual schools in America: The Cincinnati tradition in historical context*. New York: Peter Lang, p. 1

In 1859 Elizabeth Peabody visited her and was converted. She became an advocate of early German education and the Froebelian method which she had observed in Wisconsin. She assisted in establishing Kindertgartens all over the US. Her sister, by the way, was Mary Tyler Peabody, the wife of Horace Mann, the influential educator in Boston who promoted public education. Massachusetts was the first state in the US that had obligatory public education. This was in 1852. Mann was also interested in the German school system and had traveled to Germany in 1843 to see for himself.

On the opposite side of the educational range, we see the crucial influence of the Humboldtian education ideal which integrated the arts and sciences. It served as a model of holistic education and became the prototype of the US research university. Johns Hopkins, Cornell, and other universities benefited from this approach.

With education modernizing and bi-lingual education on the rise, the teaching of foreign languages (including Latin and Greek) in addition to HL teaching, increasingly found support. The MLA was created in 1883.

But HL maintenance and teaching languages other than English, was also becoming a problem. Seeing language as a symbol of allegiance, the *E pluribus unum*, stressed the *unum*. An assimilationist attitude started, a forerunner of the ‘English-only’ movement of today. Protest against German, which at that time was ubiquitous, as a HL and as a language of instruction, appeared already in the mid-1800s. In Milwaukee, Wisconsin (1846) and later in Indiana and Illinois, laws (e.g. 1889, the Bennett Law) were passed that demanded the use of only English in all schools. But the most decisive attacks on the use of German in the schools, and as a HL spoken on the street, as a language of communication on a daily basis, in the churches and in the press, came during World War I. The activity of the anti-German hysteria at that time was huge, and has been thoroughly documented by many scholars.

The war ended in 1918 but the persecution of German persisted. In 1920, Robert Meyer, a German teacher, offered religious instruction in German outside school hours, and attendance was voluntary. He was charged with having violated the Nebraska language law. It took until 1923 for the Supreme Court in *Meyer vs. Nebraska* decided in favor of Meyer and against the Siman Act.

But the damage was done. German in the US never recovered. Tables 5 and 6 speak for themselves.
[1]

[9] Created from data by Draper, J. B., & Hicks, J. H. (2001). *Foreign language enrollments in public secondary schools*. Alexandria, VA: American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

[10] Created from Data by
<https://www.mla.org/Resources/Research/Surveys-Reports-and-Other-Documents/Teaching-Enrollments-and-Programs/Enrollments-in-Languages-Other-Than-English-in-United-States-Institutions-of-Higher-Education>

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Table 5.

German Language Enrollment in US High Schools and percentage change, 1890-1959

Year	Total high school population	German language enrollment	% of German language enrollment
1890	2021,963	21,311	10.5
1895	350,099	39,911	11.4
1900	519,251	74,252	14.3
1905	679,702	137,299	20.2
1910	915,061	216,869	23.7
1915	1,328,984	324,272	24.4
1922	2230,000	13,385	0.6
1928	3354,473	60,381	1.8
1934	5,620,626	134,897	0.8
1948	5,399,452	43,195	2.4
1959	8,155,573	93,054	1.2

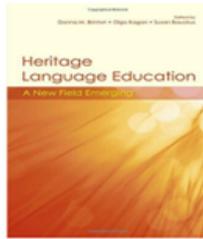
Between 1915 and 1922 the percentage of German language enrollment in US High schools changed from 24.4 % to 0.6 %.[1]

Between 2009 and 2013 it has lost another 9.3 %. More recent numbers are not better.

So what is left as a GERMAN HL TODAY?

Germans are still coming to the US. They still bring their language along and use it. Today they speak Standard German. Do these newcomers preserve the language of their homeland as in earlier times – and if so, how? Do they pass on their HL to their children -- and how?

Before I attempt to answer these questions, let's look at the concept of HL.



Preface

"...While these students have always been present in language classrooms, they have sometimes been treated with indifference ... They present a challenge, as foreign language instructors are not prepared to teach these students and the instruction is typically organized around the needs of foreign language learners..."

