

Ethnic Identity of Russian Germans in Interaction:

Attitudes towards Food Habits

Ethnische Identität von Russlanddeutschen in Interaktion:

Einstellungen zu Essgewohnheiten

by

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## **Abstract**

This master thesis is the sociocultural analysis of ethnic identity of Russian Germans in interaction with the application of linguistics methods. The interview group was composed of Russian German university students attending different universities in Germany. Based on the sociocultural perspective on language and identity, content analysis, turn-internal pragmatic and semantic as well as interactional approaches the analysis of the interviews was made. This thesis covers two major questions: What attitudes toward food Russian Germans construct during conversational interaction and what are the major linguistic resources and discursive strategies that these participants use to construct their cultural identities and how the attitudes towards the linguistic and social practices reflect German Russian identity and a particular Russian German space in German cities.

The special situation of Russian Germans, that being the initial alienation in Russia due to their ethnic origin, followed by the attitude of local Germans towards Russian Germans after they relocated back to Germany, led to the situation where many of them feel to be in the position of ‘in-between’ (Kaiser 2006: 34). Due to the complexity of this special cultural position of Russian Germans, observations of how individuals negotiate Russian and German cultural spaces and construct their own space in everyday life provide insight to the research of cultural identity. At the same time, the creation of the Russian-German space by means of positioning also reveals the constructed identity of Russian Germans, which they create in discourse.

The focus of the thesis lies on the practice of eating habits as a cultural practice. The analysis of food attitudes with the help of linguistic methods will contribute to the culture identity and the construction of a particular cultural space of Russian Germans. The interviews show how the attitudes towards food preferences and cooking habits serve as a basis for identity construction. By positioning themselves with the help of their attitudes

towards eating habits, the participants create certain cultural spaces in German cities. Several domains of life such as private and public spheres, where the participants positioned themselves slightly differently from one another by drawing on different indexical meanings are covered in the interview.

The work begins with the history of the Russian German migratory and studies made in relation to Russian Germans and their identity. It is followed by theoretical and methodological approaches. Content analysis, turn-internal pragmatic and semantic as well as interactional approaches are used in the thesis. The main body is devoted to the analysis of the qualitative interview data with the help of the theory and methodology described in the preceding section. In the end of the thesis the summary of the findings and the suggestions for the further research are presented.

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## Table of Contents

<b>1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. State of Research: Russian German Identity .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>3. Theory, Methodology, Corpus .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>4. Analysis .....</b>	<b>29</b>
4.1. At Home .....	29
4.2. With Relatives .....	42
4.3. <i>Kulturvermittlung</i> .....	66
<b>5. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>Appendix.....</b>	<b>73</b>
a) Transcription Conventions .....	73
b) Information Sheet.....	74
c) Approximate Questions for the Interview .....	76
d) Interview Transcripts .....	77
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>112</b>





environment. Kaiser notes the importance of local practices: “Für den Einzelnen wird es umso wichtiger, das Leben im Konkreten, im Lokalen fassbar zu machen und die “entgrenzte Lokalität“ zum wichtigen Bezugspunkt zu erheben, der Transvergesellschaftungsprozesse erfahrbar macht” (Kaiser 2006: 26). Analysis of these practices allows for observing people as actors who create transcultural reality with the help of their everyday cultural and linguistic practices.

Furthermore, in this context, the notion of space becomes quite an important concept. Migration results not only in a change of place, but also in the construction of cultural spaces. De Certeau states “space is a practiced place” (de Certeau 1988: 117). That means individuals not only operate between the spaces of ethnic practices, they also construct them (cf. de Certeau 1988). Therefore a certain place becomes filled with various cultural practices that meet and intersect with one another. In other words, individuals are perceived as subjects or actors who, with the help of their daily practices, construct their reality. From the perspective of migration, the construction of identities as well as intercultural spaces, where migrants practice their own culture as well as the culture of the country they come to, allows migrants to find their ‘home’ in the new country. Linguistic and cultural practices are constituent parts of such construction. The attitudes towards these practices express the position of an individual, and therefore, are perceived as practice as well as elements of space construction. As the attitudes are constructed in social interaction (Jacoby and Ochs 1995: 175), the conversation analysis is the preferred method for the attitudes analysis.

In the context of Russian German migration to Germany, the process of identity construction by means of linguistic, cultural and social practices becomes fascinatingly complex. The main settlement of Germans in Russian regions began in the times of the Katherine the Great. She promoted the population and economic growth in Russia with the help of German settlers. Privileges in the form of freedom from taxes for the first ten years as well as free land<sup>1</sup> were given to the Germans in case of their settlement in Russia. Germans started the settlement in 1876 with settlement occurring mainly in the regions of St. Petersburg and Volga (Berend 2011: 8). In the following years, Germans had to move to neighbouring regions, due to resource and land shortages. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, according to

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<sup>1</sup>Geschichte der Russlanddeutschen. *Geschichte der Russlanddeutschen*. Retrieved June/1, 2013, from <http://www.russlanddeutschesgeschichte.de/geschichte/themenuuebersicht.htm>

Berend, Germans lived in closed settlements and practiced exclusively German culture and language. After 1870, the Russian government limited the self-administration of German settlements, and Russian language entered German life in Russia. In the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, as a part of Stolypin reform, a large population of Germans was encouraged to move to the eastern and western regions of Siberia and Kazakhstan to acquire new land. After the October revolution in 1917 and the formation of Soviet Union, the “Autonome Sozialistische Sowietrepublik der Wolgadeutschen” (ASSRdWD) was established. According to Berend (21), the years between 1924 and 1930 were the most prosperous for Germans in Russia. German became an official language and there were educational and cultural facilities provided in German. Nevertheless, many German farmers suffered at the hands of Dekulakization (withdrawal of kulak’s property as a part of Soviet agriculture collectivization) in the years of Stalin’s governing.

As the Second World War began in 1941, German settlers were forced to move to other regions, mainly Kazakhstan, Siberia, Ural, and the Far East (Berend 2011: 22). The forced deportation was followed by Russian Germans receiving the special status of ‘spezposelenzy’ (‘special settlers’). This meant that, they were not allowed to change their place of residence. It was not until 1956 that Germans could move, but they could still not return to their original settlements in Russia. Berend writes about the vain attempts of Russian Germans to win their autonomy back (25-26). As a consequence of the repression occurring in the years after the Second World War, approximately 2.2 million Russian Germans have returned to Germany between 1989 and 2009.

The special situation of Russian Germans, that being the initial alienation in Russia due to their ethnic origin, followed by the attitude of local Germans towards Russian Germans after they relocated back to Germany, led to the situation where many of them feel to be in the position of ‘in-between’ (Kaiser 2006: 34). Kaiser (2006: 35) calls this situation *Zuhause-Fremd-Sein* (“feel-foreign-at-home”). Savoskul (2006) notes: “Russlanddeutsche dagegen stehen zwischen zwei Welten, identifizieren sich aber mit keiner von ihnen in vollem Umfang. Ihre Identität wird durch das Negativepronomen ‘kein’ betstimmt” (209). Due to the complexity of the cultural ‘in-between’ position of Russian Germans, observations of how individuals negotiate Russian and German cultural spaces and construct their own space in everyday life provides insight to the research of cultural identity. At the same time, the creation of the Russian-German space by means of positioning also reveals the constructed identity of Russian Germans, which they create in discourse.

Migrants mark their space with different practices: linguistic, social and cultural. All of these practices serve as instruments contributing to a distinct trajectory – transforming the space where migrants are trying to adapt to a new culture and society while still inserting elements from their own culture, and therefore co-constructing the social and cultural reality of a particular city. In the thesis I will focus on one particular practice, namely eating habits as a cultural practice. The analysis of food attitudes with the help of linguistic methods will contribute to the culture identity and the construction of a particular cultural space of Russian Germans.

In my research I will focus on the following questions:

1. What attitudes toward food do Russian Germans construct during conversational interaction and what are the major linguistic resources and discursive strategies that these participants use to construct their cultural identities?
2. How do the attitudes towards the linguistic and social practices reflect German Russian identity and a particular Russian German space in German cities?

This thesis is comprised of two major questions. Firstly, I wish to analyze the construction of Russian German identities in conversational interaction by means of observing attitudes towards eating habits. With the expression of their attitudes Russian German migrants in Germany position themselves, and therefore construct their identity. Secondly, I aim to investigate the construction of the cultural space of Russian Germans in Germany by analyzing their attitudes toward cultural practices. In the conclusion, the information about food attitudes and the linguistic expression of them will reveal a certain sociocultural space of Russian Germans within Germany.

## 2. State of Research: Russian German Identity

In the following section, I will give a short overview of the relevant research conducted recently on Russian German identity. I will point out some of the helpful contributions to the field, as well as distinguish some of the shortcomings of the research conducted thus far. In the second part of this section, I will argue the importance of my thesis and the contribution that this paper aims to make with regards to the study of Russian German identity.

Apart from the Turkish and Italian populations that form the first and second largest minority groups in Germany, Russian Germans belong to the third largest minority group. After the beginning of the mass movement of Russian Germans to Germany, this group provoked the interest of researchers from many different fields, including: sociology, linguistics, history, and politics. The various research conducted about Russian Germans resulted in the new research field *Aussiedlerforschung* ('resettler research'). Since my work concentrates on the ethnic identity of Russian Germans as a result of their linguistic and social identity, I will concentrate on the research conducted in these fields. I will briefly mention the main domains of *Aussiedlerforschung*. Afterwards I will present the current state of research in the field of Russian German ethnic identity. Researchers of *Aussiedlerforschung* are interested in several aspects of migrants' lives. The dominant theme is the integration of the Russian Germans in different domains of life. There are various studies devoted to the history of this minority group. Linguists are interested primarily in the specifics of the language (Fennell 2003), language change (Berend 1998; Berend 2003) and code-switching (Goldbach 2005), the influence of Russian language on the resettlers' speech (Anders 1993) and identity (Schnar 2010), as well as multilingualism of Russian Germans (Biehl 2003). As my thesis is concerned with the identity of Russian Germans from a sociocultural perspective, I will give an overview of the main studies conducted about this topic in the fields of sociology and linguistics. I will give an overview of the studies that are concerned with identity and the role of language in self identification.

Katharina Meng (2002) makes an important contribution to the analysis of cultural identity of Russian Germans. In her book, she presents an analysis of collective, social and cultural identity of Russian Germans. She aims to find out what social group Russian Germans believe they belong to. Attitudes towards ethnic belonging and the role language plays in creating this identity are central for the analysis. The object of investigation is not the personal identity, but collective cultural self-identification as Russian or German (107). Also,

Meng is interested in what role the Russian language plays in self perception. The researcher interviewed an elderly woman in 1994, born in 1924, twice with an interval of three years (between the interviews). The results show that the participant's self identification is directly connected to ethnic and language membership. Nevertheless, the interviewed woman appreciates her bilingualism and calls upon it to take into account the oppression of German language in the Soviet Union (119). Meng does not draw any conclusions from the study or generalizes the results (108). In sum, Meng refers to the problems of self identifications and conflict of identities by Russian Germans. Also, Meng refers to bilingualism a crucial element in the participant's self-identification as Russian German. The study refers to the strong connection of language and identity.

Also, Natalie Schnar (2010) draws parallels between identity and language in the study called *Sprache als Kriterium ethnischer Identität* ("Language as a criteria of ethnic identity"). She investigates ethnic and linguistic identity in relation to the integration of young Russian German artists and musicians. Schnar presents an empirical study in which she analyzes a grade of attachment of young Russian Germans to the Russian language, as well as artistic activities, as factors that influence the ethnic identity of the minority group. Schnar comes to the conclusion that language, as well as cultural practices, plays an important role in self-identification as Russians. Nevertheless, due to the German ethnicity, the Russian language is not a decisive factor in the Russian Germans' self identification; rather, it is artistic activities that connect young Russian Germans to Russia and define them as Russians. Schnar also makes a prediction that Russian language will be replaced by German quite soon (Schnar 2010: 98). Though Schnar is interested in the attitude these young Russian Germans display toward the Russian language and cultural practices, she concentrates specifically on the Russian or German language, omitting the theme of Russian German dialect or code switching which is widespread among Russian Germans and serves as an important tool for socializing in a Russian German community (Berend 1998:61).

In my opinion, the main shortcoming of the described studies is the perception of identity as a stable, independent of the context, unchangeable concept which can be discovered with the help of interviews of participants. Also, the studies refer to the problems of self identification with reference to a struggle between two cultures or two languages. Bilingualism as well as cultural belonging can be seen as a problem for an individual's sense of belonging and integration, if culture is perceived as homogenate unities. Therefore, according this perception, integration is seen as an assimilation or slow transition from one

culture/language to another. In this case, an individual has an inner struggle of self-identification because he or she has to adapt to new cultural codes and deny the old ones. The constructivist approach to culture and identity perceives an individual as an active agent and constructor of his/ her identity. This approach is especially important for migrant studies, because it opens up possibilities to perceive migrants as active co-constructors of culture in everyday life.

There are several interdisciplinary studies which are concerned with the construction of ethnic identity in daily life. Roll (2003), in the study called *Jugendliche Aussiedler sprechen über ihren Alltag: Rekonstruktionen sprachlichen und kulturellen Wissens*, conducted narrative interviews with young Russian Germans. The goal was to analyze language and cultural knowledge of Russian Germans and the verbal strategies they use in an interview. On the macro level, Roll aimed to analyze the specifics of Russian German culture. On the linguistic level, Roll was interested in the various forms that the young people use to express their attitudes. Also, she wanted to analyze the function of Russian language in identity construction. While many qualitative studies take social identity as an object of the analysis, Roll concentrates on the individual identity. She emphasizes the function of language as central for identity construction. According to Roll, the analysis of young peoples' identity is of special importance (65).

The study contributes to the research of identity construction in interaction. In her study, Roll uses a content-based approach as well as semantic and pragmatic approaches. Roll divides each interview according to themes. Culture, or ethnic belongings and attitude to Russian language are two major themes. Nevertheless, Roll uses binary structures of identity in her interview: German-Russian. In my opinion, by avoiding binary oppositions, individuals have more possibilities to express their identity - that can go beyond just German or Russian – and their identity can be influenced by local culture.

The aforementioned studies are concerned with an ethnic and cultural identity and its linguistic aspects. There are also several studies that connect the topics of identity and cultural space of Russian Germans. Ipsen-Peitzmeier and Kaiser present a range of articles that take a Russian German space as a matter of subject in their anthology *Zuhause fremd. Russlanddeutsche zwischen Russland und Deutschland*. The studies were conducted in the field of sociology. The works of Maria Savoskul (2006) and Ulrich Reitemeier deserve a precise analysis as they touch upon the topics of cultural spaces.

Maria Savoskul (2006) writes in her qualitative study called *Russlanddeutsche in Deutschland: Intergration und Typen der ethnischen Selbstidentifizierung* (“Russian Germans in Germany: Integration and types of ethnic self-identification”) about the relationship of so called *Binnenstrukturen* (“internal structures”) and types of ethnic self-identification. She understands social norms or patterns of behaviour that Russian German know from Russia but practice in Germany as internal structures. Facilities used by Russian Germans such as Russian shops, certain Russian religious communities, as well as Russian-language theater and local newspapers also belong to this internal infrastructure. Savoskul conducted 30 interviews with Russian Germans in the area of Nürnberg – Fürth – Erlangen and found that the internal structures can either help or hamper the integration of Russian Germans according to the three types of self-identification that she states in her study (Savoskul 2006: 217-218). The first type is the group of early Russian German resettlers who call themselves Germans (*germanische Deutsche*). The second type is the group of late resettlers who believe to belong to the group of Russian Germans (*Russlanddeutsche*). The third type is late resettlers as well. This group experiences a crisis of self identification. Migrants who call themselves *germanische Deutsche* do not see these internal structures as aiding in integration, but still use them by habit. Internal structures have an active integrative function for *Russlanddeutsche* who have personal attachments to either Russian or German culture. For the third group of Russian Germans who have problems with ethnic self-identification, internal structures only serve to hamper the integration process. Savoskul hopes that this research will contribute to easier identification of the problem group (third type) and help it with the integration.

Ulrich Reitemeier (2006) also analyzes the theme of ethnic self-identification of Russian Germans over time in the study called *Im Wechselband der Kulturellen Identitäten. Identifizierungs- und De- Identifizierungsprozesse bei Russlanddeutschen Aussiedlern* (“The changing band of cultural identities. Identification and re-identification processes for ethnic Germans from Russia”). Reitemeier found that Russian Germans live in the societal and cultural in-between position and experience identity insecurity while living in Germany. Due to their origin, it is expected that they have strong ethnic self-identification as German; however, at the same time, they have a strong attachment to Russian culture, which nevertheless is marginalized in Germany. This situation hampers the construction of hybrid identity of Russian Germans and causes strong identity insecurity (Reitemeier 2006: 236).

All articles discussed so far have chosen the cultural and linguistic space of Russian Germans and its relation to their identity for analysis. Savoskul touches upon the theme of the

importance of ethnic space. Reitemeier also addresses the theme of hybrid identity and a cultural space that, according to him, is an in-between space. Nevertheless, as with the studies on linguistic identity, the aforementioned research efforts employ binary oppositions between German and Russian that tend to stay in conflict with each other (Reitemeier 2006). I argue that Russian Germans do not live between the two cultures; rather, they live in two specific cultures, ultimately constructing their own unique hybrid identity. In their daily lives they operate with two or more cultural and linguistic resources within a particular social environment, and therefore constantly construct and reconstruct their ethnic identity.

At the beginning of my research summary, I drew light on the most influential studies analyzing Russian German identity from different perspectives. However, these works often present only one aspect of identity – cultural, linguistic or societal. Also, in some studies identity is viewed as a stable construct. The advantage of this thesis lies in the vision that identity emerges in interaction with the help of self positioning rather than just relying on the universality and stability of identity in every situation. Moreover, linguistic, cultural and societal identities are closely connected and mutually influence elements of an individual's overall identity.

In this context, the article “Language attitudes, migrant identities and space” by Dailey-O’Cain, J. and Liebscher, G. (2011) reveals an approach which can be successfully applied to the analysis of Russian German migrant identity. The authors of the article investigate the linguistic spaces of Germans in Canada. The authors write that “the attitudes toward language are not merely static thoughts in people’s minds, but are constantly constructed in interaction” (91). Liebscher and O’Cain are interested in the relationship of language, identity and space. With the help of the language attitudes towards standard German, German dialects, and code mixing of German and English, the authors analyze the construction of identity in interaction by means of self positioning: “as we hope to have demonstrated, analyzing language attitudes in interaction has allowed us to reveal their constructed nature, as well as the effects this construction has for individual positioning toward certain social spaces” (130).

The connection of identity, language and space with respect to migrants is an attractive approach because it provides a multifaceted perspective of identity which can be successfully applied for the case of Russian Germans. The researchers refer to the Buchholz and Halls concepts of identity construction in interaction as well as De Cocteau’s notion of space. De Certeau’s theory of practiced place and the particular emphasis on the attitudes towards culinary practices as to cultural ones completes the portrayal of cultural identity of Russian



Germans. By positioning themselves, the participants construct their identity, and therefore reflect the places of societal, cultural and linguistic practices, transforming them into Russian German spaces within the German territory.

### 3. Theory, Methodology, Corpus

My master thesis draws on the concepts of identity, culture, language use and space. In this part of the thesis I will give an overview of the research that has been conducted in these fields. I will show the properties of identity from the constructivist perspective, as well as how identity is connected to language and how attitudes towards eating habits reflect ethnic identity and construct Russian German space in Germany.

Edwards, in his recent publication (2009), writes about a significant shift that was made in studies of identity in the 60's, when the concept became not only the marker of an individual, but was "situated in the *social* context" (Edwards 2009: 15, also Somers 1994: 607-608) (Ochs 1993: 288). Benwell and Stokoe (2006) also point to this change of identity relocation "from the 'private' realms of cognition and experience, to the 'public' realms of discourse and other semiotic systems of meaning-making" (4). There is a direct link between personal and social identity. As Joseph (2010) points out, "(g)roup identities are more abstract than individual ones,[...] Yet combinations of such abstractions are what our individual identities are made up of, and group identity frequently finds its most concrete manifestation in a single symbolic individual" (12). Connection of individuals to society results in the interdependence of both types of identity construction.

Taking into consideration the social nature of identity, it becomes clear that depending on the social environment, individuals exhibit different sides of their identity. The latest research in the studies of identity (e.g. Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 4; Edwards 2009; 19, Joseph 2010: 12; Hall 2011: 33) point to the idea that identity is always context dependent. Edwards claims, "Our personal characteristics derive from our socialization within the group (or, rather groups) to which we belong; one's particular social context defines that large pool of potential from which a personal identity can be constructed" (Edwards, 20). Such view of identity as a social construct in discourse derives from the social constructivist perspective. Thus, identity is perceived not as something stable, but as a process of constant identity (re)construction (Joseph 2010: 23). The construction of identities always happens in relation to other identities. Identity or different identities that people have are perceived as a construct created by individuals in a certain time and place. In summary, the situatedness and constructivist nature are other characteristics of identity in addition to the aspects of identity discussed so far.