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The Concept of Heritage Language

Ammon U. : Ethnicity/Heritage: *No list with sufficient, necessary criteria to define it*

Fishman J. : Ethnicity/Heritage: *Collective intergenerational continuity*

Polinsky, M., & Kagan, O.: Heritage Language: *First language, minority language, acquired in the wild*

Brinton D, Kagan O, Baukus S.: Heritage Language Teaching is different from Foreign Language Teaching

The term “heritage language (HL) education” originated in Canada. It was proposed as a description of speakers with a migration background. The term has been criticized immediately as problematic for applying a single label to a complex situation. The term was also criticized for appearing to look backward instead of forward. Other definitions exist in Europe and in other parts of the world. Yet, in the US, ‘HL’ has become accepted as professional terminology.

In his seminal publication *The Rise and Fall of Ethnic Revival*, Fishman defines heritage as a “collective, intergenerational continuity”, i.e. “the sensing and expressing of links to ‘one’s own kind.’” He sees language as an aspect of a presumed ethnic authenticity -- which has been such since antiquity . Ammon agrees with this description of H is a sociolinguistic definition that refers to the activity of ‘human group formation’, to identity and ethnicity . It does not consider linguistic and pedagogical issues and it does not refer to the situation of the individual learner. It also does not address the many practical questions that HL teachers might have. Their students might be young children, teenagers, or adults. Some of these students may have arrived in the US only recently and directly, or not, from the home country. Some are first or second or third generation bilinguals. Some have almost native language proficiency; others may have little or no functional proficiency and want to re-learn the language. Some may have a wide range of literacy skills; others may have few or none.

But researchers agree that HLs are

- a) minority languages in a given surrounding of a majority language,
- b) mainly acquired “in the wild,” not in the classroom,
- c) acquired at an early age.
- d) are acquired before the dominant language takes over completely.

Researchers also point out that the personal categorization of heritage which Fishman links “to one’s own kind,” is not static. It shifts. It depends on historical, economic, political, and societal situations. It is context-bound. It is not only constructed by self-identification; it is also influenced by outside forces. All this impacts the LEARNER’S personal motivation, his/her agency, his/her

learning habits and his/her investment in HL study or HL renewal. Both forces also impact the TEACHING of the HL.

It was 2008, when Donna Brinton, Olga Kagan and Susan Bauckus published their book: *Heritage Language Education : A New Field Emerging*. They offer an examination of the different profiles of HL learners, HL identities, HL programs and HL language policies as compared to teaching German as a foreign language.

They show that from top down, it is useful to develop language proficiency for national interests, for security, trade, scientific research, etc. and that improving the competence of HL speakers is the most practical and economical way to do this. Startalk is such a program.

They admit that from the bottom up, the reasons get more personal and complex. Already in the Preface of this book we read: "... While these students have always been present in language classrooms, they present a challenge, as foreign language instructors are not prepared to teach these students and the instruction is typically organized around the needs of foreign language learners...

Ammon tells us that no list exists that sufficiently defines all criteria for HL.

[11] Wiley, T. (2014). The Problem of Defining Heritage and Community Languages and Their Speakers. In *Heritage Language Students Profiles and Possibilities*. In T. Wiley T., Peyton J.D., Christian D., Sarah C.K. Moore, Liu, N. (Ed.) (2014) *Handbook of Heritage Community and Native American Languages in the USA*. New York, N.Y. Routledge, p. 19.

[12] Fishman, J. et.al. (1985). *The rise and fall of ethnic revival*. Berlin: Mouton. p. 4.

[13] Ammon U. (2010). *Regional Perspectives in the Study of Language and Ethnic Identity*. In Fishman A. Garcia A. (Eds. *Handbook of Language and*

[14] Kagan O., Polinski M. .
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/38414426_Heritage_Languages_In_the_'Wild'_and_in_the_Classroom

[15] Brinton, D. M., Kagan, O., & Bauckus, S. (2009). (Eds.), *Heritage language education: A new field emerging*. New York: Routledge. *Ethnic Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 209

Today the German HL students are mostly taught in the so-called Community-Based HL Schools or Saturday Schools, which are the "purest" and the "classic" forms of HL education, according to Fishman.

The 1960's and 70's saw, what was called the ethnic revival. It was also the time when most of the German HL schools that exist today, the so-called Saturday schools, came into existence. It was in response to the last massive new wave of German immigrants who arrived after WW2. With 23.1 %

of total immigration after 1945, immigration again had approximated the high numbers of the century before.

The Coalition of Community-Based HL Schools is a new organization based in Washington DC. and serves as an umbrella for the HL schools of all US immigrant languages (of which my colleague, Sigrid Haas, and I are founding members). For the very first time since the lists of Fishman, this organization is compiling a record of community-based HL schools in this country. This is not an easy task as it is not easy to find these schools about which so far there is “no data ...on the local, state, or national levels.”

Slide 7 shows that HL-teaching is on a rebound in this country. Many more schools exist as seen on this list. They need to be found.

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Table 7:

The Concept of Heritage Language

HL Schools in the US, 2020

Language	# of Schools	Language	# of Schools	Language	# of Schools
Bulgarian	26	Hawaian	1	Polish	3
Camfranglais	1	Hindi	12	Portuguese	27
Chinese	46	Hungarian	11	Russian	10
Hmoob(Hmong)	1	Italian	2	Serbian	1
Czech	15	Japanese	32	Slovak	7
Farsi/Persian	6	Korean	7	Swedish	2
Finnish	7	Lithuanian	24	Tamil	2
French	9	Norwegian	1	Turkish	2
Gujarati	1	Passamaquoddy	1	Ukranian	3
Gujrati,Sanskrit, Bengali	1	Philippine languages	1	Urdu	3
German	27	Persian	10	Wazhazhe	1
Greek	8	--	--	Spanish	19

The Coalition’s website[1] defines these schools as follows which also applies to German HL schools.

[16] Nancy Hornberger, Shuan Wang, p. 25. Hornberger N.H, Wang S. C. (2008) Who Are Our Heritage Language Learners ? In Brinton D., Kagan O. Baukus S. *Heritage Language Education: A New Field Emerging*. Routledge, New York, NY, p.25.

[17] <https://heritagelanguageschools.org>



Framework of the Community Based HL Schools

- Nonprofit, founded/operated by parents
- Mostly teach on weekends
- Classes for Pre-K – adult
- Rent space in schools, churches, temples, community centers
- Operate outside of the public or private school system
- Charge Tuition
- Often supported by homeland for teaching/maintaining the home language and culture abroad

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“... typically, non-profit organizations founded and operated by parents from the respective immigrant or heritage language community for the purpose of maintaining and teaching the language and culture of their heritage. The language is usually (but not always) spoken in the home or the community. These schools might offer classes for learners from Pre-K – Grade 12, as well as for adults. In many schools, non-heritage language speakers are welcome as well.

Although these schools often rent space on public or private school premises on weekends or after school during the week, they operate outside the public and private school systems. They supplement the education that students receive in their regular schools and are not subject to the regulations of the U.S. education system. The schools administer U.S. language tests and often tests used in the home country as well, if appropriate assessments exist and are available...”

So far, I have given you some historic, sociological, statistical and logistic information. Let us now look at a ...

c. Comparison of Heritage Language Teaching vs. Teaching a Foreign/World Language

Many studies exist today that look at Russian, Korean, Japanese, Spanish and others, which all teach their HLs in the US. No new linguistic and pedagogical research exists on German being taught as a HL in the US.

At present, experienced language educators agree that HL learners and FL/WL learners should not be taught together, particularly, if the HL learners possess more advanced language proficiency, which mostly exists in listening and speaking. Disadvantages would outweigh advantages. Disadvantages include the unequal levels of learners which will give neither group the full benefit of the learning experience. FL students may be intimidated by HL students. Or HL learners are bored

in FL classes. In addition, HL students themselves are very heterogeneous and possess great differences in their own groups.

Yet, numerous HL schools are not large enough to afford separating the learners into the necessary smaller groups that would benefit both kinds of students separately. In such circumstances, both groups are taught and tested together. Particularly when it comes to testing, test outcomes need to be understood. They are sometimes labeled as the type of students who took the test.