Taking in to account that identities are constructed in the socialization, the crucial role of language in identity construction should be mentioned. Language stays in a close connection to identity (Edwards 2009: 20, Joseph 2004: 13) and serves “as a ‘marker’ at an individual level” (Edwards 2009: 21). Language practices allow people to show their identity or construct it in relation to other individuals. Furthermore, as the identity construction results in socialization, interaction serves as a tool for it. In this context, Edwards (2009) also refers to ‘speech mobility’ (27). Every individual has a possibility to choose a certain style or, tone from his repertoire according to a certain situation, and therefore constructs his identity in that situation. Bilingual and multilingual people, due to a wide language repertoire, especially tend to switch not only styles, but languages, engaging in code-switching. Thus, the identity is constantly constructed and reconstructed in different speech events depending on the participants and situation (Norris 2007: 657).

Using the philosophical thoughts of identity researchers, the linguists Buchholz and Hall present a theoretical and methodological framework for identity construction. The theoretical considerations of these linguists will be the basis for my thesis. The researches understand identity as “the social positioning of self and other” (Buchholz and Hall: 2010, 18). This means constant co-construction of identities by means of linguistic, social and cultural practices in time and space.

Taking into account the aforementioned characteristics of identity, I will apply the sociocultural perspective to language. Buchholz and Hall (2010) claim that identity is “concerned with intersection of language, culture and society” (18). This approach has several advantages. First of all, it lies in the perception of knowledge. According to sociocultural perspective, knowledge is not a rational system existing apart from the users, but a socially constituted cultural construct. “It is from our mediated actions that knowledge takes shape, including its forms and functions, and from which referential understandings of the world are drawn. From this view language forms cannot be understood apart from their context use”(129). In relation to my analysis, this means that the examination of attitudes towards eating habits, with the help of linguistic methods, can result in a more abstract interpretation at the cultural and societal level, or in other words, the way in which individuals talk about their preferences reflect their attitudes at the level of content as well.

The second advantage of this perspective lies in the process of gaining knowledge. The traditional view of gaining knowledge includes the process of learning where the individual has no impact in shaping their knowledge themselves; in this case, knowledge is treated as an

independent from an individual's influence element. Sociocultural perspective refers to an individual as an active participator and co-constructor of new knowledge due to his or her social activity. Also, there is a strong interdependent connection of creating knowledge both from the side of individual as well as the social context. Hall claims, "[...] because of individually structured social beings, continually (re)created in their sociocultural practices enacted within specific sociohistorical contexts, the knowledge they create in any locally situated context of activity is also shaped by histories individuals bring with them to these context" (Buchholz and Hall 2010: 129). This aspect is crucial for my thesis because it allows perceiving an interaction as a toolkit for analyzing identity construction.

The third aspect of a sociocultural perspective is the altered attitude towards applied research. While the traditional approach perceives applied research as a source of gaining universal knowledge with the help of interviews, the sociocultural perspective does not differentiate between theoretical and practical research, because the goal is "to understand the communicative worlds in which and by which we live our lives – that is, to understand how we make our way in the world, not how the world is made inside of us" (Reed 1996, quoted in Hall 2010: 130). This aspect underlines the situatedness of the analysis. Summing up, the sociocultural perspective allows me to analyze ethnic identity with the help of linguistic methods because this approach points to the close connection of identity and language. Within my thesis, I want to analyze how dialogues and language use refer to cultural and social practices.

Taking a sociocultural perspective and using the thoughts of other researchers, Buchholz and Hall (2010) propose five principle of identity construction: the emergence, the positionality, the indexicality, the reationality and the partialness principles. These five principles comprise the scope of the approaches that different researchers develop to question the construction of identity on different levels. The approaches cover theory and methodology of identity construction and are crucial for this Master's thesis.

The first three principles – the emergence, the partialness and the relational principles refer to the nature of identity. The emergence principle means that "[i]dentity is best viewed as the emergent product rather than the preexisting source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore as fundamentally a social and cultural phenomenon" (19). The idea of identity as a product that emerges from practices and is seen as an action belongs to the conversationalist notion of identity which was developed by Austin (1962) in his work "*How to do things with words*" and is echoed in the poststructuralist theory of performativity (Butler

1990). Identity functions according to this principle because it is constructed in discourse. The relationality principle implies the notation of identity as a concept that is constructed in society in relation to other identities. There is always a process of comparison, sameness and difference (Buchholz and Hall 2010: 23). “A role-based identity is the goals, values, beliefs, norms, interaction styles, and time horizons typically associated with the role independent of who (what kind of person) may be enacting the role” (Sluth and Ashforth 2007: 11). The partialness principle derives from the relationality principle: “Because identity is inherently relational, it will always be partial, produced through contextually situated and ideologically informed configurations of self and other” (25). This means that depending on the social environment, on the perception and expectations of others and as a part of interactional negotiation, identities can change.

The positionality principles, together with the indexicality principle, refer to the strategies of identity construction. The positionality principle was founded in quantitative social sciences and was used to track large scale socio-linguistic phenomena (Labov 1966). “At the most basic level, identity emerges in discourse through the contemporary roles and orientations assumed by participants, such as evaluator, joke-teller or engaged listener” (Buchholz and Hall, 2010: 20). Also Deppermann (2004), in his article devoted to narrative identity, describes the concept of positioning as a strategy for identity construction in interaction (168). The perspective of positioning:

[...] fokussiert diejenigen Aspekte sprachlicher Handlungen, mit denen ein Sprecher sich in einer Interaktion zu einer sozial bestimmbar Person macht, eben eine „Position“ im sozialen Raum für sich in Anspruch nimmt und mit denen er dem Interaktionspartner zu verstehen gibt, wie er gesehen werden möchte (Selbstpositionierung) (168-169).

The roles that participants take on in sociocultural situations are temporary and are dependent on discourse, the relation of participants to one another, and are never deterministic by their nature. The positioning of self and others reflect identity on different levels, starting from the “macrolevel with demographic categories”; moving on to the “local, ethnographically specific cultural positions” and ending with “temporally interactionally specific stances” and participant roles (Buchholz and Hall 2010: 21). Moreover, every act of positioning can reveal personal, social and moral characteristics of an identity (Deppermann,

2004: 171). Also, Deppermann (2004) refers to the importance of positioning acts with reference to the local identities:

Positionierungsaktivitäten schöpfen außerdem häufig aus dem autobiographischen Erfahrungshintergrund oder rekurren auf historische und faktenbezogene Wissensbestände, institutionelle Konventionen und kulturelle Gepflogenheiten, die erst verständlich machen welche Positionierungen mit einer Äußerung verbunden sein können. Damit können sie über lokale Bedeutung innerhalb der aktuellen Interaktion auch einen Ansatzpunkt für weit reichende Einsichten über Weltsicht, normative Orientierungen und Erfahrungshorizonte einer Person bilden (172).

This citation points to the complexity of the different influences on and importance of the local context in identity construction. Overall, as all utterances in the conversation can be perceived as a positioning of self in relation to others, the positionality principle refers to the fundamental strategy of identity construction in interaction and therefore serves a main principle for the thesis.

The indexicality principle was first introduced by Ochs (1992) and refers to the mechanism of identity construction on a linguistic level within the positionality principle. Johnstone (2010) describes indexicality as a sign which is “[...] related to its meaning by co-occurring with the thing it is taken to mean” (30-31). She provides an example that if a word is pronounced in a certain way, it is associated with certain style, and such pronunciation constructs a certain social identity. The reference of the indexical meaning to the linguistic forms for can be constituted differently in a speech (Ochs 1992). The aforementioned point refers to the methodology of identity construction analysis; therefore, I will present it in detail in the following paragraphs where I will outline the methodological basis of the thesis.

Buchholz and Hall (2010) state: “identity is a discursive construct that emerges in interaction” (2010: 19). With this reference, I have chosen a discourse-based approach for my paper. As Ochs (1993) states: “in any given actual situation, at any given actual moment, people in those situations are actively constructing their social identities rather than passively living out some cultural prescription for social identity” (Ochs 1992: 296). Interaction between the interviewer and interviewee will be the object of analysis.

Since the main goal of my work is the analysis of attitudes, and therefore positioning behind the conversation, I aim to take Conversation Analysis (CA) as the main methodological framework of my analysis. The focus of CA is laid on the participants of a conversation who take on various roles during a speech event. The talk-in-interaction is important for the analysis because it means, “we manifest ourselves and perceive others largely through our talking together” (Have 2007: 10). I find CA a useful approach for this paper because throughout conversation, the participants have to take an active position, establish their roles and therefore construct their identity. Therefore, CA helps to track how the participants negotiate, ascribe or distance themselves from certain identities in a conversation.

I apply qualitative research, which relates to the analysis of a narrow number of cases (Ragin 1994: 33). I will apply the content-based, turn-internal semantic and pragmatic approaches as well as the interactional approach. These approaches are best suited for the analysis of language attitudes (Liebscher and O’Cain 2009: 195), therefore they can be also successfully applied to the analysis of the attitudes towards cultural practices expressed through language.

Content analysis serves various purposes in conversation analysis. With the help of this tool, the researcher can track what, why or with what effects something is said (Holsti: 1969, quoted in Krippendorff 46). “As I analyze conversations, I will use the *pragmatic content analysis* that is „procedures which classify signs according to their probable causes of effect” (Janis and Fadner 1965, quoted in Krippendorff 2004: 44-45). For example, one can count a frequency of a certain expression to track the wished effect that an interviewee wants to express. This method is compatible for conversation analysis as it is based on the situatedness of expressions. “In content analyses of conversation, *inferences concern the continuation of the process*. Indexical and representational aspects (content in the sense of what is conveyed in processes of communication) are the best means to that end” (Krippendorff 2004: 67). In my research, the content-based approach allows analyzing the answers of participants at the macro level of ideological processes of identity construction.

Turn-internal semantic and pragmatic approaches will help to analyze identity construction on a second level of linguistic analysis. Since the main principle of identity construction in my thesis is the positionality principle, I will utilize linguistic methods that help to reveal the positions of the interviewees. In this relation, the notion of stance is important. The *stance* (Ochs 1992), is the social process, therefore implying the positioning of

self and others by means of language. Buchholz and Hall refer to the work of Du Bois who also analyzes stance: “I evaluate something as thereby position myself, and align [or dialign] with you” (Du Bois 2007: 163) 22. Hall also writes about stance, “At any communicative moment there exists the possibility of taking up a unique stance towards our own identity and those of others, and of using language in unexpected ways towards unexpected goals” (35). The stance is expressed within the evaluation of something. Therefore, the Buchholz and Hall’s principle of indexicality is of great importance in this relation. Within this principle, Buchholz and Hall define several levels:

- (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one’s own or others’ identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participants’ roles; and (d) the use of linguistic structure and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups (21).

In my analysis I will refer to Buchholz and Hall’s categorization. In my analysis, I will also focus on time, spacial and temporal indexical signs (Levinson 1983) such as the mentioning of place and time deixis because it refers to the positioning of participants in time and space.

The interactional approach builds upon the third level of my analysis. This approach allows analyzing identity construction on a paralinguistic level. Liebscher and O’Cain underline the importance of the interactional approach for identity construction “[...] an interactional analysis shows that language attitudes are not only expressed in the formulations of a speaker, but also emerge through the ways in which others react to the speaker” (Liebscher O’Cain 2009: 217). Also, Jacoby and Ochs (1992) refer to the importance of paralinguistic and nonlinguistic signs in conversation in the construction of identity in a ‘sociocultural setting’ (178), which is of importance for this thesis.

The main contribution to the fields of interactional linguistic has been made by Gumperz and his introduction of contextualization cues. Gumperz states, “A contextualization cue is any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signaling of contextual presuppositions” (Gumperz 1982: 131). Auer (1992) gives a more detailed definition of contextualization cues, which refers to “all activities by participants which make relevant,



maintain, revise, cancel...any aspect of context which, in turn, is responsible for the interpretation of an utterance in its particular locus of occurrence” (4). This approach refers to particular features of speech such as laughter or conversational overlap. It is aimed at analyzing the additional features that help the interactants to support their statements with additional paralinguistic information about the interpretation of the message (Gumperz 1982: 132). This approach is especially effective in analyzing different minority groups who have special signals in interaction. Gumperz emphasizes the importance of the interactional linguistic approach in a social context: “There is a simple, almost one to one, relationship between language usage and social context, so that each variety can be seen as having a distinct place of function within the local speech repertoire” (Gumperz 1982: 61). Due to the lack of possibility to analyze all of the contextualization cues, I will pay particular attention to such contextualization cues as code switching, pauses, conversational overlap, stress, and laughter.

The construction and change of identity is only partially conscious and intentional. The described principles imply active participation of an individual in their own identity construction. Therefore the concept of agency is central for the study of identity construction. Buchholz and Hall view agency not as “a result of individual action, but it also may be distributed among several social actors and hence intersubjective” (26). Also, when talking about certain linguistic practices, Buchholz and Hall (1999) differentiate between positive and negative identity practices. Negative practices mean taking a distance from a certain identity, while positive practices are expressed in associating oneself with a certain identity (211).

The aforementioned set of principles correlates with the findings of other modern linguists that take an identity as a matter of subject. The proposed principles will serve as a suited theoretical and methodological basis for this Master’s thesis. Dialogue as a form of social communication is the best suited for the analysis of identity construction with the help of positionality because in social communication, the attitudes and beliefs are constructed.

The notion of identity also can go beyond positioning. By the positioning of self and others, people place themselves in certain social and cultural spaces. Certain theories of practice explain the constructing nature of social practices, and serve as a good basis for the analysis of minority groups’ cultural and social practices. The main theories about social practices are presented by two French social theorists Bourdieu and de Certeau. Bourdieu (1991) introduced the concept of habitus: the system of particular practices such as, linguistic, social or cultural ones. The practices are connected to gender and/or particular social class,

and serve the purposes of socialization in this class (Bourdieu 1991: 89, quoted in Hall 2011: 205). Bourdieu writes, “Each individual system of dispositions is a structural variant of the others, expressing the singularity of its own position within the [group] and its trajectory” (Bourdieu 1990a: 60, quoted in Edwards 2009: 24). Bourdieu makes a significant contribution to the field of sociolinguistics, referring to the strong connection of linguistic and nonlinguistic practices. Nevertheless, according to Bourdieu, an individual is more of a product of social structure, and practices the ‘reproduction’ of social norms, whereas de Certeau refers more to the notion of agency and ‘appropriation’ to social norms (Bourdieu 1991: quoted in Buchholz 2005: 206).

De Certeau’s work expands the concept of habitus to a process of active identity construction by means of social, cultural and linguistic practices in a particular place. The work of de Certeau makes a significant contribution to the understanding of social practices of marginalized social groups, and therefore builds a theoretical basis for the analysis of migrant identities. In his book *The practice of everyday life*, de Certeau presents an approach for the analysis of consumerist behavior. Instead of passively consuming goods, people take an active position. His thoughts are caused by the desire to analyze the way in which people operate in urban space by means of their social, cultural and linguistic practices. The urban life offers many resources for individual’s mobility which provides him or her with freedom of choice and gives a space for invention in using goods. In this context, de Certeau relates to the linguistic notions of ‘performance’ and ‘competence’ and in addition states that “the act of speaking is not reducible to knowledge of the language, the same way people use social practices such as walking and cooking to adopt cultural economy to their interests and rules” (12). De Certeau refers to the active consumption of consumerist goods by individuals:

The act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered. At the most elementary level, it has a triple 'enunciative' function: it is a process of appropriation of the topographical system on the part of the pedestrian (just as the speaker appropriates and takes on the language); it is a spatial acting-out of the place (just as the speech act is an acoustic acting-out of language); and it implies relations among differentiated positions, that is, among pragmatic 'contracts' in the form of movements [...] It thus seems possible to give a preliminary definition of walking as a space of enunciation (97-98).

Also, de Certeau differentiates between strategies and tactics. Strategy assumes properness and rules reproduction. Tactic, on the contrary, assumes behavior by which people use the place for their needs and “manner in which the opportunity is seized” (20). “Many everyday practices (talking, reading, moving about, shopping, cooking etc.) are tactical in character” (21). De Certeau emphasizes that tactics are used by the weak and oppressed individuals because it allows them to avoid the prescribed rules. By the creating of new paths, the walkers inhabit cities and win ‘local authority’ (106), transforming the streets and places of a city in to a transcultural social space. Summing up this theoretical consideration, de Certeau gives the definition of space, “(In short), space is a practiced place. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers” (117). De Certeau’s theory of practice, the notion of agency and creation of space suits the analysis of the migrants’ space construction. The marginalized position of migrants forces them to create new paths and be creative in their everyday practices. By means of their cultural practices, they win a local authority on a certain territory and therefore, change the cultural space of that place. In this relation, the first book of de Certeau makes a crucial contribution to my thesis.

Food preferences and cooking practices refer to one of the dominant aspects of everyday cultural practices, and hence are relevant for my analysis. In his second book called *Living and cooking*, de Certeau together with Luce Giard and Pierre Mayol (1998), expand their thoughts on individual performativity in cities. They concentrate on concrete every day practices, namely on family practices in neighborhood. They ask the questions of what constitutes culture and society and how people consume a certain public space. The book has two perspectives. Firstly, it narrates the urban sociology of the neighborhood where the authors analyze the space of neighborhood from the perspective of topography. The second theme of the book is devoted to “the socioethnographic analysis of everyday life” (7) which is of particular interest for this paper. Here the emphasis is put on the communication and coexistence of private and public space by means of culinary practices. As I aim to investigate the ethnic identity of Russian Germans by means of attitudes towards eating habits, this perspective is essential to my topic of analysis. The attitudes towards eating habits have a purpose to reflect cultural attitudes that, in turn, form a part of ethnic identity.

The authors propose a structure of behavior according to which an individual organizes his everyday practices, it consists of two elements. Firstly, behavior is expressed in politeness codes, walking rhythm and arrangement of individual route in a particular place. Also,

behavior is guided by particular (culinary) practices. Secondly, the practices, or the way an individual ‘consumes’ public space (8), can be guided by the cultural traditions of an individual. On the other hand, the practices can carry *discourse of meaning*. The discourse of meaning refers to the ways of appropriation to public space: “The neighborhood thus appears as the place where one manifests a social ‘commitment’; in other words a coexistence with the partners (neighbors, shopkeepers)” (8). In this context, Mayol introduces the concept of *propriety* or *appropriation*, which is “a compromise in which each person, by renouncing the anarchy of individual impulses, makes a down payment to the collectivity with the goal of withdrawing for its symbolic benefits necessarily deferred in time” (8). This compromise that an individual makes in his everyday life allows him or her to coexist peacefully in the neighborhood. With respect to ethnic minorities, the book serves as a fruitful source for the analysis of cultural practices because it draws on strategies for navigating a particular territory and appropriation by means of compromises. It gives a perspective of how families integrate their practices in the social environment of a neighborhood. Co-construction of the common space is the main theme.

As an example of cultural practice and the process of appropriation, the authors analyze culinary practices. The everyday culinary practices in the neighborhood, filled with compromises on the one hand, and manifestation of the minority group’s traditions on the other hand, construct a unique cultural space:

One can better grasp the concept of “cultural space”: it is the more or less coherent and fluid assemblage of elements that are concrete and everyday (a gourmet menu) or ideological (religious, political) at once coming from tradition (that of a family or social group) and reactualized from day to day across behaviors translating fragments of this cultural decisive for the identity, in the same way that the utterance translates fragments of discourse in speech (9).

De Certeau refers to the culinary practice as an appropriation to the environment: “Humans do not nourish themselves from natural nutrients, nor from pure dietary principles, but from cultural foodstuffs, chosen and prepared according to laws of compatibility and rules of propriety unique to each cultural area” (168). Here, de Certeau refers strongly to the social nature of taste. Also, in his book *Kochende Leidenschaft* (‘Cooking Passion’), Kaufmann refers to taste as a social constructs that people believe define them (44). The more food

choice people have, the more defined their taste should be. It should serve as a moral regulator.

Unlike Bourdieu who treats culinary habits as an ‘immobile practice’ dependent on class and inherited by children from parents (Bourdieu 1984: 79 in de Certeau 1998: 183), de Certeau writes about cooking as an active practice of building a connection between an individual and society. Eating and cooking habits are influenced by fashion, place and health prescriptions, and are therefore never immobile by nature. Kaufman also supports this thesis (197) and claims that taste is influenced by various factors such as friends, institutions, and family (47). Above all, trends in society guide the individual’s taste, in spite of individualization. In this context, Kaufman draws attention to the discourse of the ‘naturalness’ of food. People try to naturalize their own taste when they display their food preferences as something ‘natural’ (46). Every particular social environment (or neighborhood) dictates its discourses, which cannot be avoided by individuals.

Aside from the public space where people should actively socialize and therefore appropriate to the circulating discourses, there is also a private space: the homes of individuals. There, it is possible for an individual to relax from the oppression of societal constraints. The home becomes a place for diverse practices, such as meeting with friends, reading, cooking, etc. (146). It is also the place for cultural practices, including cooking traditional food, and speaking their native language. The intensity of these practices is also connected with the social space and the individual’s ability/desire to exercise them in public. Also, certain social constraints for the minority’s practices play a crucial role. With the reference to this fact, de Certeau states: “When the public sphere no longer offers a place for political investment, men turn into “hermits” in the grotto of the private limit space” (147). In relation to ethnic minorities, this means that if there is little allowance for an individual’s practicing of cultural or linguistic practices in public space, he or she will do it at home instead. The choice of food is restricted by personal aspirations and the accessibility of the products. In other words, eating serves not only as the nourishing of biological purposes, but is directly linked to societal practices and connects an individual to society (183). For migrants, culinary practices at home become an essential part of practicing their tradition. De Certeau writes,

Likewise, when political circumstances or the economic situation forces one into exile, what remains the longest as the

reference to the culture of origin concerns food, if not for daily meals, at least for festive times – it is a way of inscribing in the withdrawal of the self a sense of belonging to a former land (184).