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**Comparison:
HL Teaching vs.
FL/WL Teaching**

Table 8:

Teaching Domains	Non-Heritage Learners Micro Approach	Heritage Learners Macro Approach
This comparison is approximate. A simple dichotomous comparison of HL versus FL students is not possible.		
Pronunciation & Intonation	Instruction throughout course of study	Typically none
Vocabulary	Full range	Age appropriate/ literary/academic/ formal
Grammar	Case by case	By concept
Reading	Small texts, slowly increasing in volume and complexity	Fairly large and complex texts almost from the very beginning
Writing	Sentence level, gradually advancing to paragraph level. Writing even at high level of proficiency rarely approaches native ability	High degree of internal grammar allows expansive writing at early stages of instruction.
Speaking	Initially restricted to dialog, gradually progressing to monologue /discussion	Emphasis on monologue and discussion
Listening	Short simple texts gradually increasing in volume /complexity	Full range of native language input
Culture	Initially isolated cultural items	Full range of native language input.

On the basis of a study by Campbell and Rosenthal, Table 8 shows the different knowledge and competencies of HL learners as compared to FL learners[1] which, if possible, should be served by different teaching approaches for both learner types.

The table shows what Kagan and Dillon[2] sees as a macro approach for HL learners and a micro approach for FL learners. Teachers in German HL schools often call this ‘teaching backwards.’”

The micro approach requires a systematic build-up of language needs, from easy to more complex which is a linear, a bottom-up approach. The macro approach prefers the teacher to teach concepts as needed. It is a global approach or top-down. HL teaching has been compared to Swiss cheese that wants to close its holes. Particularly, advanced vocabulary and creating accuracy in communication needs help. Ideally, the classes are conducted totally in German.

Where are German Heritage Language Schools today in the US?[3]

[18] Campbell, R.N. & Rosenthal, J.W. (2000). Heritage Languages. In J.W. Rosenthal (Ed.), *Handbook of Undergraduate Second Language Education*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers. 165-183.

[19] Kagan, O. & Dillon, K. (2001). A new perspective on teaching Russian: Focus on the heritage learner. *Slavic and East European Journal*, 45, pg. 507 ff.

[20] Ludanyi, R. (2010). German in the USA. In Potowski K. (Ed.) *Language Diversity in the USA*. Cambridge University Press. Pgs. 146 -163.

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6 GERMAN DAY SCHOOLS ABROAD
BOSTON, MA; BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, NY; SILICON VALLEY, CA; PORTLAND, OR; WASHINGTON DC

CA. 40 GLSC GERMAN SATURDAY SCHOOLS IN THE US: TODAY
ALASKA, CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, CONNECTICUT, DELAWARE,
FLORIDA, GEORGIA, ILLINOIS, KANSAS, MARYLAND, MASSACHUSETTS,
NEW HAMPSHIRE, NEW JERSEY, NEW YORK, OHIO, PENNSYLVANIA,
SOUTH CAROLINA, TEXAS, NORTH CAROLINA

WORKING TOGETHER FOR GERMAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

Some ca. 10 additional German HL schools exist that belong to a small local organization or are unaffiliated

There are 6 Deutsche Auslandsschulen (German Schools Abroad) in Boston, Brooklyn, New York, Silicon Valley, Portland, OR, and Washington, DC. The oldest of these schools is the school in Washington which was founded in 1961. The youngest is the school in Brooklyn which is merely 2 years old.

These six schools were established primarily by parents for the children of German diplomats and parents with temporary assignments in the United States. They teach all subjects in German and prepare students for reentry into the German school system or to study at a German university. They are private schools but open to the public.

However, for Germans who do not live near these schools or do not want or cannot afford to send their children to these schools, grassroots efforts in many parts of the US. have generated the community-based private German language schools, the so-called Sprachschulen ,or Saturday Schools, or part-time schools, or Teilzeitschulen. Presently, they exist in 19 states.