Traditional food serves as a function of discourse of the past, specifically about the life in the homeland. Bahloul refers to food as a discourse of the past, to the times and place where an individual was born (Bahloul 1979: 388, quoted in de Certeau: 184). The process of cooking traditional dishes becomes a “narrative of difference, inscribed in the rupture between the alimentary time of the ‘self’ and the alimentary time of the other” (Bahloul 1979: 388, quoted in de Certeau 1998: 184).

As culture is perceived by de Certeau as everyday practices, there are three elements that constitute the culture of an individual: orality, operations, and the ordinary. Orality forms the space of community (152). An individual becomes a part of society only if he has a voice of his own. De Certeau refers to the connection between eating and talking, “[a]ll the pleasures of the mouth are twice submitted to the laws of *orality*: as much by absorbing food (the pleasure of swallowing) as by support of profuse linguistic activity (the pleasure of speaking) [...]” (186). Language helps to describe and differentiate, and give judgment to the eatable. As a result, attitudes towards eating habits and preferences ‘inscribe temporality’(186). Conversation plays a big role in culture construction because it accompanies every social interaction. Using languages, markers, and linguistics forms, an individual operates them in conversation according to the situation, and therefore constructs his cultural identity. The operativity is an important element of cultural construction. It includes production rather than the possession of goods (254). Cooking and speaking as a process or sequence of operations can also be seen as production of linguistic and cultural identity. The elements of orality and operativity are important parts of ordinary culture, which is a “*practical science of the singular*” (256). The ordinary is a basic element of cultural construction. Every day practices of different types constitute the identity of an individual.

De Certeau’s considerations about the active consumption of public and private space make a significant contribution to the analysis of the cultural practices of Russian Germans in Germany. With the help of this theory, one can analyze the appropriation of the traditional ways of Russian German cooking to the public space. The traditional methods of cooking refer to either Russian or German dishes.

The traditional culinary practices of Russian Germans are quite complex. The notion of ‘traditional dishes’ has two influences. On the one hand, as the German minority in Russia, Russian Germans tried to maintain the German culture and language. On the one hand, many years of living in Russia have transformed the culture of this minority group. As a result, families practice mixed culture, or, in other words, a particular German Russian culture. The same observation can be applied to the language. In this context, the current culinary practices of Russian Germans will present the appropriation of former German and Russian culture to the modern culture in Germany. The interview, as a form of conversation, will allow the participants to create their own mixed culture in time and space.

## **Corpus**

I decided to interview the young generation of Russian Germans, those who were born in Russia or countries of the post Soviet Union, who attended secondary school there at some point, but have been living in Germany for at least 12 years. I find this group intriguing for this research for several reasons. Firstly, due to their migration to Germany at such an early age, they have adapted to German culture easier than their parents and they have also learned the German language at an early stage, helping their integration. Furthermore, a secondary education in Russia allows them to have a good command of the Russian language as well. Consequently, many of them have strong fluency in both Russian and German, giving them an opportunity to operate within both languages.

I chose an interview as the instrument for my analysis, and I will view it from the discursive perspective. From this perspective, an interview is viewed as a speech event or as a social practice “in which interviewer(s) and interviewee(s) make meaning, co-construct knowledge, and participate in social practices” (Holstein and Gubrium 1995, quoted in Talmy 2010: 2). In contrast to the approach that views interviews as a research instrument and allows analyzing only the content of interviews, interviews considered as a social practice have advantages that are of importance for my current research. Firstly, the data collected in the interview represents not the report of facts, but “the representations or accounts of truths, facts, attitudes, beliefs, mental states, etc., co-constructed between interviewer and interviewee” (Talmy 2010: 27). Secondly, voice is not given only to the interviewee, but co-

constructed in the cooperative work of the interviewer and interviewee. And thirdly, in the analysis of the data, the focus is put not only on the content of the data, but also on “how meaning is negotiated, knowledge co-constructed, and the interview is locally accomplished” (Talmy 2010: 27). These differences make evident how the participants not only talk about their identity, but also how they are ‘doing’ or reproducing their migrant identity in a speech event by using language resources.

Most of the interviewees were friends of mine, some of them I recruited with the help of my friends using the friend-of-a-friend method (Milroy 1986). In general, I conducted 6 interviews and took three of them for a detailed analysis. I conducted my first interview in the summer of 2012. At that time, I focused on the language attitude. However, with time I found the food subject matter to be more interesting for the analysis. The last three interviews, which I use for the analysis, were devoted to the topic of food. Each interview lasted between 30 to 60 minutes. I chose a semi-structured kind of interview method. I had a list of approximate questions for the interview, but did not structuralize my interview, in order to give the participants free space to direct the dialogue and introduce new themes. Aside from the questions related to eating habits, I started each interview with questions about the personal history of migration of each participant, and how they adapted in a new country. I did this because I wanted the participants to first adapt to the situation as well as me as an interviewer. Secondly, the personal story should function as preparation for the participants to talk and pay attention to cultural differences in their food preferences.

I divided all questions according to the main themes that I will cover in my analysis. In the part ‘at home’, the interviewees talk about what they cook at home or in their shared apartment. In the part ‘at the parents’ house’ and ‘family gatherings’, the participants communicate about the traditional dishes of their family, as well as about the changes and transformation in their cuisine as resettlers. In the part ‘*Kulturvermittlung*’ the interviewees share their experience about cooking Russian food for their German friends and colleagues. The first two parts will inform about their attitudes towards food in the private sector, while the last part should give insight to the participants’ strategies for integration in society. In the final section called “some other thoughts”, I collected certain excerpts which I could not attach to any of the formerly mentioned parts, but that still lend insight to for my thesis.

As it was already mentioned, due to the view of the interview as a speech act which is co-constructed by the interviewee and interviewer, my role in the interviews is of great importance. I have Russian nationality, but I significantly differ from the Russian German



interviewees because I immigrated to Germany in adulthood, and Russian is my mother-tongue. My origin and my close relationships to the participants carry out its advantages as well as disadvantages. Most of the interviewees are my close friends and this fact bears some advantages as well as disadvantages. On one hand, the participants were likely more open and relaxed with me as opposed to with an interviewer whom they do not know. On the other hand, since they know me, it is possible that they adopted their answers in order for the conversation to become successful. Also, according to Gumperz (1998), people of the same cultural origin have the same contextualization cues that help them to interact with one another. Therefore, I think that the conversations were very cooperative. On the other hand, there are specific disadvantages connected to the interview between friends and relatives. Due to our close relationship, the participants, knowing my stances towards the discussed theme, may adapt to them in order for the conversation to become successful.

I informed every interviewee about the goal of my research and received their acceptance for the recording of the interview. The names were partly substituted by synonyms to ensure the anonymity of the participants. As the main language of the interviews is German, I used the simplified version of *GAT2* transcription system (Selting, Auer et. al. 2009). I have transcribed only those parts of the interview that are related to the topic of my research. The whole interviews are to be found in the appendix attached at the end of this thesis.

In the following paragraph I will briefly present the profiles of the three participants and my relationship with them. Table 1 briefly sums up the general information about the participants:

Table 1

Name	Helena	Aleksej	Elena
Gender	female	male	female
Nationality	Geman	German	German
Age	25	30	26
Years in Germany	12	18	23

Helena was 25 years old at the time of the interview conduction. She is a Master's student at the Free University of Berlin. She was born in 1989 and moved to Germany in 1999. I met Helena in 2009. At the beginning of our friendship, we spoke only Russian, but with time, we switched to German as I became more fluent in the language. We are currently good friends, so it is possible for Helena to be quite open during the interview. The interview took place the evening of December, 31, 2012. At that time, I was unsure about the main topic of my work. Therefore, in my questions, I made an emphasis on the language attitudes. Nevertheless, before the interview, I informed Helena about the coming questions and that the topic of food specifically interested me. The conversation began with questions about her move to Germany, and about her first years in secondary school. Then, I asked Helena about her friends at school and changed the topic to food preferences without the use of my previously prepared questions.

Aleksej was quite difficult, but at the same time a very interesting interviewee, because of my close relationship to him. He is a 30 year old PhD student of Physics at the University of Konstanz. He was born in 1982 and moved to Germany with his parents and an elder sister in 1995. I met him in 2003 and we married in 2009. In the beginning of our relationship we spoke only Russian. Now, we speak mainly Russian when we are alone, but sometimes engage in code-switching between German and Russian. When we are in the company of others, we speak German with each other, but Aleksej does not feel as comfortable. I conducted the interview in Mannheim at my apartment on the 17<sup>th</sup> of February, 2013. At the beginning of the interview, Aleksej was not very cooperative. A possible reason for this could be that I asked him to use German as the main language for the interview. Another reason for his uncooperativeness could be that he thought I already knew his attitude, and it was therefore pointless to talk about it. Nevertheless, as the conversation proceeded, Aleksej became more open to me and more willing to talk about his eating habits.

Elena was my last interviewee. She was born in Kazakhstan in 1987 and came to Germany in 1990. She has been living in Germany for 23 years. We got to know each other with the help of mutual friends when I was in search for the interviewees. Since I was also born in Kazakhstan, we found mutual interests very quickly. Elena told me that she can understand Russian, but does not speak it at all. Before the interview, as well as during the interview, we only spoke German. The interview took place in a café in Mannheim on the 14th of March, 2013. Since it was my last interview, I was more experienced in interacting with the interviewees and posed more questions related to the theme of eating habits. Elena

was very cooperative, partly because cooking and baking are her hobbies. The conversation was very successful and I was able to transcribe a large amount of material.

The analysis of the data proceeded in several stages. Firstly, I chose only the relevant excerpts from the entire interview. I paid special attention to the parts devoted to speaking about eating habits. Then, I arranged the excerpts from each participant together according to the different themes. Finally, I analyzed them applying the aforementioned theories.

## 4. Analysis

### 4.1. At Home

In this section of the analysis, the interviewees talk about their cooking habits that occur in their private space, whether it be their private apartment, or an apartment which they share with other students. This section should reveal their attitudes about private cooking practices.

#### Helena

01 Int.: was wird bei dir zuhause gekocht, in wg?  
02 Helena: hier?  
03 Int.: ja  
04 Helena: ah (.) ich koch ganz viel so einfache sachen.  
05 also ich mach sehr selten russische sachen für mich alleine  
06 weil die sind relativ [aufwendig]  
07 Int.: [aufwendig]  
08 Helena: genau pelmeni (.)ja, wenn man alle,  
09 ja und ich habe borschtsch für meine kommilitonen  
10 habe ich ja. so einen borschtschabend,  
11 machen wir doch einen borschtschabend,ist ja ok, koch ich  
12 Int.: ja  
13 Helena: haben wir gekocht (.) dass hat macht spaß für VIEle leute  
14 ich habe es so einen punkt,  
15 wenn du mal so was machst (.),  
16 dann machen für viele machen leute  
17 den leuten, die es nicht KENNEN,  
18 damit sie es mal (.) gesehen haben.  
19 schmeckt ja am meisten (.) das stimmt (.)  
20 das ist doch DEFTIG.  
21 also suppe, borschtsch, *сколько варится борщ?*  
22 ,wie lange kocht borschtsch?`  
23 *два часа только* mehr  
24 ,zwei stunden nur`  
25 *мясо ну как ну час мясо потом ты кидаешь что тебе*  
26 ,fleisch nun wie, nun eine stunde, fleisch,  
dann wirfst du was du`  
25 *надо быть дома*  
,man muss zuhause sein`  
26 *тебе надо смотреть за плитой*

,du musst am herd stehen`  
 27 (.) das mach ich nur, konnte ich nur am wochenende machen  
 28 mein lebensstil geht eigentlich so SCHNELLER  
 29 Int.: hm  
 30 über SCHNELLER  
 31 Int.: ja klar, italienische küche, so  
 32 italienisch-deutsche küche  
 33 Helena: klar ITALIENISCH, ITALIENISCH (.) so irgendwas italienisches  
 34 irgendwas anderes  
 35 pasta halt  
 36 Int.: pasta  
 37 Helena: risotto  
 38 Int.: studentenessen  
 39 Helena: studentenessen  
 40 pizza  
 41 oh GOTT italienische küche ist der  
 42 schon fast food geworden  
 43 Int: ja  
 44 (---)  
 45 genau (---) so sieht es aus

When I asked Helena what she cooks in her apartment, that she shares together with other students, she answered that that she cooks ‘simple’ things (line 04) and does not cook Russian dishes because they are ‘complex’ (line 06). The overlap with me and mentioning of the same word displays that we share the same understanding of Russian food. This phrase refers to our shared cultural background and co-constructs the common attitude to the Russian food, as relative complex food to prepare. In the following lines, Helena begins talking about her roommates, and that she cooks Russian borschtsch for them. The pronoun ‘everybody’ (line 8) relates to the notion that she usually cooks for her friends, meaning she does not exclude them from this practice. Then she moves on to talk about some dishes that she made for her roommates. She specifically names borschtsch again (line 10). In line 11, Helena imitates the proposal of one of her friends to cook together using the pronoun ‘we’ again, therefore uniting people and cultures. She emphasizes that she makes Russian dishes for many people, because she wants others to know a certain dish (17), implying with this statement that she consciously creates a cultural bridge. With this attitude Helena shows “positive identity (Buchholz 1999) and unites the German and Russian cultural spaces. In 20 she asserts

that Germans should love this dish, because “it is so hearty” (line 20). With this phrase she implies that Russian cuisine is hearty one as well as German. Again, with the help of this attitude, Helena integrates Russian cuisine into German cultural space.

In the lines 21-26 Helena describes the process of cooking borschtsch in Russian. The explanation of the process of cooking borschtsch in Russian has an important function. With this code switching, Helena may signal that she enters a Russian space when talking about the process of cooking. The recipe description in Russian language has a context of privacy, i.e. Helena shows that I, as a Russian speaking person, understand the whole complexity of the dish preparation and that I share her opinion about it. In this relation Gumperz writes: “Bilinguals, in fact, ordinarily do not use code switching styles in their contact with other bilinguals before they know something about the listener’s background and attitudes. To do so otherwise would be to risk serious misunderstanding” (Gumperz 1982: 69). Hence, by speaking in Russian, Helena implies that she and I share the same cultural background and automatically excludes German speaking people from the recipe description.

At line 28 she returns to the topic of her personal cooking habits. She positions herself as a busy person, as she asserts that her lifestyle is moving at a faster pace (lines 28, 30). She emphasizes this thought by repeating the comparative adjective and stressing the word. In line 30, I make an assumption that she might cook Italian food. She replies with agreement. In line 37 I categorize Italian dishes as food for students. In the line 42 she says that that Italian food has become fast food, implying that it is not healthy anymore. Right after this statement, Helena loses interest in the conversation and ends the dialogue. In this part of the conversation, Helena’s food preferences are displayed as largely guided by her busy lifestyle. The positioning of her food preferences guided by the life style and my reference to Italian food, which implies to fast food, construct the attitude to the food preferences guided by the practical issues of life.

Summing up, Helena constructs her Russian German identity through socialization with her German friends by means of food practices. The story about cooking for her friends relates to positive identity practices with reference to Russian culture where Helena integrates Russian cultural practices into German space. Helena positions herself as somebody who introduces Russian dishes to her German friends, and therefore consciously builds cultural bridges. There are no borders or binary oppositions in this conversation which means that the culinary practices, and therefore Helena’s Russian identity, fits organically in to her social life in Germany. Furthermore, in the second part of the conversation, Helena moves away from

the categorization of traditional and not traditional food and defines her eating habits with the help of other categories such as time or better to say, the lack of it. The private space is filled with mixed culinary practices. In other words, in her private life Helena constructs the space where traditional practices harmoniously coexist with a German social environment.

### Aleksej

01 Int.: ja, also erzähl mal was kochst du zuhause  
02 Aleksej: [ICH?]  
03 Int.: [überhaupt]  
04 Aleksej: koche  
05 ich bin ein mann, ich koche nicht  
06 nein, quatsch, hehehe  
07 äh, so kochen wirklich  
08 ja, pasta (---) mache ich oft wahrscheinlich dann  
09 was noch (---)äh  
10 ja keine ahnung so fisch (---) braten, bratkartoffeln machen  
11 irgendwelche äh so reibekuchen  
12 (2)  
13 Int.: hm\_hm  
14 Aleksej: hm\_hm  
15 ja, was noch, hm (.) ja so paar indische sachen ausprobieren  
16 (1)  
17 ja das ist so halt, das was ich OFT mache (.) und wiederholt  
18 Int.: hm\_hm  
19 Aleksej: aber ich probiere auch viele andere sachen aus  
20 Int.: hm\_hm  
21 Aleksej: auch einmal irgendwie mich durch rezepte durchkochen  
22 irgendwie so was  
23 Int.: hm\_hm  
24 Aleksej: das mag ich auch  
25 Int.: du magst exotisch kochen?  
26 Aleksej: jaja schon  
27 Int.: hm\_hm  
28 Aleksej: ähm, ja mit viel gewürzen  
29 und mit leckeren zutaten vielleicht auch (---)  
30 ja irgendwas interessantes,  
31 auf jeden fall,

32 Int.: gibt's was interessantes, was deutsches kochst?

33 Aleksej: DEUtsches?

34 Int.: hm\_hm

35 Aleksej: pf

36 reibekuchen mit apfelmuss

37 Int.: ok

38 Aleksej: wahrscheinlich äh, wenn schon

39 und (2) ja, wahrscheinlich ist das einzige, hihhi

40 Int.: hm\_hm, gibt's nicht so viele gewürze.

41 Aleksej: nein

42 Int.: hm\_hm

43 Aleksej: hm\_hm

44 Int.: schnitzel?

45 Aleksej: nein

46 (4)

47 hm

48 pf, mag ich irgendwie nie, äh ja, fleisch sowieso wenig

49 Int.: hm\_hm

50 Aleksej: also nicht, ja.

51 Int.: du hast keine russische gerichte genannt

52 Aleksej: äh, ja auch (2) hm\_hm

53 ja ich weiß nicht, die sind sehr aufwendig

54 Int.: hm\_hm

55 Aleksej: ja, aber ich mag sie hehehe, trotzdem

56 Int.: ja

57 Aleksej: ja wenn, wenn irgendwas russisches

58 dann ist es kommt vielleicht irgendwie

59 so bratkartoffeln mit äh (.)

60 oder überhaupt gekochte katoffel mit

61 äh hering oder *СЕЛЕДКА* auch genannt  
,hering`

62 Int.: hm\_hm

63 Aleksej: ja oder *КИЛЬКА*, und oder auch  
,sprotte`

64 also milch noch dabei auf jeden fall

65 und noch mit

66 Int.: MIlch auch dabei, mit *КИЛЬКА*?  
,sprotte`

67 Aleksej: äh, ja

68 Int.: hm\_hm

69 Aleksej: und nicht mit *КИЛЬКА* sondern mit karTOffeln





‘repeatedly’ and therefore refers to habituality of this practice. On my question whether he likes cooking exotic food (line 25) Aleksej agrees. Then he starts explaining his understanding of Indian food with phrases ‘with a lot of spices’ (line 28) and ‘tasty ingredients’ (line 29). He sums up with the phrase ‘something interesting’ (line 30). The vague description may mean that Aleksej acts on the assumption that I should know his preferences. However, it becomes clear that ‘something interesting’ may be referring to Indian food. Taken as a whole, these attitudes characterize Aleksej’s positioning towards Indian food as something tasty. Also, the repetitiveness of the Indian cooking practice refers to the presence of Indian food in Aleksej’s cooking repertoire.

Following the conversation about exotic food, I ask Aleksej whether he likes German food. With the high tone at the word ‘German’ and several long pauses afterwards, he shows that he is puzzled by the question. The pause of hesitation introduces the conflicting attitude towards German food. He names “potato pancake with apple sauce” (line 36) and then adds two words that point out his uncertainty: ‘probably’ and ‘if’ (line 38). He emphasizes his uncertainty in the following line with the repetition of the word ‘probably’ and the phrase “this is the sole exception”. On my question: ‘schnitzel?’ (line 44) implying whether Aleksej likes this dish, he answers negatively with a word ‘no’. In line 48 Aleksej explains me that he does not like meat ‘anyways’. With this word he presupposes German cuisine to be full of dishes with meat and perceives it negatively, distancing himself from it. With the help of the negative attitude Aleksej shows ‘negative identity’ (Buchholz 1999) toward German dishes and positions himself against cooking German dishes with meat.

In line 50 I begin asking Aleksej about his attitude towards Russian cuisine. In line 53 he tells me that the dishes are ‘complex’. He uses the same categorization as Helena in the previous interview. Then he tells me that he, ‘nevertheless’, likes it (line 55). With the particles ‘but’ and ‘nevertheless’ Aleksej states that in spite of the complex recipes of many Russian dishes, he still invests his time and effort to prepare the dishes. This attitude implies positive identity practices about Russian food. In the following lines he lists the names of dishes that he likes. In this part, the code switching between German and Russian refers to some interesting phenomena of identity construction. In line 61 he names herring in German and then translates it in Russian. He emphasizes that “it is also called *seledka*”. Then he names sprats only in the Russian language (line 63, 69). The usage of the Russian name for sprats may refer to the notion that Aleksej perceives the Russian names to be the proper names because he used it only in the Russian speaking discourse. Therefore, these types of

fish are associated with Russian cuisine and Russian culture. Later Aleksej names a Russian dish, “curd cheese pancake” (82), in German, adding the phrase “or how should I call it” (83). Using the latter phrase Aleksej may imply his uneasiness about the German version of the dish but at the same time responsibility for naming it in German. In line 85 he translates it in Russian. On my approving signals ‘ah’ and ‘ok’ (lines 86-87) Aleksej expands his answer adding that he likes eating this dish with jam (line 89). Aleksej attitudes toward Russian dishes construct a ‘positive identity’. Moreover, Aleksej constructs the attitudes where Russian food is strongly connected with Russian language. Therefore, Russian food is an inevitable part of Aleksej’s cultural space in Germany.

Taken as a whole, Aleksej is not cooperative in answering questions about German cuisine and his preferences. He only answered the questions, but did not talk freely. In this excerpt Aleksej constructs his identity as a person who likes exotic food with spices, and who tries new recipes. At the same time, German cuisine does not belong to the definition of ‘interesting’ for him, because he associates it with meat. He positions himself in the conversation as somebody who likes exotic food, but does not enjoy meat dishes. He displays negative identity practices, distancing himself from German cuisine. However, at my questions about Russian dishes, Aleksej answered with more cooperativeness. He perceives Russian dishes as something that requires some effort, which he is eager to oblige. Therefore, he positions himself as somebody who, is in spite of the difficulties, practices Russian culture, and therefore is in a Russian cultural space at home.

#### Elena

01 Int.: was gehört zu deinem repertoire? was kochst du tag täglich?  
02 Elena: also ich mach so (.) ich koch mal nicht mal jeden tag,  
03 weil hier so hausfrauenmässig (.) von mama gelernt, haha.  
04 ich KOch schon und dann reichts mir schon für drei vier tage  
05 Int.: ja  
06 Elena: also [ich]  
07 Int.: [hm\_hm]  
08 Elena: auf jeden fall was ich mach (.) immer selbstgekochtes essen.  
09 ich kauf nie fertigprodukte  
10 Int.: hm\_hm  
11 Elena: und ich gehe ehrlich gesagt nicht so gerne essen,

12           aber das liegt nicht daran (.)  
13           ähm, ja, woran liegt eigentlich?  
14           also es liegt eher an  
15           und warum ich nicht so gerne essen gehe,  
16           weil es mir tatsächlich nicht schmeckt.  
17   Int.:   kannst du doch auch salat bestellen  
18   Int.:   ja, das kann man immer zuhause machen  
19   Elena:  das stimmt (lacht)  
20           ja voll oft ich weiß nicht, weil  
21   Int.:   hm\_hm  
22   Elena:  voll oft habe ich immer so das gefühl,  
23           so dass die qualität nicht so (--)  
24           ich bin schon jemand der guckt schon ziemlich oft  
25           auf qualität  
26   Int.:   hm\_hm  
27   Elena:  vom essen  
28   Elena:  und ich bin vegeTARier (--)  
29   Int.:   ja  
30           schon seit zehn jahren jetzt  
31   Int.:   ok  
32           und ich (.) ja also immer selber kochen viel obst und geMÜse  
33           also schon ich versuch mich schon  
34           ziemlich gesund zu ernähren.  
35           aber dann auch (.) also ziemlich international  
36           also [ich koche]  
37   Int.:   [hm\_hm]  
38   Elena:  jetzt nicht wirklich irgendwie nur ausnahmsweise  
39           deutsche gerichte oder ausnahmsweise russische wirklich (.)  
40           ich gehe auch in asiashop einkaufen  
41           [oder]  
42   Int.:   [hm\_hm]  
43   Elena:  in türkischen supermarkt  
44           also wirklich alles gemischt  
45   Int.:   auch chinesisches (.) indisches  
46   Elena:  oder sowas genau  
47           heute habe ich asiatisch gekocht  
48           und muss jetzt sagen, das fand ich ganz lecker, hahaha.  
49   Int.:   ja, haha  
50   Elena:  oh ja und mit kräutern und alles so ja  
51           also es liegt auch daran  
52           ich beschäftige mich auch gern mit essen

53                   backen mache ich auch voll gern  
54   Int.:           backst du gerne?  
55   Elena:          hm\_hm  
56   Int.:           isst du fisch?  
57   Elena:          nee (.) also wirklich nichts tierisches  
58                   außer eier, käse, milch  
59                   und sowas, aber keine toten tiere quasi (.) äh  
60                   egal ob aus dem meer oder von der wiese  
61   Int.:           kochst du was deutsches zuhause?  
62   Elena:          (3.)pf  
63   Int.:           oder magst du? und wenn, dann was?  
64   Elena:          (3.) also ich muss ehrlich sagen (---)  
65                   mir fällt das in den meisten fällen relativ schwer  
66                   meine gerichte ländern oder nationen einfach zuzuordnen  
67   Int.:           hm\_hm  
68   Elena:          weil es mir eigentlich hauptsächlich darum geht  
69                   viel mit gemüse zu kochen  
70                   und sich dadurch in einem rezept  
71                   mehrere nationen wiederfinden  
72                   also (.) keine ahnung ich  
73   Int.:           experimentierst du denn?  
74   Elena:          ja, also die rezepte  
75                   die ich mir dann such sind auch wirklich dann weiß ich  
76                   ist die gewürzmischung aus indien  
77                   und (--) keine ahnung die nudeln aus (.) THAiland oder so  
78   Int.:           hm\_hm hm\_hm  
79   Elena:          also es ist wirklich dann echt nur asiatisch  
80                   was ich auch gerne mag ist (.) amerikanische küche  
81                   vor allem was backen und so betrifft  
82                   aber das liegt halt an auslandssemester, ja  
83   Int.:           hehe  
84   Elena:          ja  
85                   so ganz typisch deutsches gericht,  
86                   was ich koche fällt mir gerade gar nicht ein  
87                   ehrlich gesagt  
88                   also mir geht es echt hauptsächlich darum  
89   Int.:           und vielleicht salate  
90   Elena:          also frische salate  
91                   aber da halte ich mich je nach rezept,  
92                   weil da rein was ich gerade da hab.  
93                   mir geht es wirklich hauptsächlich darum

94 frisches gemüse zu verwenden in meinen gerichten  
95 und dann mit vielen gewürzen oft.

96 Int.: hm\_hm

97 Elena: nudeln und also schon ein bisschen so die öko bio abteilung

98 Int.: hm\_hm

99 Elena: so mit (.) ich habe echt ich habe  
100 ich habe pfirsichkörne zuhause (.)  
101 drei millionen sorten linsen (.) quinoa  
102 also wirklich viele sachen  
103 die ich auch da in supermarkt kauf  
104 so generell einfach gesunde ernährung  
105 die ich nicht einer nation binden würde jetzt

106 Int.: ok

107 also wirklich komplett buntgemischt

108 Int.: hm\_hm

109 ich (.) vareniki mach ich auch (.) wenn es erdbeeren gibt (.)  
110 das ist immerhin vegetarisches  
111 habe ich sogar letztes jahr für christine und anke gemacht

112 Int.: ach (.) deswegen kennen sie es

113 hm, die waren so (.) hm\_hm lecker

114 Int.: ja (.) sie hat es erkannt (.) ja

115 Elena: ich habe davon vor kurzem gesprochen sie war kenn ich

116 Int.: ja hehe

117 ja (.) also das mach ich dann auch,  
118 weil es vegetarisch schmeckt natürlich lecker

Elena was very cooperative in the conversation. Right at the beginning of our talk, at my question about what Elena cooks at home, she says that she is “like a housewife, learned from her mother” (line 3). In the next line she says that she prepares food for several days in advance (line 4). The laugh at the end of line 3 and the ironic word ‘like a housewife’ implies her ashamedness. As implied by Aleksej’s joke at the beginning of his excerpt, for Elena, the process of cooking as a women’s prerogative in Russia. With this introduction, Elena already creates a space with traditional gender roles. On the one hand, she is ashamed of it, that’s why she uses the phrase “like a housewife” and laughs at the end. On the other hand, she positins herself towards this practice positively.

In the following lines Elena positions herself as a person for whom healthy food is to the priority over cultural specific dishes. As the conversation goes on, Elena gives more information about her definition of healthy food. In lines 8 and 9 she emphasizes her statements that she cooks at home and does not use convenience products with the absolute time deixis ‘always’ and ‘never’. In line 11 she tells me that she does not like going out to eat. She justifies her statement by saying that she does not find it to be ‘tasty’ (16). Later in the conversation, Elena emphasizes that quality is very important for her (23). In lines 24 and 25 she positions herself: “I am the one who pays attention to the quality quite often”. In the following lines Elena adds that she is also a vegetarian (line 28). The connector ‘and’ signals additional information about Elena’s healthy way of eating. She concludes her thoughts by saying that she is trying to eat healthy (lines 33-34). In this part of the conversation, she reveals the categories for classifying food that are important to her: quality, healthiness, and vegetarian. She connects her attitude to the issues of healthy lifestyle and therefore constructing her identity based on these criteria rather than on the nationality of the food she prepares.

In the following part of the conversation, Elena touches upon the topic of food and culture. Firstly, Elena says that she prefers international food (line 35). She distances herself from the binary division of cuisine into Russian or German (lines 38-39). In the following lines Elena expands on her definition of ‘international’ saying that she does grocery shopping at Asia shop (line 40) and Turkish supermarket (line 43). She adds “really, everything mixed” (line 44), “also Chinese and Indian” (line 45). Elena reinforces the positive attitude towards international food and says that she cooked Asiatic food yesterday and it tasted very good (lines 47-48). The aforementioned attitudes position international food as an important part of Elena’s space in Germany.

In line 61 I explicitly ask Elena whether or not she cooks German food at home. She makes two long pauses (lines 62, 64) constructing a difficult attitude toward German food. Elena says that it is difficult for her to refer to one nation when she cooks, because it is important for her to cook vegetables (lines 69, 93-94, 104), referring again to other categories of food classification. In lines 76 and 77 she refers to Indian and Thai food products that she often uses for cooking, and in line 80 she refers to her love for American baking food. With the help of her attitudes, she constructs her identity as a healthy person who cooks international, and preferably Asiatic, dishes. Concerning Russian food, in line 109, Elena mentions that she also likes Vareniki, a Russian dish. She justifies her preference by

positioning this dish as vegetarian dish in line 110: “all the same this is vegetarian” and in line 118: “because it is vegetarian, it tastes better of course”.

To sum up, Elena positions herself as somebody for whom healthy food is extremely important. Kaufmann (2006) writes about the tendency of people to naturalize their preferences of food (Kaufmann 2006: 46) when talking about vegetables and fruits. Elena chooses categories other than culture to describe her preferences of food, and therefore positions herself as somebody for whom the cultural differences do not play a role in making food choices. Also, Elena emphasizes that she cooks international food. She does not speak explicitly about German food that she may cook. She names one Russian dish and justifies her choice. The emphasis on the healthy and international food choices may be understood as Elena’s distance from the categorization of German/Russian.

The analysis of the excerpts devoted to eating habits in a private space show some commonalities in eating habits. For example, all three interviewees refer to the complexity of Russian dishes, which shows that all the respondents share a similar understanding of Russian food. Nevertheless, the attitudes towards cooking habits differ, and are not necessarily based on the categories of culture. Helena mentions that she is very busy and that is why she does not cook Russian food, defining her eating habits through a lack of time. Aleksej seems to not be disturbed by the complexity of Russian dishes, and constructs himself as somebody who practices Russian cultural food practices, therefore constructing a Russian cultural space at home. For Elena, healthy food is the main criteria over cultural practices when making food choices. She explicitly moves away from the Russian/German binary structures, and creates a space of international (Indian, Turkish, Chinese) and healthy food at home.



## 4.2. With Relatives

### At Parents' House

In this section of the analysis, the interviewees discuss their parents' cooking habits. The spaces that they construct in the following dialogs are still private ones. Nevertheless, by talking about cooking habits in their parent's home, the interviewees often enter the space of tradition as well as the past. The following excerpts will reveal how they present their relatives' preferences and how they position themselves in relation to these preferences.

#### Helena

- 01 Helena: meine oma hat ja noch eine [deutsche]  
02 Int.: [ja]  
03 Helena: kultur miteingewacht und RIwwelkuche.  
04 das macht das macht sie das ist praktisch,  
05 so ein strEUselkuchen einfach  
06 Int.: wie heißt es?  
07 Helena: rIwwelkuchen  
08 Int.: rIwwelkuchen  
09 Helena: riwewelku.  
10 Int.: [das hat]  
11 Helena: [riwwelKUGE]  
12 riwwelkuge sagt sie  
13 Int.: das hat [deine oma]  
14 Helena: [riwwelku]  
15 Int.: deine oma  
16 Helena: das machen wir immer noch.  
17 Int.: ja  
18 Helena: oder (.) ja *пирожки*  
,pasteten`  
19 meine mama hat vor kurzem erst *пирожки* gemacht  
,pasteten`  
20 Int.: aha  
21 Helena: piROgen. Ich HASse dieses wort, haha piROgen.  
22 hört sich so komisch an  
23 pirogi (.) [pirozhki]  
24 Int.: [pirogen]  
25 pirogen, heißt es auf deutsch  
26 hm (.) die polen haben auch so ein piroge

27 das ist aber was anderes dann  
28 das ist was wie vareniki hahaha, bei den  
29 und (.) ähm (.) genau also (--)  
30 Suppen kochen wir,  
31 weil meine oma noch teilweise sehr oft kocht  
32 Int.: hm [hm\_hm]  
33 Helena: [sie macht halt]  
34 zu ihrem repertoire gehört borschtsch  
35 also verschieden suppen,  
36 *другие супы, котлеты с картошкой*  
, andere suppen, frikadellen mit kartoffel`  
37 Int.: hm\_hm  
38 Helena: vareniki *ну вот* vareniki hm, äh  
, na also`  
39 kraut und gewickelte (..) kraut und gewickelte. das ist, ähm  
40 Int.: das ist was deutsches  
41 Helena: *это прикол*  
42 , das ist ein witz`  
43 *это прикол, нет, это да, это нет, это немецкий рецепт*  
, das ist ein witz, nein, das ist ja, das ist nein,  
das ist ein deutsches rezept`  
44 hm(.) da sind sch (.) nein, das sind keine schnuppen  
45 dann macht sie noch *галушки*  
, galuschki`  
46 Int.: aha  
47 Helena: *галушки с картошкой*  
, galuschki mit kartoffel`  
49 Int.: ne, aber was ist das, [was ist]  
50 Helena: [kraut]  
51 und [gewickelte]  
52 Int.: [sag mal]  
53 kraut und gewickelte  
54 Helena: das [ist sauer]  
55 Int.: [kraut]  
56 sauerkraut (.)  
57 Int.: ja  
58 Helena: *hm потушить* hehehe scheiße äh, wie heißt es (.)  
, dämpfen`  
59 Helena: *ну короче* egal ähm  
, nun halt`  
60 *тушишь тушишь* короче ee

,dämpfen, dämpfen sie, halt`  
 61 Int.: garen, ich weiß nicht  
 62 Helena: einfach nur anbraten kurz anbraten  
 63 тушить - тушить  
 ,dämpfen-dämpfen`  
 64 ну это вообще то не, garen, du hast hast recht  
 ,nun das ist eigentlich nee`  
 65 тушить короче кислую капусту  
 ,dämpfen halt sauerkraut`  
 66 Int.: hm  
 67 Helena: потом делаешь из теста такие штучки (.) их на пару (.)  
 68 [делают]  
 ,dann machst du aus dem teig solche dinge (.)  
 sie werden auf dem dampf  
 [gemacht]`  
 69 Int.: [ja]  
 70 Helena: на воде  
 ,auf dem wasser`  
 71 Int.: so [dampfnudel]  
 72 Helena: [на пару]  
 73 ,auf dem dampf`  
 74 dampfnudel genau dampfnudel mit kraut mit sauerkraut  
 75 Int.: ahh, ok. und das gehört zu eurer russlanddeutsche küche?  
 76 Helena: ja  
 77 Int.: ja (.) [aus russland aber was deutsches]  
 78 Helena: [ich mag es nicht besonderes,]  
 79 ich mag das nicht besonderes  
 80 Int.: ja  
 81 Helena: aber meine oma macht es immer seltener  
 82 aber das ist schon noch (.) dabei,  
 83 und das ist immer so mit котлетами  
 84 ,фрикаделлен`  
 85 Int.: hm  
 86 Helena: wie heißt es hier (.) friKAdelle  
 87 Int.: und das nimmst  
 88 du nimmst es als tüpisch russich wahr  
 89 oder als (.) familien (.) gericht oder?  
 90 Helena: typisch russich (.) okroschka  
 91 das ist für mich wirklich typisch russisch,  
 92 dass keine anderer essen würde, glaube ich  
 93 Int.: [hihihi]

94 Helena: [wenn du das erklärst]  
95 okroschka [что такое]  
,was ist das`

96 Int.: [ja das ist]

97 Helena: KALTE suppe, die gibt's auch in anderen nationalitäten  
98 aber wenn du erklärt was du alles rein machst  
99 und dann BROT, auf brot gebraut FLEisch

100 Int.: auch fleisch dazu, na?

101 Helena: und WURST noch rein, das ist total seltsam.  
102 ich habe glaube ich auch,  
103 wen habe ich es serviert (.)  
104 ich habe den simon es glaube ich noch nicht serviert

105 Int.: [hm\_hm]

106 Helena: [aber]  
107 irgendjemand anderen habe ich es schon serviert.  
108 irgendjemand hat mir erzählt, der hat gemeint  
109 es voll ekelig und es (.)  
110 für mich schmeckt es nach HEimat,  
111 es ist für mich schon was (.)  
112 das GEIL, das ist GEIL (.)  
113 es ist im sommer das geilste überhaupt, okroschka,

114 Int.: hm\_hm

115 Helena: РЕДИСКА, картошка, что туда еще ложат (.) äh  
,РЕТТИХ kartoffel, was man noch darein macht`  
116 ОГУРЕЦ и „докторскую“ колбасу  
,gurke und „doktorskaja“ wurst`

117 wir haben LANGE gesucht,  
118 dass was wir als ersatz machen können.  
119 lyoner geht (.) als ersatz zu „doktorskaja“

120 Int.: ja stimmt, stimmt [schmeckt gleich, ja]

121 Helena: [aber in russland machst du]  
122 mit, mit  
123 in russland machst du es mit, с „докторской“ короче  
,mit „doktorskaja“ halt`

124 как „докторская“ колбаса (.) картошка  
,wie „doktorskaja“ wurst (.) kartoffel`

125 KWAS

126 Helena: das macht meine mama immer noch selber

127 Int.: [ja]

128 Helena: [kwas]

129 Int.: aber jetzt hat sich der repertoire erweitert?

130 Helena: ja (..) naTürlich (.) ja klar (.) meine mama (.)  
 131 ich muss noch sagen (.) dass ist auch  
 132 so ein ding, dass es (---)  
 133 das ist meine mama halt (.) einfach  
 134 die wird sich dafür interessieren  
 135 ГОЛУБИЦЫ, dass es auch so ein leckeres essen  
 ,gefülltes kraut`  
 136 dass sehr SELTEN bei uns gibt  
 137 das ist ein GEILES teil,  
 138 das ist geil (.) es gibt aber immer seltener.  
 139 und äh (.)  
 140 Int.: das wird den deutschen auch schmecken, glaub ich  
 141 Helena: ich glaube die können es auch KOHLrolladen, heißt es hier.  
 142 das ist auch so ein gänger, zwischen [weiß ich nicht]  
 143 Int.: [hm, hm]  
 144 Helena: ja, meine mama macht schon einige. also.  
 145 wenn ICH trage auch dazu bei,  
 146 wenn ich zuhause bin, oder simon, auch typisch deutsch,  
 147 gutbürgerliche deutsche küche,  
 148 FLEISch, BEIlage, SAUse (---)

At being asked by me about the cooking preferences of the parents, Helena starts to talk about an old German dish that her grandmother still cooks today. She repeats the word several times and in line 11 she tells me that her grandmother calls it: *Riwwelkuge* trying to recollect how her grandmother pronounced it. In line 16 Helena states, “we still cook it”. The temporal diexis ‘still’ refers to the notion that Helena perceives it as an old dish that they used to cook back in Russia. Also, referring to German *Riwwelkuchen* the way it is spelled by her grandmother Helena constructs the Russian German cultural space. Then, after my backchannel signal, Helena names another dish in Russian in line 18, Russian pies. She makes an assertion that she hates the German name and that it sounds strange to her. She supports her assertion with the following paralinguistic elements: she repeats and stresses the German name in line 21. Also, she positions German name *Pirogen* as something negative using the strong verb ‘to hate’. In line 30 she continues naming Russian dishes including different soups. The collective pronoun ‘we’ refers to her feelings of belonging to her family that is reinforced through the family’s cooking habits. Using predominantly Russian language for naming the dishes and not translating them, Helena constructs a strong connection between the eating habits and Russian language and therefore a Russian space.

In line 39 she, again, switches the theme of the conversation and talks about a German dish, *Kraut und Gewickelte*. She states that this is a German recipe two times: in line 40 in German language and in line 43 in Russian. The repetition of this phrase in two languages may refer, again, to Helena's identity construction as bililingual and bicultural. Again here, as with the conversation about borschtsch in the first excerpt, Helena shares with the recipe of this dish in Russian language Russian (lines 58-74) positioning the process of cooking as a Russian cultural practice and therefore entering the Russian space.