Some of these schools are quite old. In 1912, already before the decline of German instruction in the US, Albert Faust mentions in St. Louis around the turn of the last century the “vorbildliche Einrichtung zur Erhaltung der deutschen Sprache ... Sonnabendschulen In den Morgenstunden des in Amerika schulfreien letzten Wochentages wird ... deutscher Unterricht erteilt für alle, Deutsche sowohl als Amerikaner, die sich daran beteiligen wollen”.[1]

[21] Faust, A.B. (1912). Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten (Vol. I & II) Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, Vol 1, p. 230.



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German Saturday School Boston

Established 1874
Over 500 Students
Still Growing

The Sonnabendschule Boston[1] was created in 1874 as an answer to a large number of German musicians with the Boston Symphony Orchestra who wanted German education for their children. Another school from the 19th century is the German American School of NY,[2] which is a member of the Board of Regents since 1911, and which has been teaching German for 119 years in a city that at the turn of the last century was the third largest city of German speakers after Berlin and Vienna. Most Saturday Schools, however, that are in operation today, opened their doors in the second half of the last century.— As with the full schools, new ones are still being created. The German School Charleston opened its doors in Spring 2020. [3]

[22] <http://gssb.org/>

[23] <https://german-american-school.org/>

[24] <https://www.facebook.com/germanschoolcharleston/>

Presently, most of these schools, which all together teach ca. 6000 – 7000 + students of all ages – exact numbers do not exist -- are members of the *German Language School Conference (GLSC)*[1], which is the national umbrella for these schools. It was founded in 1978 under the aegis of the Consulate General of NY City and is the only national organization dedicated to support, advise, and lobby for these schools.

GLSC offers a newsletter and a yearly writing competition for member schools. It holds a yearly professional development conference for teachers and administrators, it entertains a website, it assists in the creation of new schools, it advises in the selection of teaching material and curriculum construction and it answers a multitude of questions. This umbrella also functions as a lobby to the German government agencies who are involved with teaching German abroad.



PATRONAGE OF THE GLSC

Ulla Schmidt, Member of the German Bundestag,
Assumed Patronage of the German Language School Conference

"The German language schools in the USA make an extraordinarily important contribution to the teaching of the German language in the USA and, thus, to the promotion of cultural exchange and to the strengthening of friendship between our countries."



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Ulla Schmidt, a Member of the Bundestag assumed the patronage of this organization and its schools. In addition to the GLSC Schools there are ca. 10 + additional schools, mostly on the West Coast, that have no affiliation or belong to a small regional association.

Teachers are predominantly native or near-native speakers and often, not always, professional educators. If they are, they are trained as FL or ESL teachers or to teach monolinguals (English or German) or some other subject. So far, there is no "official" training for German HL teachers. It is not too presumptuous to say that many schools and many teachers stand in the avant garde, namely inventing -- in a 'new field emerging' -- new and additional ways of teaching German.

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Table 9:

School Statistics -- Sonnabendschule Boston

	2017/18	2018/19	2019/20
# of Students	437	470	483
# New Students	88	63	83
# of Families	283	304	311
# of School Districts	n/a	90	92
# of Classes	37	38	40
Faculty	40	43	45
Returning Faculty	34 + 6 new	34 + 9 new	38 + 7 new

Exam	2016/17	2017/19	2018/19
AATG National German Exam, Levels 2, 3, 4 (grades 6+)	120	121	143
IVA Level A2 (grade 8)	20	22	30
DSD Level 1 (grade 9 or 10), A2-B1	27	22	20
DSD Level 2 (grades 10-12), B2-C1	10	17	19

Many schools offer or prepare students to take US exams and German exams from Germany and culminate in offering the Sprachdiplom 1 and 2 (an examination of the KMK) on the levels B1 and C1/B2, as measured on the scale of the Common European Framework, respectively. B2 or C1 are German university entrance requirements. The Boston school can show excellent results. So can other schools.

**GERMAN AS A
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IN THE USA – Today**



Challenges

Finding Teachers , Training Teachers , Keeping Teachers
 Pre-/In-Service: Content Knowledge, Pedagogical Skills
Better understanding of German HL teaching in the US
Additional (Immediate)
 Payment of financial obligations
 Keeping enrollment high
 Finding teaching facilities
 Finding parents as administrators and IT support, fundraisers
 Keeping students "happy"
 Ecological issues
Additional (Long Range)
 Research: (theoretical, classroom based, teacher preparation, textbook development , assessments exploration)
 Acceptance of the terminology of HL/Herkunftssprache

WHAT ARE THE CHALLENGES?