Helena tells me that her grandmother still cooks it (line 81). Here Helena positions the German dish as something obsolete by stating that her grandmother still has a habit of cooking it today. In line 83 she states in Russian that it is served with 'meatballs'. In line 86 she says: "how it is called here (.) *Frikadelle*". She tries to translate the name. The switching between languages and German and Russian dishes that her family cooks at home may refer to her identity as Russian German, where two cultures and two languages were practiced simultaneously over a long period of time. Russian dishes are pronounced in Russian, German ones in German. Still, she draws parallels between the dishes by pointing to the similarities. She also points to the fact that the German dishes are often combined with Russian ones. Taken as a whole, the aforementioned attitudes position Russian and German cuisine as harmonically coexisting elements of Helena's cultural identity.

In lines 88-89 I ask Elena explicitly about Russian dishes that her family cooks at home. In line 91 she tells me about a typical Russian dish in her understanding, which is okroshka. In line 92 she says that nobody would eat it. In lines 107-109 Helena tells me that she served the dish to someone and it did not taste to the person. Right after this statement she says that for her it tastes like home (line 110) and explains in lines 112-113 that this is a cool dish. By saying this, Helena positions okroshka as a special dish herself as someone who has special food preferences and is proud of them. By paying attention to these statements and the stress she places on some of the words, it can be concluded that Helena constructs a positive attitude toward this dish. She associates the dish with being at home and therefore constructs Russian cultural space in Germany. At the same time, she constructs the negative attitude of Germans towards Russian food.

In line 135 Helena talks about another Russian dish, golubzy. She states that it is served seldom and that this is a 'cool' dish (lines 137, 138). By making these statements and stressing the words 'seldom' and 'cool', Helena positions Russian cuisine as something that would not be appetizing for Germans but is 'cool' for her. She misses traditional Russian

dishes because they are seldom served in Germany. In this part of the excerpt, again, Helena constructs Russian cultural space.

In the last lines Helena speaks about German cuisine and constructs conflicting attitude towards it. She states that her mother cooks German dishes (line 144), and that she contributes to this. Also, she states that her mother does it when she or her boyfriend visits her (line 145) stressing 'I', and therefore implying her importance in the family. With these statements Helena constructs the importance of introducing Germans dishes to her family. In the next line she says 'typical German', and explains that her understanding of typical German is that it is hearty. In line 147 she labels it as *gutbürgerliche küche* and explains that it includes meat, sauce, and side dishes. Taken as a whole, the part about German cuisine is dubious and can be understood differently. On the one hand, Helena positions herself as an innovator in her family who contributes to the culinary changes. On the other hand, she presents German kitchen as a traditional one, and speaks about it in an ironical way.

Helena positions herself as somebody to whom cooking traditions of the family are very important and she feels to be part of it. For her, Russian and German food, which is practiced in Russia, is an important part of cooking traditional food at home in Germany. While talking about the dishes, she mixes languages and the dishes constructing a mixed Russian German cultural space. Nevertheless, Helena differentiates between German food in Germany and German food her family cooked in Russia. Helena perceives the 'old' German dishes as something that only her family cooks and that can be combined with Russian dishes as well. While talking about typical Russian food, Helena positions her preferences as special ones and is proud of them. When talking about German dishes at her parents' house, Helena constructs a conflicting attitude towards it. In general, the cultural space of her family that Helena constructs is dominated by dishes from the past that include both Russian and German cuisine and are strange for Germans. At the same time, she also contributes to the construction of contemporary German space at her parents' house.

Aleksej

- 01 Int.: und die eltern kochen vorwiegend russisches?  
02 Aleksej: ja-ja (.) nur eigentlich  
03 Int.: ja?

04                    nur das was sie jetzt aus dem dorf kennen (.) aus russland  
 05                    die haben sich  
 06                    JAJA, aber ein paar rezepte haben sie natürlcih schon  
 07                    (--) gelernt  
 08                    aber(--) nee so  
 09    Int.:            hm\_hm  
 10    Aleksej:        tägliches essen ist das selbe WIE von zwanzig JAhren  
 11    Int.:            hm\_hm, hm\_hm  
 12    Aleksej:        ja  
 13    Int.:            aber du magst das?  
 14    Aleksej:        äh (.) ja, geht so (.) nicht alles  
 15                    pf (--) aber ja schon (.) nee ja  
 16                    ich habe mich schon ein bisschen entwöhnt (.)  
 17                    glaube ich so  
 18                    котлета und so was würde ich nicht mehr mögen  
                   ,frikadele`  
 19    Int.:            hm\_hm  
 20    Aleksej:        wahrscheinlich  
 21    Int.:            das heißt deine essverhältnisse haben sich auch  
 22                    im laufe der zeit geändert?  
 23    Aleksej:        ja nur weil ich halt nicht mehr schon lange nicht mehr  
 24                    zuhause war  
 25    Int.:            hm\_hm  
 26    Aleksej:        natürlich entwöhnt man sich

The excerpt about the food preferences of Aleksej's parents is quite short. When I ask Aleksej whether or not his parents cook predominantly Russian dishes, he distances himself from his parents with the pronoun 'they' (line 4). He mentions that they cook the same as in their village. In lines 5-6 he corrects himself by providing the additional information that they learned a couple of recipes, but at the same time, he mentions that they eat the same food every day as twenty years before. The reference to the time deixis "as twenty years ago" and the emphasis on the single words refers to the time in Russia and positions the dishes as something obsolete. Also, with the help of this expression Aleksej builds a cultural gap between the eating habits of his parents and him. At my question of whether he likes the food his parents cook, Aleksej hesitates (lines 14-15). In the next line, he mentions that he was weaned from it and that he wouldn't eat meatballs. With this presupposition, Aleksej claims



that his parents cook something with meat and that he does not like it. With the utterance in lines 112-113 he again distances his eating habits from the ones of his parents. The time deixis with exaggeration 'very long' emphasize this position. At my question of whether his preferences for food have changed over time, he answers positively and says that this is because he has not lived at home for so long (line 23). With this sentence Aleksej makes the presupposition that his parents' eating habits have not changed during this time and he sees this in a negative way. Through this positioning he characterizes the eating habits of his parents to be obsolete.

While talking about the preferences of his parents, Aleksej distances himself from them. He constructs the traditional Russian cultural space of his parents' lives, which are still, to his mind, similar to the practices of the Russian village twenty years ago. At the same time, he distances himself from it, as he constructs it. In his attitudes towards the cooking habits of his parents, one can see the negative identity practices he constructs in relation to the Russian dishes his parents make.

## Elena

01 Elena: was kocht deine mutter? vorwiegend russische küche?  
02 russische gerichte?  
03 jain (---)  
04 also früher eher ja (.) aber das hat sich so wie äh  
05 wir sind schon immer hin schon 23 jahre in deutschland  
06 Int.: hm\_hm  
07 Elena: hat sich schon stark gewandelt  
08 und es ist schon auch (.) ziemlich (---)  
09 ja international nicht (.)  
10 aber also viele deutsche gerichte auch  
11 und was ich auch ganz witzig find  
12 also meine mutter holt sich immer inspiration  
13 von meiner schwester und mir (.)  
14 und kocht dann inzwischen immer was mit currypulwer  
15 oder sowas  
16 ich voll so OH MAMA, hahaha, ja  
17 Int.: hm\_hm  
18 Elena: ja (.) also schon so prinzipiell (.)  
19 eher so russisch-deutsch so überwiegend  
20 aber klar so sachen wie italienisch (.) aber [wobei]

21 Int.: [klar]  
22 Elena: spagetti mit tomatensauce,  
23 bolognese sind nicht mehr itelienisch,  
24 weil es in deutschland auch so gängig ist

At my question about whether Elena's parents cook Russian dishes at home, she answers that it is not exactly so, and that the repertoire has 'changed significantly' (line 7). She mentions in line 5: "after all, we are at least 23 years in Germany". She uses the personal pronoun of inclusion 'we' and therefore associates herself with her family. This association to her family is what differentiates her from Aleksej's answers. The particle 'after all' refers to her conviction that she naturally perceives that the eating habits of her family have changed over time. She mentions that her family does not cook international cuisine, but that there are many German dishes that they prefer to prepare (line 10). Drawing parallels to the previous excerpt where Elena presented herself as one who cooks international food, Elena positions her family as one who tries to be progressive and tries to be inspired by the younger generation (lines 12-13). Therefore, the private space of her parents does not differ radically from her own. This is the place where her parents have changed their taste in eating habits and try to cook German, Russian as well as Italian food (line 20).

Summing up this section of the analysis, it must be said that the interviewees position themselves towards the cooking habits of their parents very differently from one another, and therefore construct different cultural spaces. Helena supports the cooking habits of her parents who cook Russian and 'old' German dishes prevalently. At the same time, she also contributes to the construction of contemporary German cultural space at her parents' home. Aleksej constructs a Russian cultural space at his parents' house. He emphasizes the unchangeable culinary repertoire of his parents, and therefore states that there is no place for other discourses. From the conversation with Elena, one can notice the positive attitude towards the cooking habits of her parents. She emphasizes that her parents' cooking repertoire has changed and now includes international dishes. One can say Elena constructs a mixed space, which prevalently consists of Russian and German cultural practices.

## Family Gatherings

The conversations in this section of the analysis are devoted to traditional family gatherings. The part is very important for my analysis of the attitudes towards eating habits as a way of identity construction because the interviewees portray their attitudes towards the cultural practices at the traditional gatherings not only with their parents but with the whole family. Usually, traditional gatherings with the whole family happen on a special occasions. The food which is served at these gatherings is meant to be especially festive and is most of the time considered to be traditional dishes.

### Helena

- 01 Int.: was wird bei euch gekocht?  
02 Helena: es ist so  
03 Int.: ja  
04 Helena ja, wir machen sehr oft noch sachen, pelmeni, klar  
05 Int.: pelmeni, vareniki  
06 Helena: also es sind teilweise [sa]  
07 Int.: [also, tägliche küche]  
08 Helena: borschtsch, jaja  
09 Int.: na  
10 Helena: so was genau, salat, ne  
11 also wenn der tisch gedeckt wird  
12 Int.: [ja]  
13 Helena: [wenn]  
14 geburtstag, das ist klar.  
15 dass es russische salate auf jeden fall alle da sind  
16 ОЛИВЬЕ (.) ahh, шуба, ну то есть селедка под шу [бой]  
„russischer salat“ ahh, pelz, nun nämlich hering unter dem  
pelz ,  
17 Int.: [ja]  
18 Helena: ähm (1.2) alles an.  
19 es gibt so viele  
20 Int.: jaja  
21 Helena: meine mutter probiert zwar immer wieder was zu  
22 der grüner salat, grüner salat ist was typisch deutsches  
23 so in russland macht man das eigentlich gar nicht

24 weil man den salat nicht (.) nicht hat so an sich  
 25 Int.: ohne majо, hihhi  
 26 Helena: die salate, die sind immer da (.) klar  
 27 und (...) горячее (.) ну что горячее, hehe  
 ,hauptspeise (.) nun was hauptspeise`  
 28 kommt sehr unterschiedlich  
 29 aber es wird (.) es wird SEltener  
 30 Int.: hat sich [verändert]  
 31 Helena: [es wird]  
 32 [seltener]  
 33 Int.: [ja?]  
 34 der geschmack hat sich verändert (.) ja?  
 35 Helena: es wird seltener (.) dass man  
 36 Int.: ja?  
 37 Helena: weil pelmeni wollen wir immer selber machen  
 38 das ist  
 39 Int.: klar  
 40 das noch sehr lustig war, als wir in russland 2006 waren  
 41 Int.: hm\_hm  
 42 Helena: (-- ) und WIR machen das alles noch selber  
 43 Int.: ja

When I asked Helena what her family cooks she starts talking about Russian dishes and makes an assertion that they are served at family gatherings, specifically at birthdays (line 11). The word ‘of course’ refers to Helena’s positioning of the Russian cuisine presence as something natural in these circumstances. In the next line she stresses her assertion with the statement that there are definitely ‘in any case’ Russian salads present. The phrase underlines the habituality of the practice.

Then, Helena mentions the presence of ‘new’ dishes. In line 21 Helena states that her mother cooks something new. The word ‘though’ in the sentence, however, refers to exception in this practice. She also chooses the verb ‘try’ which stresses the absence of a constant practice of cooking new dishes. In the next lines Helena specifies that her mother makes typical German green salad and that there is no green salad in Russia, which is why they do not make it there. With the aforementioned positionings, Helena constructs the traditional Russian cultural space at her parents’ house, which is predominantly unchangeable.

In line 28 Helena speaks about the main course in Russian. The Russian word will be translated literally as ‘hot’ and therefore cannot be substituted by German *Hauptgang*. When saying it in Russian, Helena enters a Russian space with regards to her attitude towards traditional dishes. Helena states that it is becoming rare that her family cooks Russian dishes (lines 29, 32, 35). In line 32 she makes an overlap with this word. In line 35 Helena does not react to my question and repeats it a third time. Certainly, Helena regrets that her family cooks Russian dishes seldom. The repetition of the time deixis expresses the importance of this statement to her. She positions Russian food in this conversation as a space of the past, to which she has nostalgic feelings. In line 35 Helena states the third time:

37 Helena: es wird seltener (.) dass man (.)  
38 Int.: ja?  
39 Helena: weil pelmeni wollen wir immer selber machen

Helena does not end her thought, but rather makes a pause. At my back channel signal, she makes a sort of repair and starts the phrase with the word ‘because’ presupposing that I should understand that she is talking about their cooking practice. Line 39 explains that they want to cook Pelmeni by themselves. Helena positions Russian cuisine, again as something complex, and therefore a complicated task to accomplish in everyday life. In line 44 Helena emphasizes that she is proud of their cooking habits by stressing the collective pronoun ‘we’.

In this part of the conversation it is obvious how proud Helena is of her family’s preparation of Russian cuisine. She positions herself and her family as people who honor Russian cooking traditions and regret that they disappear over time because of the complexity of the dishes. She quickly mentions German cuisine; however, her choice of words refers to an absence of habituality in the practice. In general, Helena constructs the cultural Russian space that belongs almost to the past.

Aleksej

01 Int.: hm\_hm (-)erzähl mir von familienfesten  
02 wenn ihr euch versammelt (.)

03 Aleksej: hm\_hm#  
04 Int.: was kocht ihr was wird gekocht da?  
05 am wochenende oder an den festen  
06 Aleksej: ja (--) dieselben sachen wieder  
07 nee (.) eigentlich nicht äh  
08 ja es ist schon (.) ich glaube (--)  
09 ja das hat sich schon ein bisschen gewandelt  
10 im vergleich zu früher  
11 Int.: hm\_hm  
12 Aleksej: ja do so (--) schon ein wenig  
13 ja (--) früher waren halt diese ganzen sachen  
14 wie pelmeni und so was  
15 war schon sehr festlich  
16 aber jetzt ist es mittlerweil wahrscheinlich (2)  
17 nee (.) das ist eigentlich noch ja äh (--) also ja,  
18 keine ahnung  
19 also die hälfte ist vielleicht salate vor allem  
20 haben sich gewandelt hihi  
21 Int.: hm\_hm  
22 Aleksej: überhaupt gerichte ja auch (---) ein wenig (---)  
23 Int.: und was mit salaten?  
24 Aleksej: was? JA, die sind glaube ich ein bisschen leichter geworden  
25 so etwas ausgefallener und so  
26 und anderen zutaten die man halt auch kaum kaufen kann und so  
27 früher war man eher darauf beschränkt (.)  
28 was man (---) zuhause hatte  
29 Int.: hm\_hm, hm\_hm  
30 Aleksej: so ein granatapfelsalat haben wir früher NIE gemacht  
31 Int.: hehe  
32 Aleksej: ja  
33 weil es in russland nicht gab, granatapfel oder (--)  
34 *Hy* ja gab es schon, aber halt (--) nicht oft  
35 ,nun`  
36 und konnte man nicht extra für diesen tag kaufen und so was  
37 Int.: granatapfelsalat gibt es in russischer küche auch eigentlich?  
38 Aleksej: ja? habe ich nie gekannt  
39 Int.: ah, ok  
40 Aleksej: ja und jetzt pelmeni gibt halt immer noch und so  
41 und und ja  
42 das macht man da fleisch irgendwie immer fleisch  
mit irgendwas

43 Int.: hm\_hm  
44 Aleksej: äh  
45 ja (.) meine schwester versucht schon  
46 glaub ich deutsche sachen aus  
47 letztens (--) zum beispiel  
48 Int.: was?  
49 Aleksej: zu silvester gemacht  
50 ähm (--) ja ich glaube ja (.) was war das?  
51 ja ich glaube die hat diese weihnachtsgans  
52 mit rotkohl und knödeln gemacht  
53 Int.: hm\_hm  
54 Aleksej: ja (3)  
55 Int.: ja  
56 Aleksej: ja, hat wohl sehr gut geschmeckt  
57 aber alle haben sich dann auf pelmeni gefreut  
58 hihhi, ja  
59 Int.: hehe  
60 Aleksej: ja  
61 der hat mein vater zumindest mal gesagt  
62 Int.: hm\_hm, hm\_hm  
63 Aleksej: ja  
64 Int.: so ist es hälfte-hälfte, so fifty-fifty  
65 Aleksej: was fifty?  
66 Int.: ja also deutsch - russisch?  
67 Aleksej: ja keine ahnung ob das deutsch ist  
68 das ist halt ich glaube auch nicht (.) hehe so ganz  
69 aber halt neu  
70 Int.: hm\_hm  
71 Aleksej: nee ich denke es ist immer noch russisch äh (.)  
72 die ganzen rezepte sind irgendwie auch  
73 aus irgendwelchen RUsischen zeitschriften und so was  
74 Int.: hm\_hm  
75 Aleksej: entnommen  
76 vielleicht haben sie auch deutsche wurzeln (1) diese rezepte  
77 kann ich nicht sagen  
78 Int.: aber du magst es?  
79 Aleksej: was?  
80 Int.: das essen dass deine verwandten?  
81 Aleksej: äh (.) ja  
82 so an fest. (.) so an festlichen tagen  
83 klar das ist halt, das ist festlich

84 Int.: hm\_hm  
 85 Aleksej: es gibt an festen  
 86 und ja nee doch, mag ich schon, auf jeden fall, ja  
 87 so die ganzen klassischen salate und so was  
 88 ein mag ich ganz besonderes  
 89 Int.: aha  
 90 Aleksej: der sollte eigentlich immer dabei sein (2)  
 91 Int.: was?  
 92 was?  
 93 hm\_hm  
 94 Aleksej: *под шубой*  
 ,unter dem pelz`  
 95 „hering im pelzmantel“  
 96 Int.: hm\_hm  
 97 Aleksej: ja sehr lecker

In comparison to the relatively negative attitude towards cooking habits at his parents' house, Aleksej was more positive when talking about the dished at the family gatherings. First, he says that his family cooks the same things (line 06), positioning, again, the cooking and eating preferences of his parents as traditional Russian and obsolete. Nevertheless, he mentions that the culinary repertoire has changed (line 09). In the next line he compares it to 'earlier' times, using temporal deixis. In line 24 he mentions that salads became lighter. In the next line he states that the salads became 'fancier'. From this evaluation it becomes clear that Aleksej appreciates the changes. As the conversation continues, Aleksej talks about the cause of the changes. Here one can draw parallels to the conversation with Helena where she also talks about the changes to the food caused by the change of place. Nevertheless, Aleksej's attitude to this is slightly different. In lines 27-28 he makes a presupposition that earlier one was 'restricted' by the assortment of food in Russia. Aleksej expands his explanation and refers to the salad his family cooks now and says that it was 'never' present earlier (line 30). He explains the difference between now and then with the absence of the product. The use and stress of the temporal deixis 'never' emphasize the impossibility to prepare this dish in Russia. One can conclude that Aleksej's family has more freedom in their choice of food products. Aleskej constructs a positive attitude towards the new changes and refers to the restrictions of the past. The assumption is confirmed by Aleksej mentioning that his parents cook meat 'somehow', always with 'something' (lines 42-43). The usage of these words refers to his distance from the culinary practices of his parents.



As in the conversation with Helena, Aleksej also speaks about the influences of German cuisine on the cooking habits of his parents in the same manner. Nevertheless, he distances himself from the practices of his parents and positions himself for progress that for him means transition to German cuisine, which his parents avoid. In lines 46-47 he mentions that his sister tries new things. In the following line he explains that her attempts were unsuccessful. In lines 57-58 he expands his thought and states that, “no doubt, it tasted very good, but everybody was happy to eat Pelmeni”. By telling this story Aleksej emphasizes the unwillingness of his family to cook German food. With the help of the conjunction ‘but’ he distance from the eating preferences of his parents.

In spite of the fact that Aleksej mentions that his parents cook new dishes, he states that he does not believe that they are German (lines 68-69). The repetition of the words ‘somehow’ (72) and ‘some’ (73) constructs the attitude towards the food at Aleksej’s parents’ home as something unknown and vague and emphasizes his distance from his parent’s cooking preferences. He, again, constructs the image of his parents who are ignorant to German cultural space, whereas he does not appreciate it and distances himself from it.

In spite of the fact that Aleksej positions himself negatively to the traditional Russian cuisine that his parents enrich with other recipes from Russian magazines, he still enjoys the traditional Russian food at family gatherings. At my question of whether he likes the food, Aleksej makes an assumption in line 83: “of course, that is festive”. In line 87 he names the salad ‘classical’. He names one Russian salad and evaluates it as ‘very tasty’ (line 97). Certainly, with the word ‘classical’ Aleksej implies the dishes his parents cooked at home in Russia in the past. In this part Aleksej positions himself as somebody who likes Russian festive cuisine.

In general, Aleksej is quite controversial in this analyzed excerpt at first sight and constructs conflicting attitude towards the eating and cooking habits at the family gatherings. On the one hand, he constructs a traditional Russian cultural space where any culinary changes are hard to introduce and evaluates this negatively. He distances himself from this space. On the other hand, when I asked Aleksej about his food preferences, he names traditional Russian dishes refers to their festiveness and therefore implies the tastefulness.

Elena

The excerpt with Elena devoted to the cooking traditions at her family gatherings became the longest one, but it is very rich with results. As with previous excerpts, Helena positions herself and her family as progressive people who practice international cuisine. Because of the length of the excerpt, I have divided it into several parts thematically.

### *Ausnahmsweise Russisch*

01 Elena: inzwischen koch ich ja auch selber (.)  
02 weil wenn es so so familienfeste sind,  
03 dann klar gibt es hier oft russisches essen  
04 das ist komischerweise immer noch so (--)  
05 bei familienessen gibt es ausnahmsweise  
06 immer russisches essen  
07 Int.: zum beispiel?  
08 Elena: zum beispieleil manti, plov, borschtsch (.) ah so was  
09 Int.: hm\_hm  
10 Elena: ja nicht mehr so oft (.) aber (.)  
11 früher war das immer so viel zum vorsepeise,  
12 borschtsch oder so was  
13 dann irgendwas anderes noch,  
14 aber jetzt nicht mehr so oft,  
15 und dann äh oh gott wie heißen die nochmal (.) tefteli  
16 Int.: tefteli  
17 Elena: tefteli so was und  
18 mit kraut  
19 GENAU  
  
(ausgelassen)  
  
20 und dann halt wirklich also gerade bei so familienfesten  
21 immer so  
22 eingelegten tomaten (.) gurken (.)  
23 also aus dem russischen supemarket  
24 Int.: das ist doch vegetarisch (.) das magst du bestimmt?  
25 genau (.) da ist dann aber so  
26 klar (.) fällt mit ein (.) wenn ich so überleg  
27 wirklich bei so familiensachen (.)

28               gibt's oft russisches [essen]  
29    Int.:                               [hm\_hm]  
30    Elena:     immer noch (.)  
31               also meine mutter würde NIE eine lasagne machen  
32               allein weil man es schon in so riesenportionen kochen kann  
33               wie sie kocht ja dann immer für drei millionen gäste  
34               auch wenn [nur]  
35    Int.:               [ja]  
36    Elena:     zehn kommen  
37    Int.:     ja-ja  
38    Elena:     ja  
39    Int.:     und dazu gibt es auch salate mit majo  
40    Elena:     genau  
41    Int.:     ja?  
42    Elena:     salate aber also generell bin ich in der familie aufgewachsen  
43               in der es schon trotz allem frisches obst und gemüse auch gab  
44               und dann fast zu jedem essen salat und so  
45               und jetzt ist es halt so grade bei familiensachen (.)  
46               dass ich auch angefangen hab (.)  
47               dann wieder richtiges vegetarisches gericht zu kochen  
48               und inzwischen mögen es auch ALLE  
49               auch wenn sie es so ein bisschen als beilage beachten  
50               hahaha  
51               aber immerhin (.) ich werde langsam anerkannt (.)  
52               so nach zehn jahren, ja  
53    Int.:     ok

In the beginning of the conversation about family gatherings, Elena starts talking about Russian cuisine and that it is present at the feasts. She says that ‘of course’ there is ‘often’ traditional food at the feasts (line 3). The adverb ‘often’ points to the habituality of the presence of traditional Russian food. She evaluates the presence of Russian dishes with the adverbs ‘funnily enough’ and ‘still’ in line 4 positioning the practice as exception. In line 5 Elena says that at the feasts there is always Russian food. The word ‘exceptionally’ refers to this practice as something unusual compared to the everyday life. Nevertheless, in the next line Elena says ‘always’. With these words Elena positions Russian food at the feasts as extraordinary but continuous practice. Elena characterizes the practice of cooking Russian

dishes as an exception. As a result, she constructs a traditional Russian space at the gatherings with her family.

Then, Elena goes on to name Russian dishes that her family makes. In lines 20-21 she, again, returns to the thought that her family ‘always’ cooks traditionally. In line 30 she repeats the deixis ‘always’, also saying ‘still’. The time deixis and the reference to habituality refer to the constant presence of Russian food at the family gatherings as an exceptional but stable practice. In line 31 Elena positions her mother as somebody who “would never make lasagna” (31), implying the impossibility of the introduction of new dishes, and therefore constructs the home as a place for exclusively Russian practices.

In the last part of the conversation, Elena talks about the vegetarian influence on the dish repertoire. At my question of whether they make salads with mayonnaise, which is regarded as a traditional ingredient in Russian salads, Elena answers that her family pays attention to fresh ingredients (lines 42-45). After that she also says that she started to cook vegetarian courses (for her family) (46-47) and that everybody enjoys these dishes, stressing the word ‘everybody’. In this last part, Elena implies that her new introduced vegetarian cooking practices are well accepted. In this part of the excerpt Elena positions the introduction of vegetarian food at the feasts as the positive influence.

## Salad discussion

01 Elena: welche salate gibt es bei euch an festen?  
02 also eigentlich so klassische (.) blattsalat mit so gemüse  
03 so weist du so jetzt nichts besonderes (.) einfach so (.)  
04 typischer salat oder  
05 ich kommt (.) das glaub ich meiner mutter heute nicht  
06 also sie hat so zwei russische kochbücher zuhause  
07 von russlanddeutschen glaub ich  
08 salat „OLIVIER“  
09 Int.: da (.) hm\_hm (.)ok (.) da  
10 Elena: da kommt so (.) ich weiß nicht „OLIVIER“  
11 das ist doch nicht RUssisch, das ist doch  
12 Int.: doch, das heißt „oliVIER“  
13 Elena: „olivier“  
14 Int.: in deutschland heißt der salat, russischer salat, eigentlich  
15 Elena: meine mutter, salat „olivier“. oh gott, hahaha

16 Int.: warum der „olivier“ heißt, weiß ich nicht.  
17 das wurde vielleicht nach einem koch genannt,  
18 [oder dressing] (.)  
19 Elena: [ich war]  
20 keine ahnung  
21 wenn sowas manchmal  
22 oder äh (--) ja (--) ich meine mutter macht,  
23 ja was ich auch eigentlich total witzig find  
24 korEAnisches essen  
25 chin-chin (.) machen (.) eine (.)  
26 [macht meine]  
27 Int.: [chin-chin?]  
28 Elena: ja (--)  
29 Int.: was ist das?  
30 Elena: das (.) ähm (.) ich weiß (.)  
31 äh, auf englisch heißt es *pickles* äh (.)  
32 *carbage pickles*  
33 Int.: ok  
34 Elena: also quasi kohl eingelegt mit chili (-) scharf und knoblauch  
35 das ist korea!nisch und ich weiß nicht, wie das kam  
36 Int.: also durch [kasachstan auch]  
37 Elena: [durch kasachstan]  
38 Int.: durch kasachstan  
39 Elena: genau

I have separated this excerpt because it illustrates that, instead of describing a shared cultural background; the participants describe different things using the same categories. Elena as well as Aleksej mentions ‘classical’ salads (line 2). Nevertheless, they describe different kinds of salads with this categorization. For Aleksej, ‘classical’ means traditional hearty Russian salads, but for Elena she is referring to green salads (line 2). In line 4 she describes these salads with the word ‘typical’. In the following lines Elena touches upon the topic of Russian traditional salads, and tells me a story about her confusion about the Russian salad called “Olivier”. In lines 5 and 6 she mentions that her mother has two cookbooks written by Russian Germans, introducing for the first time the category of ‘Russian German’. In line 11, Elena makes a statement that this salad is not Russian, using the particle *doch*, this emphasizes her attitude. Elena declines my remark in line 14 that in Germany this salad is considered a Russian salad, and goes on to make fun of the name and imitates her mother saying the word. By making this joke and imitating her mother’s voice, she implies that the

name of the salad is ridiculous in her opinion. Through this mocking of her mother saying the name of the salads, Elena constructs a negative attitude towards the dish. She distances herself from the traditional Russian salads that her mother makes. In the last part of the conversation, Elena talks about a Korean dish that her parents cook and suggests that this influence came from the times when they lived in Kazakhstan. The attitude she constructed toward Korean food is neutral, but through this statement Elena displays Korean food as a part of the space by her parents' house.

Taken as a whole, it must be said that Elena distances herself from traditional Russian salads. The 'typical' and 'classical' salads are the ones made with green lettuce. Elena also distances herself from the Russian salad by making fun of its name. She also introduces cooking influences from Korean culture, stating the presence of it without giving an emotional connotation to the practice.

### **German Influence**

01 Elena: dann auch (.) was fast obligatorisch ist  
02 kartoffeln, in irgendeiner form kartofeln (.)  
03 entweder als brei oder so gekocht,  
04 aber ohne kartoffel geht ja GAR nichts  
05 grundnahrungsmittel bei meiner familie  
06 ja, ist es die beilage  
07 Int.: ja  
08 Elena: richtig  
09 Int.: richtige beilage  
10 Elena: richtig ja  
11 hahaha  
12 Int.: ok interessant interessant  
13 Int.: gibt es was neues (.) aus der deutschen küche  
14 was an festen gibt oder gekocht (.) gekocht wird?  
15 Elena: also (.) ja (.) das deutsches selten  
16 wobei ich das nicht unbedingt deutsch bezeichnen würde  
17 Int.: oder neue einflüße  
18 Elena: ist die neue einflüße sind tatsächlich so  
19 dann durch mich gekommen (.) weil ich vegetarisch leb und  
20 dann irgendwann angefangen hab zu sagen.

21 ja (.) ich koch dann auch (.) was richtiges  
 22 also dann mehr riesenportionen,  
 23 dass alle probieren können und so  
 24 und dadurch dann halt kommt das neue  
 25 aber meine mutter experimentiert da nicht rum,  
 26 wenn zwanzig verwandte zu besuch kommen.  
 27 dann fällt ihr nicht ein  
 28 äh, ich mach mal heute chicken camasala oder so, haha  
 29 Int.: ja  
 30 was würde sie nie machen, hehe  
 31 Int.: ok  
 32 Elena: oder schnitzel zum beispiel  
 33 das gibt's auch (.) stimmt (.) das gibt's auch.  
 34 Int.: ja?  
 35 Elena: das ist auch noch das einzige deutsche  
 36 wenn dann so schnitzel oder sowas  
 37 Int.: ok  
 38 Elena: mit dann eventuell auch spätzle  
 39 weil es ja hier schwäbisch, der region ist (.)  
 40 Int.: hm\_hm  
 41 Elena: spätzle auch  
 42 sowas wäre dann noch  
 43 das deutscheste was mir einfällt (-- ) ehrlich gesagt (ja

When I use categories such as German or Russian in the conversation, Elena constantly avoids them and defines her preferences with other categories. The above listed excerpt confirms this tendency. At my questions about the presence of German food at family gatherings (lines 13-14) she answers with the adverb 'seldom' (line 15). In the next line she again wants to avoid the categorization and says that she would not call the dishes German (16). On my proposal to call them a new influence she agrees and explains in line 19 that she introduces new dishes to the family, moving away from German and Russian binary oppositions. Also, she explains the introduction of new dishes through her vegetarian lifestyle (Line 19). In line 21 she says that she cooks 'something real', positioning vegetarian food as a superior choice.

In line 25 she defends her mother's cooking habits, saying that she does not experiment with food when 20 relatives come over, implicating that Russian food is more familiar to her mother. In line 28 she states that her mother would not cook chicken camasala. The name of

the dish does not exist, she invented it. The fake dish symbolizes the exotic food and should build a contrast to Russian food that is in turn, positioned as a preferable rational choice.

Talking about Schnitzel as a possible German dish on the table (line 35-36), Elena uses the verb in the conditional form 'would' (line 42), implying that although the option is possible, it is not practiced often. With this phrase Elena positions the presence of German dishes as an exception. At the end of the excerpt, Elena mentions Spätzle (line 41) as the usual German dish at family gatherings and refers to the region where she comes from, thus constructing the space of regional German culture.

Summing up the analysis of the presented excerpts devoted to family gatherings, it must be said that Elena constructs a truly international space at her family's home. She points to the special, privileged place of Russian dishes at the family feasts and at the same time points to the presence of new dishes influenced by German culture or her vegetarian diet. Nevertheless, while talking about typical salads, meaning green salads with lettuce, Elena implies that Russian food is more of an exception for her. She constructs positive attitude towards the presence of traditional food; nevertheless, she does not accept everything, and refers to the vegetarian influence on the dish repertoire at her family gatherings. Also, Elena constructs the theoretical possibility of having German courses, but not the actual cooking and eating habits, explaining it by the habit of her mother to cook Russian. Overall, in spite of the fact, that Elena positions her Family as the one who is open for influences form different cultures, it still prefers traditional cuisine.



### 4.3. Kulturvermittlung

In this section of the analysis, the interviewees talk about their food preferences and cooking practices in a public space. The participants reveal their attitudes about promoting their cultural identity in the social environment in Germany. Since I could not differentiate the part in Helena's excerpt where she speaks about her private cooking practices and cooking with her German friends, I have already introduced her excerpt in the first part 'at home'. In this part I will only analyze the excerpts from Aleksej and Elena.

#### Aleksej

- 01 Int.: hm\_hm (.) dann nimmst du das essen mit auf die arbeit?  
02 Aleksej: und was Süßes ja, [zum kaffe]  
03 Int.: [was]  
04 sagen kollegen?  
05 Aleksej: ja (.) ich habe es vor kurzem angeboten,  
06 aber keine wollte das  
07 Int.: hehehe  
08 Aleksej: die haben sich irgendwie ein bisschen davon gefürchtet  
09 Int.: ok  
10 Aleksej: oh (.)ja  
11 Int.: kochst du das nur zuhause?  
12 Aleksej: WAS?  
13 Int.: ja, buchweizen und suppen (.) was russisches?  
14 oder bringst du das zu den kollegen zum [festen]?  
15 Aleksej: [äh]  
16 hm (.) naja wir hatten ja noch  
17 wir hatten keine feste wohnung, wer kochen mitbringen konnte  
18 Int.: hm\_hm  
19 Aleksej: aber ich habe russischen kuchen gebacken so und mitgebracht  
20 Int.: kuchen?  
21 Aleksej: ja, habe ich mal gemacht  
22 Int.: was für kuchen?  
23 Aleksej: *кучерявый панчо*  
24 „lockenköpfigen pancho“  
25 Int.: ah, ok.  
26 war lecker? hat's geschmeckt?  
27 Aleksej: ja (.) sie haben es sehr gelobt

28                    ich habe das auf (---) deutsch übersetzt  
29    Int.:        das ist doch sehr süß  
30    Aleksej:     ja  
31    Int.:        war es den nicht so süß?  
32    Aleksej:     nein (.) nee (.) ne (.) ist alles gegessen worden  
33    Int.:        hm\_hm  
34    Aleksej:     ich habe das übersetzt als „lockenköpfigen pancho“  
35    Int.:        hehe  
36    Aleksej:     hehe, ja  
37    Int.:        ok  
38    Aleksej:     damit sie sich nicht abgeschreckt fühlen  
39                   vom russischen namen (.) ja  
40    Int.:        ok, aha  
41    Aleksej:     genau  
42                   äh, ja, habe ich irgendwas mitgebracht?  
43                   ja, ich habe einmal bratkartoffeln mitgebracht  
44                   und das mit milch gegessen  
45                   (--) in der mensa  
46    Int.:        hm\_hm  
47    Aleksej:     ich glaube die haben ein bisschen komisch geguckt  
48                   ich weiß nicht so das  
49    Int.:        mit milch bratkartoffeln?  
50                   bratkartoffeln mit milch hast du gegessen?  
51                   und woher? (--) milch hast du gekauft?  
52    Aleksej:     ja habe ich gekauft in der mensa  
53    Int.:        ah, ok  
54    Aleksej:     ich weiß nicht (.) ob das man (.) ob das nicht üblich ist  
55    Int.:        hm\_hm  
56    Aleksej:     in deutschland oder so aber  
57                   sie haben ein bisschen komisch geguckt

Aleksej's attitude to the introduction of Russian food to others is quite complex. On one hand, he actively introduces Russian dishes to his colleagues, but on the other hand, he underlines that they feel uncomfortable about it and therefore constructs the negative attitude of Germans toward Russian dishes. In the excerpt presented above, he tells me that he cooks for his German colleagues and brings them Russian meals. Nevertheless, he explains that upon his offer to try it they were scared (line 8), implying that for them the food was exotic and unknown. In lines 17 and 19 he tells me that he does not have a proper kitchen to cook in but, nevertheless, he still made Russian cake and brought it in to work with him. With this

statement, he again constructs the image of Russian dishes as complex to prepare, but he still takes the effort to make them and introduce them to his colleagues. At my question of whether or not it was too sweet for them, he answers negatively and explains that everything was eaten. In my statement I made an assumption that Germans do not like sweet deserts, and Aleksej, understanding it, responds that his colleagues praised it implying that it was not too sweet for their taste. By telling me about negative attitude of Germans towards Russian in the kitchen in the beginning and the following acceptance of it, Aleksej positions Russian dishes as something that is exotic on the first sight for others, but truly delicious. Aleksej also builds a cultural bridge when he tells me that he translated the cake's name in to German in line 27. One can see that it is very important for him to translate the dish, because he repeats it in line 33 again and names it in German. In line 37 he tells me the reason he does this is "so they do not feel deterred". With this phrase, Aleksej again implies that Germans would not perceive Russian food as something usual and would be scared to try it. He, in turn, makes it easier for them when he translates the name of the dish in to German. In the following lines he tells me two stories about how he brought Russian food to his workplace and how his colleague looked at it 'strange' (lines 46, 56). Referring to his first phrase that they are afraid of it, the notice about their look can imply the same meaning. In lines 53 and 55, he distances himself from German culture when he says that he does not know whether it is common to do so or not. He uses the place deixis 'here' emphasizing the distance between him and his colleagues.

In the last part of the conversation devoted to the introduction of Russian food to his German colleagues, Aleksej positions himself as somebody who, in spite of the complexity of Russian dishes as well as the misunderstanding of his German colleagues, introduces Russian cuisine eagerly. At the same time, underlying the strange or negative reaction by his colleagues, he implies that they have a different taste. Aleksej, in turn, does not adapt to it, but consistently continues to show his difference. He constructs a space at his work, where he actively struggles for the acceptance of his Russian dishes, and therefore his identity.

Elena

01 Int.: hast du was für deine wg gemacht? gekocht? was russisches?  
02 hast du überhaupt irgendwann?  
03 Elena: also hier nicht (.) weil es so ein bisschen zweck-wg

04           wenn wir schon darüber sprechen  
05           ne aber so für deutsche freunde halt hier so ein bisschen,  
06           grade für christine und anke vareniki gemacht.  
07           aber das war glaub ich das einzige russische  
08           was ich mal für die gemacht habe (.) weil dann,  
09           wenn dann habe ich irgendwie eher so also mir  
10           ich mach es nicht bewusst so so äh (.) kulturvermittlung mal  
11           ich koch jetzt was russisches für euch oder so  
12           ich denk halt auch gerade auf was ich gerade lust hab  
13           mach ich halt mal jetzt so  
14    Int.:    hm\_hm  
15    Elena:  mit backen und so (.) da ist halt viel frittiert  
16           meine oma macht es immer noch  
17           und die findet es nicht ungesund  
18           schmeckt ja schon gut (.)  
19           aber inzwischen mag ich es nicht mehr so  
20           früher mochte ich es mehr  
21    Int.:    was ist es?  
22    Elena:  das kann ich nicht richtig aussprechen  
23           vorost?  
24    Int.:    „hvorost“  
25    Elena:  ja danke, hahaha

As in the other excerpts from the conversation about the introduction of Russian food to her German friends, Elena, again, distances herself from the national and cultural categories. She says that she cooks ‘a little bit’ (line 5). The adverb ‘a little bit’, as well as the story in the past tense, refers to irregular culinary practices in the past. In lines 10 and 11, she emphasizes that she does not engage in conscious *Kulturvermittlung*, pointing to a conscious distance from the cultural categories. Starting at line 15 Elena tells me about the deep-fried sweets her grandmother makes. She states that her grandmother does not find them to be unhealthy and implies with this statement that Russian food is indeed unhealthy. Again, in this statement, Elena moves away from the German/Russian categorization and instead talks about healthy/unhealthy food and eating habits. Taken as a whole, Elena positions herself as a person who does not think about cultural differences as they would influence her eating habits. Also, she positions Russian food her grandmother cooks at home to be unhealthy. She categorizes her eating habits using alternate categories and consciously constructs the space of a healthy lifestyle.

Summing up the results of this part of the analysis, it should be mentioned that Aleksej tries to place Russian cultural practices in to German reality and acts as a bridge builder between the two cultures. He cooks Russian dishes for his colleagues, while at the same time trying to adapt to the German taste. Nevertheless, Aleksej distances himself from his colleagues by pointing to their different tastes. Elena, on the contrary, does not cook for her German friends. Though she mentions that she cooked Russian food, she points out that it was only one time, implying that it is a rare occurrence. She changes the topic and again, distances herself from the cultural categorization of Russian and German food and moves on to the topic of healthy food practices. Consequently, she constructs a space free from cultural practices.