They are many and manifold. All I can do here is give you a few bullet points.

Teachers:

It is quite clear that the first and perhaps largest and most critical challenge is: finding suitable teachers. This is mostly difficult.

Teacher training and development is the next challenge. No specific 'official' pre-training or in-training programs exist – as mentioned already – therefore, mostly dedicated principals and experienced colleagues must get engaged.

Also, the Fachberater, German language consultants from Germany, work with these schools. They also assist with testing.

In addition, collaboration with experts from a variety of German HL schools, from the mainstream of language education, and from universities is useful and sought after. Such persons are invited to give workshops at the yearly GLSC professional teacher and administrator conference in November which takes place in the German House of the German Consulate General in New York.

Continuing with challenges:

“There is as yet no established mechanism ... for measuring the efficacy of these HL schools” [1]

The schools need to be better understood.

Primarily, by the German language profession. The field of teaching German as a HL (in the US), in addition to teach DaF, needs better recognition and acceptance. It also needs research.

Secondly, by policy makers. Many Sprachschulen/mostly Saturday Schools which also teach FL students, i.e. beginners in the language -- as did the ‘Sonnabendschulen in the 19th century -- are supported by Germany, pedagogically and financially for which the schools are thankful. But they receive support only because of their teaching German as a foreign language. The term ‘German HL education’, ‘Unterricht für Deutsch als Herkunftssprache’ has never been used by the supporting German authorities. The question ‘Why?’ remains unanswered.

Possibly, because the concepts of German identity, German ethnicity and German heritage have been usurped in the past, and today carry baggage. Possibly also, because the “linguistic and ethnic identity as an expression of those who claim German heritage cannot be limited to people within a/one political boundary.” [2] German as a first language, as a HL, belongs to more than one country. And finally, possibly, because Germany within its boundaries struggles with its own situation of HL speakers that came after WW 2. It is interesting to observe that Ammon defined HL in the first edition of his Book “Die Stellung der deutschen Sprache in der Welt” clearly as language of a German speaking minority in a country of a distinct majority language and points to its value of “Vermittlerdienste”. This description is missing in his second edition. [3]

Whatever the reason: We suggest that an understanding by the profession and also by policy makers could lead -- in the case of German also as a HL language -- to the insight that it is easier, more practicable and less expensive to subsidize and cultivate what already exists, than to let it die and start from scratch. A US model has been set by Startalk.

Added challenges are

- Having the means to pay teachers more adequately. Only some schools can do so.
- Keeping enrollment constant and high.
- Schools need to find suitable teaching facilities, negotiate rental contracts and insurances.
- Schools must be able to find knowledgeable parents who are able to manage the administration and IT needs and be willing to do this mostly free of charge.
- Schools must keep their students (and parents) “happy” and motivated to “sacrifice” part of their weekends or hours during the week for schooling that is not obligatory.
- Lastly, challenges may include ecological issues. In a world where English, is not only the *lingua franca*, but also the dominant language (Gebrauchssprache) , where both parents work during the week, where day-school requirements and extracurricular activities may strain student and family time, German home-language maintenance, may well be considered of diminished everyday value

and not worth the time and effort and money to be pursued. Also, the fact that often one parent is of non-German-speaking background, may serve as an excuse or a deterrent to preserve or learn German.

WHAT ARE THERE SUCCESSES?

[26] Hornberger N.H, Wang S. C. (2008), p. 25

[27] Dow, J. (2010). Germany. In Fishman A. Garcia A. (Eds. Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity. New York: Oxford University Press , p. 221

[28] Ammon, U. (1991, first edition, p. 86 ff.) (2015 second edition, p. 945 ff.). *Die Stellung der deutschen Sprache in der Welt*. Berlin, München, Boston: De Gruyter.