## 5. Conclusion

The analyzed excerpts have shown how the attitudes towards food preferences and cooking habits serve as a basis for identity construction. Also, by positioning themselves with the help of their attitudes towards eating habits, the participants create certain cultural spaces in German cities. I have covered several domains of life such as private and public spheres, where the participants positioned themselves slightly differently from one another by drawing on different indexical meanings. At the end of each section of analysis I presented a conclusion and pointed to some parallels or differences among the attitudes of the participants. Now, at the end of my thesis, I would like to bring the attitudes of the participants from different excerpts together and make a conclusion about the individuals as a whole.

Helena constructs positive attitudes towards Russian food. She introduces Russian food to her German friends and speaks passionately about the Russian dishes that her family cooks at home and at feasts. At the same time, she regrets the dying tradition of cooking Russian meals. Russian food becomes a unifying force for her family and a positive marker of her identity in the public sphere. Helena constructs Russian space her parents' house and she also integrates this space in her German social environment as well. German food is mentioned occasionally and Helena speaks about it without passion. Also, Helena introduces the criteria of a lack of time that forces her to choose food that is easy to prepare. Helena uses code-switching when talking to me about Russian food. At the same time, she uses the inclusion pronoun 'we' when talking about her German friends. Therefore, it may be concluded that Helena constructs a hybrid space where, in spite of the differentiation of German/Russian food, there is a common space for practicing both traditions.

Aleksej displays a positive attitude about cooking Russian food at home with his parents. Nevertheless, Aleksej distances himself from the eating habits his parents have by using the pronouns 'they'. He positions himself as somebody who cooks Russian food himself, but divides it from his parents' culinary practices. Also, he introduces Russian dishes to his friends. With the help of negative identity practices, he distances himself from his colleagues, emphasizing the uniqueness of his eating habits. Aleksej constructs Russian space at home with his parents as well as in the workplace with his colleagues.

Elena has neither positive nor negative attitudes towards Russian and German cuisine. In our conversation she emphasizes the role of healthy food and her vegetarian lifestyle as the

criteria for her food choices and cooking preferences. She moves away from the categorization of Russian/German and defines her eating habits by the categories of healthy/unhealthy. Elena constructs a space free from cultural tradition.

For the thesis, the personal stories and the construction of identity of an individual were central topics for this thesis. Firstly, I showed the constructed nature of an identity, which is created in socialization by means of dialogues. In addition, I showed how, with the help of the attitudes toward such a trivial thing as eating habits, Russian Germans position themselves in society and cultures, and create their own cultural identity or move away from cultural categories, and create a culture-free identity based on their life style choices. Secondly, with the help of positioning, the participants created their own cultural space.

In general, the attitudes towards eating habits observed in interaction serve as a good basis for the analysis of identities, especially cultural minority identities. This work is an attempt to reflect the dynamics of multicultural space construction in German cities. The thesis covers only three different stories of young German Russians. As a suggestion for the further investigations, it would be interesting to track how the attitudes towards eating habits of the participants change during their lifetime. Also, it would be interesting to include categories such as gender and/or the social position of participants because not these criteria have big impact on the individuals' eating habits and culinary practices.

## **Appendix**

### **a) Transcription Conventions**

The interviewees were transcribed after the GAT2 transcription convention (Selting, Auer, et. al., 2009). I have used the basic and minimal transcription (Selting, Auer, et. al., 2009: 359) system for my excerpts. The most important signs are:

- CAPITALIZATION – for marking the stress of the words or syllables
- (.) – a pause lasting approximately 0.2 seconds
- (-) – a pause lasting approximately 0.2 – 0.5 seconds
- (-- ) – a pause lasting approximately 0.5-0.8 seconds
- (---) – a pause lasting approximately 0.8-1.0 seconds
- (2.5) – longer pauses, indicated in seconds
- [ ] – square brackets are used to show the overlaps
- äh, öh, ähm etc – filled pauses
- hahaha, hehe, hihi – laugh signals
- hm, ja, nein, nee – monosyllabic signals
- hm\_hm - dyssilabic signals



## **b) Information Sheet**

Information sheet

Dear participant,

My name is Svetlana Borodina and I am a graduate Student at the University of Mannheim and the University Waterloo. This term I am conducting the study for my master thesis on the topics of migration and identity construction under the supervision of Prof. Grit Liebscher and Prof. Der. Henn-Memmesheimer. The goal of my study is to acquire information concerning the identity construction and food attitudes of young German Russian adults. The aim of my work is to show how Russian Germans use Germany as a place where they manifest themselves with the help of social practices. Such studies are very important as they change the attitude to migration and minorities. Since you are a Russian German, I would like to invite you to participate in my study.

Interview: If you give permission to be contacted to participate in the interview component of this study you will be requested to take part in a 1 hour interview. With your permission, the interviews will be audio-taped. All information you provide is considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis report resulting from this study, but anonymous quotations may be used. Tapes and data collected during this study will be retained for three years and then destroyed.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. All data will be kept confidential, and names will be replaced. You will not be identified in any presentations or publications resulting from this study.

I would be happy to send you the copy of my Master thesis resulting from this study. Feel free to get in touch with me after the August of 2013 to ask about a summary or to arrange a meeting to discuss the results of this study with you. For this purpose, you may contact me via e-mail: [sborodin@uni-mannheim.de](mailto:sborodin@uni-mannheim.de)

Please, contact me if you have further questions, especially if they affect your decision about participation in the study.

Thank you very much for your cooperation,

Svetlana Borodina.

## **In German**

Sehr geehrte Teilnehmerinnen, sehr geehrte Teilnehmer,

Mein Name ist Svetlana Borodina und ich bin eine Masterstudentin an der Universität Mannheim. Dieses Semester führe ich eine Studie für meine Diplomarbeit zu den Themen *Migration* und *Identitätsbildung* durch. Das Ziel meiner Arbeit ist es, Informationen über die Identitätsbildung und die Einstellung zu der deutschen und russischen Küche des jungen Russlanddeutschen zu erwerben. Mit meiner Arbeit will ich zeigen wie junge Russlanddeutsche Deutschland als ein Ort benutzen, wo sie sich mittels sozialen Praktiken manifestieren. Solche Studien wie diese sind sehr wichtig, da sie die Einstellung zu Migration und Minderheiten in Deutschland zu ändern vermögen. Da Sie ein(e) Russlanddeutsche(r) sind, würde Ich Sie einladen, in meiner Studie teilzunehmen.

Wenn Sie die Erlaubnis geben an diese Studie teilzunehmen, werden Sie gebeten, sich an einer 1-stündigen Interview zu beteiligen. Mit Ihrer Erlaubnis, werden die Interviews mit einem Aufnahmegerät aufgenommenen. Alle Informationen, die Sie mitteilen, werden als absolut vertraulich behandelt. Ihr Name wird in der Arbeit nicht erscheinen, anonymen Zitaten werden verwendet. Die Daten, die während dieser Studie gesammelt werden, werden für drei Jahre aufbewahrt und anschließend vernichtet.

Teilnahme an dieser Studie ist völlig freiwillig. Alle Daten werden vertraulich behandelt. Namen werden ersetzt. Ich würde mich freuen, Ihnen die Kopie meiner Diplomarbeit, die sich aus dieser Studie ergibt, zu schicken. Fühlen Sie sich frei, sich mit mir in Verbindung zu setzten, um die Ergebnisse dieser Studie zu besprechen. Zu diesem Zweck können Sie mich via E-Mail kontaktieren: [sborodin@uni-mannheim.de](mailto:sborodin@uni-mannheim.de)

Vielen Dank für Ihre Mitarbeit,

Svetlana Borodina

## **c) Approximate Questions for the Interview**

### **General questions about the move to Germany**

1. Erzählen Sie bitte etwas über Ihren Lebenslauf? Warum sind Sie nach Deutschland gezogen?
2. Welche Gefühle hatten Sie zur Zeit der Einreise?
3. Erzählen Sie bitte von Ihrem jetzigen Freundeskreis jetzt. Gibt es unter ihnen mehr Russisch- oder Deutschsprechende Freunde?
4. Verfolgen Sie noch Nachrichten aus Russland? Hören Sie russische Musik? Schauen Sie sich russische Filme an?

### **Attitudes towards food**

1. Kochen Sie zuhause vorwiegend russische oder deutsche Gerichte? Was anderes?
2. Was mögen sie aus der russischen Küche? Was mögen Sie aus der deutschen Küche?
3. Was wird bei Ihren Eltern gekocht?
4. Welche Gerichte gibt es am Wochenende, bei den Familienfesten?
5. Haben sich die Essverhältnisse in Ihrer Familie im Laufe der Zeit geändert?
6. Haben Sie schon für deutsche Freunde gekocht? Was?
7. Gehen Sie oft weg? Wohin?
8. Wo kaufen Sie Lebensmittel ein?
9. Gibt es einen russischen Supermarkt in Ihrer Nähe? Kaufen Sie dort ein?



37 Helena: kein kontakt zu russischer sprache,  
38 aber er kennt borschtsch,  
39 er kennt pelmeni [er kennt chebureki]  
40 Int.: [Ja (.) ja (.) ja]  
41 Helena: das alles kennt er  
42 das ist sehr WITZIG. es ist wirklich (.) also  
43 Int.: was wird bei euch gekocht?  
44 Helena: es ist so  
45 Int.: ja  
46 Helena ja, wir machen sehr oft noch sachen, *pelmeni*, klar  
47 Int.: *pelmeni*, *vareniki*  
48 Helena: also es sind teilweise [sa]  
49 Int.: [also, tägliche küche]  
50 Helena: borschtsch, *jaja*  
51 Int.: na  
52 Helena: so was genau, salat, ne  
53 also wenn der tisch gedeckt wird  
54 Int.: [ja]  
55 Helena: [wenn]  
56 geburtstag. das ist klar.  
57 dass es russische salate auf jeden fall alle da sind  
58 *Оливье* (.) ahh, *шуба*, *ну то есть селедка под шубой* [бой]  
59 „russischer salat“ ahh, *pelz*, nun nämlich „hering unter dem  
60 *pelz*“  
61 Int.: [ja]  
62 Helena: ähm (1.2) alles an.  
63 es gibt so viele  
64 Int.: *jaja*  
65 Helena: meine mutter probiert zwar immer wieder was ZU  
66 der grüner salat, grüner salat ist was typisch deutsches  
67 so in russland macht man das eigentlich gar nicht  
68 weil man den salat nicht (.) nicht hat so an sich  
69 Int.: ohne *majo*, *hihihi*  
70 Helena: die salate, die sind immer da (.) klar  
71 und (...) *горячее* (.) *ну что горячее*, *hehe*  
72 ,hauptspeise (.) nun was hauptspeise`  
73 kommt sehr unterschiedlich  
74 aber es wird (.) es wird SELTENER  
75 Int.: hat sich [verändert]  
76 Helena: [es wird]  
77 [seltener]

75 Int.: [ja?]  
76 der geschmack hat sich verändert (.) ja?  
77 Helena: es wird seltener (.) dass man  
78 Int.: ja?  
79 Helena: weil pelmeni wollen wir immer selber machen  
80 das ist  
81 Int.: klar  
82 das noch sehr lustig war, als wir in russland 2006 waren  
83 Int.: hm\_hm  
84 Helena: (--) und WIR machen das alles noch selber  
85 Int.: ja  
86 Helena: meine oma hat ja noch eine [deutsche]  
87 Int.: [ja]  
88 Helena: kultur miteingewacht und RIwwelkuche.  
89 das macht das macht sie das ist praktisch,  
90 so ein strEUselkuchen einfach  
91 Int.: wie heißt es?  
92 Helena: rIwwelkuchen  
93 Int.: rIwwelkuchen  
94 Helena: riwewelku.  
95 Int.: [das hat]  
96 Helena: [riwwelKUGE]  
97 riwwelkuge sagt sie  
98 Int.: das hat[deine oma]  
99 Helena: [riwwelku.]  
100 Int.: deine oma  
101 Helena: das machen wir immer noch.  
102 Int.: ja  
103 Helena: oder (.) ja *пирожки*  
, 'pasteten'  
104 meine mama hat vor kurzem erst *пирожки* gemacht  
, 'pasteten'

105 Int.: aha  
106 Helena: piROgen. ich HAsse dieses wort, haha, piROgen.  
107 hört sich so komisch an  
108 pirogi (.) [pirozhki]  
109 Int.: [pirogen]  
110 pirogen, heißt es auf deutsch  
111 hm (.) die polen haben auch so ein piroge  
112 das ist aber was anderes dann  
113 das ist was wie wareniki hahaha, bei den

114 und (.) ähm (.) genau also (--)  
115 SUppe kochen wir,  
116 weil meine oma noch teilweise sehr oft kocht  
117 Int.: hm [hm\_hm]  
118 Helena: [sie macht halt]  
119 zu ihrem repertoire gehört borschtsch  
120 also verschieden suppen  
121 *другие супы, котлеты с картошкой*  
, andere suppen, frikadellen mit kartoffel`  
122 Int.: hm\_hm  
123 Helena: wareniki *ну вот* wareniki hm, äh  
, na also`  
124 kraut und gewickelte (..) kraut und gewickelte. das ist, ähm  
125 Int.: das ist was deutsches  
126 Helena: *это прикол*  
, das ist ein witz`  
127 *это прикол, нет, это да, это нет, это немецкий рецепт*  
, das ist ein witz, nein, das ist ja, das ist nein,  
das ist ein deutsches rezept`  
128 hm(.) da sind sch (.) nein, das sind keine schnuppen  
129 dann macht sie noch *галушки*  
, galuschki`  
130 Int.: aha  
131 Helena: *галушки с картошкой*  
, galushki mit kartoffel`  
132 Int.: ne, aber was ist das, [was is]  
133 Helena: [kraut]  
134 und [gewickelte]  
135 Int.: [sag mal]  
136 kraut und gewickelte  
137 Helena: das [ist sauer]  
138 Int.: [kraut]  
139 sauerkraut (.)  
140 Int.: ja  
141 Helena: hm *потушить* hehehe scheiße äh, wie heißt es (.)  
, dämpfen`  
142 *ну короче* egal ähm  
, nun halt`  
143 *тушишь тушишь короче* ee  
dämpfen, dämpfen kurzum sie  
144 Int.: garen, ich weiß nicht

145 Helena: einfach nur anbraten kurz anbraten  
146 тушить - тушить  
, dämpfen-dämpfen`  
147 ну это вообще то не, garen, du hast hast recht  
, nun das ist eigentlich nee`  
148 тушить, короче, кислую капусту  
, dämpfen, halt, sauerkraut`  
149 Int.: hm  
150 Helena: потом делаешь из теста такие штучки (.) их на пару (.)  
151 [делают]  
, dann machst du aus dem teig solche dinge (.) sie werden auf  
dem dampf  
[gemacht`]  
152 Int.: [ja]  
153 Helena: на воде  
, auf dem wasser`  
154 Int.: so [dampfnudel]  
155 Helena: [на пару]  
, auf dem dampf`  
156 dampfnudel genau dampfnudel mit kraut mit sauerkraut  
157 Int.: ahh, ok. und das gehört zu eurer russlanddeutsche küche  
158 Helena: ja  
159 Int.: ja (.) [aus russland aber was deutsches]  
160 Helena: [ich mag es nicht besonderes],  
161 ich mag das nicht besonderes  
162 Int.: ja  
163 Helena: aber meine oma macht es immer seltener  
164 aber das ist schon noch (.) dabei,  
165 und das ist immer so mit котлетами  
, frikadellen`  
166 Int.: hm  
167 Helena: wie heißt es hier (.) [friKAdelle]  
168 Int.: [und das nimmst]  
169 du nimmst es als tüpisch russich wahr  
170 oder als (.) familien (.) gericht oder?  
171 Helena: typisch russich (.) „okROshka“  
172 das ist für mich wirklich typisch russisch,  
173 dass keine anderer essen würde, glaube ich  
174 Int.: [hihihi]  
175 Helena: [wenn du das erklärst],  
176 „okroshka“ [что такое]



,was ist das`  
 177 Int.: [ja das ist]  
 178 Helena: KALTE suppe, die gibt's auch in anderen nationalitäten  
 179 aber wenn du erklärt was du alles rein machst  
 180 und dann BROT, auf brot gebraut FLEisch  
 181 Int.: auch fleisch dazu, na?  
 182 Helena: und WURST noch rein, das ist total seltsam.  
 183 ich habe glaube ich auch,  
 184 wen habe ich es serviert (.)  
 185 ich habe den Simon es glaube ich noch nicht serviert  
 186 Int.: [hm\_hm]  
 187 Helena: [aber]  
 188 irgendjemand anderen habe ich es schon serviert.  
 189 irgendjemand hat mir erzählt, der hat gemeint  
 190 es voll ekelig und es (.)  
 191 für mich schmeckt es nach HEimat,  
 192 es ist für mich schon was (.)  
 193 das GEIL, das ist GEIL (.)  
 194 es ist im sommer das geilste überhaupt, окрошка,  
 195 Int.: hm\_hm  
 196 Helena: РЕДИСКА, картошка, что туда еще ложат (. ) äh  
 ,RETTICH kartoffel, was man noch darein macht`  
 197 ОГУРЕЦ и „докторскую“ колбасу  
 ,GURKE und „doktorskaja“ wurst`  
 198 wir haben LANGE gesucht,  
 199 dass was wir als ersatzt machen können.  
 200 lyoner geht (. ) als ersatzt zu „doktorskaja“  
 201 Int.: ja stimmt, stimmt [schmeckt gleich, ja]  
 202 Helena: [aber in russland machst du]  
 203 mit mit  
 204 in russland machst du es mit, с докторской короче  
 ,mit „doktorskaja“ halt`  
 205 как докторская колбаса (. ) картошка  
 ,wie „doktorskaja“ wurst (. ) kartoffel`  
 206 KWAS  
 207 Helena: das macht meine mama immer noch selber  
 208 Int.: [ja]  
 209 Helena: [kwas]  
 210 Int.: aber jetzt hat sich der repertoire erweitert?  
 211 Helena: jaaa (..) natürlich (. ) ja klar (. ) meine mama (. )  
 212 ich muss noch sagen (. ) dass ist auch

213 so ein ding, dass es (---)  
 214 das ist meine mama halt (.) einfach  
 215 die wird sich dafür interessieren  
 216 ГОЛУБЦЫ, dass es auch so ein leckeres essen  
 ,gefülltes kraut`  
 217 dass sehr SELTEN bei uns gibt  
 218 das ist ein GEILES teil,  
 219 das ist geil (.) es gibt aber immer seltener.  
 220 und äh (.)  
 221 Int.: das wird den deutschen auch schmecken, glaub ich  
 222 Helena: ich glaube die können es auch KOHLrolladen, heißt es hier.  
 223 das ist auch so ein gänge, zwischen [weiß ich nicht]  
 224 Int.: [hm, hm]  
 225 Helena: ja, meine mama macht schon einige. also.  
 226 wenn ICH trage auch dazu bei,  
 227 wenn ich zuhause bin, oder simon, auch typisch deutsch,  
 228 gutbürgerliche deutsche küche,  
 229 FLEISch, BEIlage, SAUuse (---) und  
 230 Int.: was wird bei dir zuhause gekocht, in wg?  
 231 Helena: hier?  
 232 Int.: ja  
 233 Helena: ah (.) ich koch ganz viel so einfache sachen.  
 234 also ich mach sehr selten russische sachen für mich alleine  
 235 weil die sind relativ [aufwendig]  
 236 Int.: [aufwendig]  
 237 Helena: genau pelmeni (.)ja, wenn man alle,  
 238 ja und ich habe borschtsch für meine kommilitonen  
 239 habe ich ja. so einen borschtschabend,  
 240 sachen wir doch einen borschtschabend, ist ja ok, koch ich  
 241 Int.: ja  
 242 Helena: haben wir gekocht (.) dass hat macht spaß für VIEle leute  
 243 ich habe es so einen punkt,  
 244 wenn du mal so was machst (.),  
 245 dann machen für viele machen leute  
 246 den leuten, die es nicht KENNEN,  
 247 damit sie es mal (.) gesehen haben.  
 248 schmeckt ja am meisten (.) das stimmt (.)  
 249 das ist doch DEFTIG.  
 250 also suppe, borschtsch, *СКОЛЬКО ВАРИТСЯ БОРЩ?*  
 ,wie lange kocht borschtsch?`  
 251 *ДВА ЧАСА ТОЛЬКО* mehr

,zwei stunden nur`  
 252           мясо ну как ну час мясо потом ты кидаешь что тебе  
               ,fleisch nun wie, nun eine stunde, fleisch,  
               dann wirfst du was du`  
 253           надо быть дома  
               ,man muss zuhause sein`  
 254           тебе надо смотреть за плитой  
               ,du musst am herd stehen`  
 255           (.) das mach ich nur, konnte ich nur am wochenende machen  
 256           mein lebensstil geht eigentlich so SCHNELLER  
 257 Int.:     hm  
 258           über SCHNELLER  
 259 Int.:     ja klar, italienische küche, so  
 260           italienisch-deutsche küche  
 261 Helena:   klar ITALIENISCH, ITALIENISCH (.) so irgendwas italienisches  
 262           irgendwas anderes  
 263           pasta halt  
 264 Int.:     pasta  
 265 Helena:   risotto  
 266 Int.:     studentenessen  
 267 Helena:   studentenessen  
 268           pizza  
 269           oh GOTT italienische küche ist der  
 270 Int.:     schon fast food geworden  
 271 Helena:   ja  
 272           (---)  
 273           genau (---) so sieht es aus

## Aleksej

17. 02.2013. Mannheim

1 Int.: ja, also erzähl mal was kochst du zuhause?  
2 Aleksej: [ICH?]  
3 Int.: [Überhaupt]  
4 Aleksej: koche  
5 ich bin ein mann, ich koche nicht  
6 ein, quatsch, hehehe  
7 äh, so kochen wirklich  
8 ja, pasta (---) mache ich oft wahrscheinlich dann  
9 was noch (---)äh  
10 ja keine ahnung so fisch (---) braten, bratkartoffeln machen  
11 irgendwelche äh so reibekuchen  
12 (2)  
13 Int.: hm\_hm  
14 Aleksej: hm\_hm  
15 ja, was noch, hm (.) ja so paar indische sachen ausprobiere  
16 (1)  
17 ja das ist so halt, das was ich OFT mache (.) und wiederholt  
18 Int.: hm\_hm  
19 Aleksej: aber ich probiere auch viele andere sachen aus  
20 Int.: hm\_hm  
21 Aleksej: auch einmal irgendwie mich durch rezepte durchkochen  
22 irgendwie so was  
23 Int.: hm\_hm  
24 Aleksej: das mag ich auch  
25 Int.: du magst exotisch kochen?  
26 Aleksej: jaja schon  
27 Int.: hm\_hm  
28 Aleksej: ähm, ja mit viel gewürzen  
29 und mit leckeren zutaten vielleicht auch (---)  
30 ja irgendwas interessantes,  
31 auf jeden fall,

32 Int.: gibt's was interessantes, was deutsches kochst?

33 Aleksej: DEUtsches?

34 Int.: hm\_hm

35 Aleksej: pf

36 reibekuchen mit apfelmuss

37 Int.: ok

38 Aleksej: wahrscheinlich äh, wenn schon

39 und (2) ja, wahrscheinlich ist das einzige, hihhi

40 Int.: hm\_hm, gibt's nicht so viele gewürze.

41 Aleksej: nein

42 Int.: hm\_hm

43 Aleksej: hm\_hm

44 Int.: schnitzel?

45 Aleksej: nein

46 (4)

47 hm

48 pf, mag ich irgendwie nie, äh ja, fleisch sowieso wenig

49 Int.: hm\_hm

50 Aleksej: also nicht, ja.

51 Int.: du hast keine russische gerichte genannt

52 Aleksej: äh, ja auch (2) hm\_hm

53 ja ich weiß nicht, die sind sehr aufwendig

54 Int.: hm\_hm

55 Aleksej: ja, aber ich mag sie hehehe, trotzdem

56 Int.: ja

57 Aleksej: ja wenn, wenn irgendwas russisches

58 dann ist es kommt vielleicht irgendwie

59 so bratkartoffeln mit äh (.)