GERMAN AS A HERITAGE LANGUAGE IN THE USA

Success

Only language that survived as spoken language since colonial times
Only language that has HL schools since colonial times

• 1686 ===== 2019



Considering the many and manifold historic setbacks and the challenges of today, it is not only a success, it is a wonder,

... that German as a heritage language has survived in this country since colonial days, as Pennsylvania Dutch or as Standard German

· ... that German HL education, not only still exists, but is increasing in number, where German as a FL is struggling.

· It is certainly a wonder and a victory that some of these schools can show a longevity of more than hundred years. I proudly repeat the name of the Boston Sonnabendschule that stems from the 19th century, that today has over 500 students and is still growing. The same proud reference must be made to the German American School in NY and others.

GERMAN AS A HERITAGE LANGUAGE IN THE USA Community Based HL Schools



"Lest we Forget"/"Gegen das Vergessen" – November 2018: Presentation by Luigi Toscana (photographer) und Rens Finder (survivor of „Schindlers Liste“) on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the Reichskristallnacht.

Lest we Forget: The schools often also act as cultural sites. They all celebrate German holidays and organize community events. In many areas, particularly outside the large urban centers that have GI's and university happenings, they also function as German community centers and enrich the community at large with their offerings. They foster international communication and understanding. They celebrate German holidays, show films, invite speakers, have a Stammtisch and celebrate Oktoberfests.

GERMAN AS A HERITAGE LANGUAGE IN THE USA - Today



German Language School Conference

Successful German Language
School Conference Teacher-
Administration Development
Conference at the German
Consulate General in NYC

Participants from Austria,
Germany, Switzerland, Canada,
Great Britain and the US



The German Language School Conference, the umbrella for the German Heritage Language Schools in the US celebrated its 40th birthday in 2018. Its 39th Annual Conference in 2019 in NY was a great success. It was conducted in cooperation with the Central Office for German Schools Abroad (the ZfA), the German HL Schools in Canada, (the ...) the UK (the ...) and the German and Austrian Consulates General.

FINAL THOUGHTS

International interaction and globalization are here to stay, so is outsourcing and personal mobility. It used to be religion or war and famine that made people leave their homes. Today it is technology and science, the possibility or adventure of international employment, be it in business, art, education or science. The yearbook of immigration statistics 2018 [1] shows that acquisition of US citizenship by Germans has been stable for the last 20 years and that it is one of the highest from Europe. German speaking persons (Austrians, Germans, Swiss) are some of largest groups from Europe arriving in the US as permanent residents and receiving the green card. Indeed, the US still belongs to one of the 10 countries with the most non-immigrant temporary admissions for German-speakers. The US still belongs to a favored destination for German-speaking Europeans wanting to work and live outside their own countries. There are over 1 Million speakers of German - more people than live in the small state of Saarland, Germany - living in the US today.

Much has changed since the beginning when German was a colonial and later immigrant language in this country. Much also has remained the same. Many newcomers today, as did immigrants in earlier times, desire to retain their language and their cultural traditions, at least when it comes to their children. At that moment in their lives Fishman's "intergenerational continuity," and a "sensing and expressing of links to 'one's own kind' take on a personal meaning.

Thus, I will conclude on an optimistic note by referring to Fishman's prediction that a more than 300 -year-old heritage in the US, the German language, can continue to survive in this country. To support this prediction I will read a letter that was written to me some time ago by a father who enrolled his children in a Saturday School

· After World War II the economy throughout Europe was in shambles. In 1953 my grandfather had the opportunity to come to the US ... He brought his family with him, and they had no doubt or question about their identity as Swiss. As soon as I was born ... I was registered with the Swiss Consulate as a Swiss citizen. It is an important part of my identity, and I have passed it on to my children. That's why we attend the German School of Connecticut in Stamford. It helps to keep our cultural ties strong, gives us perspective we would otherwise not have... Now when we travel back and forth between Switzerland, Germany and the US as a family, we can connect with family and the people we meet in a more meaningful way. As someone who works on an international scale, it is also important ... to mention that aside from the obvious cultural benefits, learning German is also very practical from a business standpoint. This will also be true for my children in the future. ..

Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation both support language and 'intergenerational continuity'.

Thank you.

[29] (<https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2018/table3>)
(<https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2018/table2#>)