60 oder überhaupt gekochte katoffel mit

61 äh hering oder *сЕЛЕДка* auch genannt

62 „hering“

63 Int.: hm\_hm

64 Aleksej: ja oder *КИЛЬка*, und oder auch

65 ,sprotte`

66 also milch noch dabei auf jeden fall

67 und noch mit

68 Int.: MIlch auch dabei, mit *КИЛЬка*?

69 ,sprotte`

70 Aleksej: äh, ja

71 Int.: hm\_hm

72 Aleksej: und nicht mit *КИЛЬка* sondern mit karTOffeln



114 die ich ab und zu kaufe  
115 Int.: ok, zum beispiel?  
116 Aleksej: zum beilspiel (.) getrockneten fisch (---)[das]  
117 Int.: [ok]  
118 Aleksej: das ist sehr gut mit bier  
119 Int.: aha  
120 Aleksej: schmeckt lecker als snack  
121 Int.: hm\_hm  
122 Aleksej: ja und was mach ich  
123 JA so (.) so eingelegte sachen wie tomaten, gurken  
124 Aleksej: äh ja da gibt dann noch so was wie äh (--) BUchweizen  
125 ja stimmt das koche ich a auch  
126 Int.: buchweizen?  
127 Aleksej: genau, buchweizen  
128 Int.: aha  
129 Aleksej: buchweizen mit milch sehr lecker  
130 Int.: mit milch?  
131 Aleksej: ja, mit milch, so wie ich es immer gegessen habe  
132 Int.: hm\_hm  
133 Aleksej: ja (---) ja, ne das mach ich oft  
134 ja das geht schneller das ist sehr lecker  
135 äh (--) hm, dann kauf ich doch noch erbsen.  
136 Int.: hm\_hm  
137 Aleksej: ja genau (.) für erbsensuppe die ich auch  
138 Int.: hehehe  
139 Aleksej: von zuhause kenne  
140 Int.: ah (.) von zuhause ok, das ist auch was russisches?  
141 Aleksej: ah (.) nu äh (.) ich weiß nicht das ist (.)  
142 nun  
143 Int.: erbsensuppe  
144 Aleksej: ja klar, aber das kenne ich halt (2)  
145 auch mein haus und so was  
146 Int.: hm\_hm  
147 Aleksej: ah (.) es ist für mich schon was russisches würde ich sagen  
148 (2)  
149 äh (.) was koch ich da noch?  
150 ah (.) ja Süßes (.) halva habe ich letztens gekauft (2)  
151 Int.: hm\_hm  
152 Aleksej: dass ich sie dann auf der arbeit verzehrt habe  
153 Int.: auf der arbeit?  
154 Arbeit

155 Int.: hm\_hm (.) dann nimmst du das essen mit auf die arbeit?

156 Aleksej: und was Süßes ja, [zum kaffe]

157 Int.: [was]

158 sagen kollegen?

159 Aleksej: ja (.) ich habe es vor kurzem angeboten,

160 aber keine wollte das

161 Int.: hehehe

162 Aleksej: die haben sich irgendwie ein bisschen davon gefürchtet

163 Int.: ok

164 Aleksej: oh (.)ja

165 Int.: kochst du das nur zuhause?

166 Aleksej: WAS?

167 Int.: ja, buchweizen und suppen (.) was russisches?

168 oder bringst du das zu den kollegen zum [festen]?

169 Aleksej: [äh]

170 hm (.) naja wir hatten ja noch

171 wir hatten keine feste wohnung, wer kochen mitbringen konnte

172 Int.: hm\_hm

173 Aleksej: aber ich habe russischen kuchen gebacken so und mitgebracht

174 Int.: kuchen?

175 Aleksej: ja, habe ich mal gemacht

176 Int.: was für kuchen?

177 Aleksej: „кучерявый панчо“

178 „lockenköpfiger pancho“

179 Int.: ah, ok.

180 war lecker? hat's geschmeckt?

181 Aleksej: ja (.) sie haben es sehr gelobt

182 ich habe das auf (---) deustch übersetzt

183 Int.: das ist doch sehr süß

184 Aleksej: ja

185 Int.: war es den nicht so süß?

186 Aleksej: nein (.) nee (.) ne (.) ist alles gegessen worden

187 Int.: hm\_hm

188 Aleksej: ich habe das übersetzt als „lockenköpfiger pancho“

189 Int.: hehe

190 Aleksej: hehe, ja

191 Int.: ok

192 Aleksej: damit sie sich nicht abgeschreckt fühlen

193 vom russischen namen (.) ja

194 Int.: ok, aha

195 Aleksej: genau



196           äh, ja, habe ich irgendwas mitgebracht?  
197           ja, ich habe einmal bratkartoffeln mitgebracht  
198           und das mit milch gegessen  
199           (-- ) in der mensa  
200 Int.:     hm\_hm  
201 Aleksej:  ich glaube die haben ein bisschen komisch geguckt  
202           ich weiß nicht so das  
203 Int.:     mit milch bratkartoffeln?  
204           bratkartoffeln mit milch hast du gegessen?  
205           und woher? (-- ) milch hast du gekauft?  
206 Aleksej:  ja habe ich gekauft in der mensa  
207 Int.:     ah, ok  
208 Aleksej:  ich weiß nicht (.) ob das man (.) ob das nicht üblich ist  
209 Int.:     hm\_hm  
210 Aleksej:  in deutschland oder so aber  
211           sie haben ein bisschen komisch geguckt  
212 Int.:     hm\_hm  
213 Aleksej:  ja  
214 Int.:     zu buchweizen haben sie auch was gesagt?  
215 Aleksej:  buchweizen (.) ah ja (.) STIMMT  
216           buchweizen habe ich ja auch mitgebracht  
217           das habe ich ja ohne milch gegessen  
218           ah (.) da gabs lange gespräche darüber  
219 Int.:     aha  
220 Aleksej:  das das ein armenessen ist  
221 Int.:     kann mich noch erinnern  
222 Aleksej:  hahaha  
223 Int.:     aha  
224 Aleksej:  ja  
225 Int.:     hm\_hm  
226 Aleksej:  ja, sowas machst du zuhause  
227           aber bei den eltern kannst du was anderes kriegen?  
228           ja klar (.) ja natürlich gibt es dann ja auch solche sachen  
229           die man ja (.) ja  
230           pelmeni gibt es da oft  
231           пирожки  
232           , pasteten`  
233 Int.:     was aufwendiges  
234           ja, und manti (.) und ja keine ahnung (.)  
235           was noch für sachen  
236           fällt mir jetzt nicht ein

237 Int.: hm\_hm

238 Aleksej: oh *пирожки* gibt es oft

239 ,pasteten`

240 blini auch ab und zu

241 a blini mach ich auch manchmal naja (.) ist eher selten

242 zuhause mach ich auch (.) stimmt

243 Int.: und die eltern kochen vorwiegend russisches?

244 Aleksej: ja-ja (.) nur eigentlich

245 Int.: ja?

246 nur das was sie jetzt aus dem dorf kennen (.) aus russland

247 die haben sich

248 JAJA, aber ein paar rezepte haben sie natürlcih schon

249 (-- ) gelernt

250 aber(-- ) nee so

251 Int.: hm\_hm

252 Aleksej: tägliches essen ist das selbe WIE von zwanzig JAHren

253 Int.: hm\_hm, hm\_hm

254 Aleksej: ja

255 Int.: aber du magst das?

256 Aleksej: äh (.) ja, geht so (.) nicht alles

257 pf (-- ) aber ja schon (.) nee ja

258 nu ich habe mich schon ein bisschen entwöhnt (.)

259 glaube ich so

260 *котлета* und so was würde ich nicht mehr mögen

261 ,frikadele`

262 Int.: hm\_hm

263 Aleksej: wahrscheinlich

264 Int.: das heißt deine essverhältnisse haben sich auch

265 Aleksej: im laufe der zeit geändert?

266 ja nur weil ich halt nicht mehr schon lange nicht mehr

267 zuhause war

268 Int.: hm\_hm

269 Aleksej: natürlich entwöhnt man sich

270 äh ja (.) diese sachen hat man auch früher nicht so gemacht

271 und so was (2) ja

272 Int.: ok

273 Aleksej: hm\_hm

274 Int.: wenn du weggehst, ins restaurant, was magst du?

275 Aleksej: welche küche magst du?

276 hahaha

277 äh, ALLes ich (-) mag (-) alles hehehe

278 Int.: definiere bitte alles  
279 Aleksej: äh, ja (--) äh vielleicht griechisch nicht oder DEUtsch (.)  
280 zieht mich jetzt auch nicht so an  
281 oder nu ja wieder so ja so exotische sachen eigentlich,  
282 ähm ja  
283 ja was würziges (.)  
284 ja italienisch natürlich auch ja (.) chinesisches  
285 Int.: hm\_hm, hm\_hm  
286 Aleksej: äh (.) hm (.) pf (.) weiß ich nicht (.)  
287 ja sushi esse ich auch gerne  
288 und (.) ja georgisch habe ich auch schon gegessen.  
289 Int.: wo den hehehe?  
290 Aleksej: in berlin.  
291 Int.: aha  
292 Aleksej: ja  
293 und mit kollegen  
294 a nee ich (--)ich esse alles gerne ist mir egal  
295 Int.: hm\_hm  
296 Aleksej: ja also pf (.) ja klingt halt nicht so irgendwie super  
297 exotisch oder so was (.)  
298 ja es voller auf fleisch ausgelegt so was  
299 hm  
300 nicht so NIcht so sehr anziehend  
301 Int.: türkisch magst du auch nicht?  
302 Aleksej: türkisch? DOCH  
303 habe ich ja doch vor kurzem geGessen (.) war sehr LEcker  
304 Int.: ja  
305 Aleksej: es gibt halt nicht so viel möglichkeiten  
306 türkisch essen zugehen außer (.) döner und so was  
307 Int.: hm\_hm  
308 Aleksej: aber, wenn ja doch gerne  
309 besonders Süßigkeiten mag ich da.  
310 Int.: wo hast du die gegessen?  
311 Aleksej: in mannheim  
312 Int.: ah ja  
313 Aleksej: ja (--)  
314 da gibt was schon viele auswahl  
315 Int.: und in konstanz gibt es nicht?  
316 Aleksej: äh, was denn?  
317 Int.: gute türkische küche, süßigkeiten  
318 Aleksej: süßigkeiten (--) ja es gibt schon ein paar

319                   aber die sind glaube ich nicht so frisch und so was  
320                   äh ja (.) aber türkisches restaurant gibt es auch ja  
321 Int.:           wo?  
322 Aleksej: hm dort, eigentlich nicht weit vom russischen laden (---)  
323                   „defne“ ist das  
324 Int.:           kenne ich nicht  
325 Aleksej: gibt ein russisches restaurant in konstanz?  
326                   nein, gibt es irgendwo? überhaupt?  
327 Int.:           ich denke schon, ja  
328 Aleksej: pf (.) ja (.) wahrscheinlich (.)  
329                   in berlin habe ich glaube ich gesehen  
330 Int.:           hm\_hm  
331 Aleksej: gibt es auch  
332 Int.:           würdest du hingehen?  
333 Aleksej: ja natürlich  
334 Int.:           hm\_hm  
335 Aleksej: bestimmt (--) gerne  
336 Int.:           ok und am wochenende kochst du den auch was besonderes oder?  
337 Aleksej: ja wenn ich zeit habe  
338                   koche ich (--) probiere ich gerne irgendwann mal aus  
339 Int.:           [hm\_hm]  
340 Aleksej: [irgendein]  
341                   rezept, ja  
342                   (5)  
343 Int.:           ok  
344 Aleksej: hm\_hm  
345 Int.:           hm\_hm (-)erzähl mir von familienfesten  
346                   wenn ihr euch versammelt (.)  
347 Aleksej: hm\_hm  
348 Int.:           was kocht ihr was wird gekocht da?  
349                   am wochenende oder an den festen  
350 Aleksej: ja (--) dieselben sachen wieder  
351                   nee (.) eigentlich nicht äh  
352                   ja es ist schon (.) ich glaube (--)  
353                   ja das hat sich schon ein bisschen gewandelt  
354                   im vergleich zu früher  
355 Int.:           hm\_hm  
356 Aleksej: ja do so (--) schon ein wenig  
357                   ja (--) früher waren halt diese ganzen sachen  
358                   wie „pelmeni“ und so was  
359                   war schon sehr festlich

360           aber jetzt ist es mittlerweil er wahrscheinlich (2)  
361           nee (.) das ist eigentlich noch ja äh (--) also ja,  
362           keine ahnung  
363           also die hälfte ist vielleicht salate vor allem  
364           haben sich gewandelt hihi  
365 Int.:      hm\_hm  
366 Aleksej:   überhaupt gerichte ja auch (---) ein wenig (---)  
367 Int.:      und was mit salaten?  
368 Aleksej:   was? JA, die sind glaube ich ein bisschen leichter geworden  
369           so etwas ausgefallener und so  
370           und anderen zutaten die man halt auch kaum kaufen kann  
371           und so  
372           früher war man eher darauf beschränkt (.)  
373           was man (---) zuhause hatte  
374 Int.:      hm\_hm, hm\_hm  
375 Aleksej:   so ein granatapfelsalat haben wir früher NIE gemacht  
376 Int.:      hehe  
377 Aleksej:   ja  
378           weil es in russland nicht gab, granatapfel oder (--)  
379           hy ja gab es schon, aber halt (--) nicht oft  
380           ,nun`  
381           und konnte man nicht extra für diesen tag kaufen und so was  
382 Int.:      granatapfelsalat gibt es  
383           in russischer küche auch eigentlich?  
384 Aleksej:   ja? habe ich nie gekannt  
385 Int.:      ah, ok  
386 Aleksej:   ja und jetzt pelmeni gibt halt immer noch und so  
387           und und ja  
388           das macht man da fleisch irgendwie immer fleisch  
389           mit irgendwas  
390 Int.:      hm\_hm  
391 Aleksej:   äh  
392           ja (.) meine schwester versucht schon  
393           glaub ich deutsche sachen aus  
394           letztens (--) zum beispiel  
395 Int.:      was?  
396 Aleksej:   zu silvester gemacht  
397           ähm (--) ja ich glaube ja (.) was war das?  
398           ja ich glaube die hat diese weihnachtsgans  
399           mit rotkohl und knödeln gemacht  
400 Int.:      hm\_hm

401 Aleksej: ja (3)  
402 Int.: ja  
403 Aleksej: ja, hat wohl sehr gut geschmeckt  
404 aber alle haben sich dann auf pelmeni gefreut  
405 Int.: hihhi  
406 Aleksej: ja  
407 hehe  
408 ja  
409 der hat mein vater zumindest mal gesagt  
410 Int.: hm\_hm, hm\_hm  
411 Aleksej: ja  
412 Int.: so ist es hälfte-hälfte, so fifty-fifty  
413 Aleksej: was fifty?  
414 Int.: ja also deutsch - russisch?  
415 Aleksej: ja keine ahnung ob das deutsch ist  
416 das ist halt ich glaube auch nicht (.) hehe so ganz  
417 aber halt neu  
418 Int.: hm\_hm  
419 Aleksej: nee ich denke es ist immer noch russisch äh (.)  
420 die ganzen rezepte sind irgendwie auch  
421 aus irgendwelchen RUsischen zeitschriften und so was  
422 Int.: hm\_hm  
423 Aleksej: entnommen  
424 vielleicht haben sie auch deutsche wurzeln (1) diese rezepte  
425 kann ich nicht sagen  
426 Int.: aber du magst es?  
427 Aleksej: was?  
428 Int.: das essen dann deine verwandten?  
429 Aleksej: äh (.) ja  
430 so an fest. (.) so an festlichen tagen  
431 klar das ist halt das ist festlich  
432 Int.: hm\_hm  
433 Aleksej: es gibt an festen  
434 und ja nee doch, mag ich schon, auf jeden fall, ja  
435 so die ganzen klassischen salate und so was  
436 ein mag ich ganz besonderes  
437 Int.: aha  
438 Aleksej: der sollte eigentlich immer dabei sein (2)  
439 Int.: was?  
440 was?  
441 hm\_hm

442 Aleksej: *под шубой*  
                  ,unter dem pelz`  
443                   „hering im pelzmantel“  
444 Int.:       hm\_hm  
445 Aleksej: ja sehr lecker

Elena, Mannheim

14.03.2013, Mannheim

1 Int.: was gehört zu deinem repertoire? was kochst du tag täglich?  
2 Elena: also ich mach so (.) ich koch mal nicht mal jeden tag,  
3       weil hier so hausfrauenmässig (.) von mama gelernt, haha.  
4       ich KOch schon und dann reichts mir schon für drei vier tage  
5 Int.: ja  
6 Elena: also [ich]  
7 Int.:       [hm\_hm]  
8 Elena: auf jeden fall was ich mach (.) immer selbstgekochtes essen.  
9       ich kauf nie fertigprodukte  
10 Int.: hm\_hm  
11 Elena: und ich gehe ehrlich gesagt nicht so gerne essen,  
12       aber das liegt nicht daran (.)  
13       ähm, ja, woran liegt eigentlich?  
14       also es liegt eher an  
15       und warum ich nicht so gerne essen gehe,  
16       weil es mir tatsächlich nicht schmeckt.  
17 Int.: kannst du doch auch salat bestellen  
18 Int.: ja, das kann man immer zuhause machen  
19 Elena: das stimmt, haha  
20       ja voll oft ich weiß nicht, weil  
21 Int.: hm\_hm  
22 Elena: voll oft habe ich immer so das gefühl,

23 so dass die qualität nicht so (--)  
24 ich bin schon jemand der guckt schon ziemlich oft  
25 auf qualität  
26 Int.: hm\_hm  
27 Elena: vom essen  
28 und es ich bin vegeTArrier (--)  
29 Int.: ja  
30 schon seit zehn jahren jetzt  
31 Int.: ok  
32 und ich (.) ja also immer selber kochen viel obst und geMÜse  
33 also schon ich versuch mich schon  
34 ziemlich gesund zu ernähren.  
35 aber dann auch (.) also ziemlich international  
36 also [ich koche]  
37 Int.: [hm\_hm]  
38 Elena: jetzt nicht wirklich irgendwie nur ausnahmsweise  
39 deutsche gerichte oder ausnahmsweise russische wirklich (.)  
40 ich gehe auch in asiashop einkaufen  
41 [oder]  
42 Int.: [hm\_hm]  
43 Elena: in türkischen supermarkt  
44 also wirklich alles gemischt  
45 Int.: auch chinesisches (.) indisches  
46 Elena: der sowas genau  
47 heute habe ich asiatisch gekocht  
48 und muss jetzt sagen, das fand ich ganz lecker, hahaha.  
49 Int.: ja, haha  
50 Elena: oh ja und mit kräutern und alles so ja  
51 also es liegt auch daran  
52 ich beschäftige mich auch gern mit essen  
53 backen mache ich auch voll gern  
54 Int.: backst du gerne?  
55 Elena: hm\_hm  
56 Int.: isst du fisch?  
57 Elena: nee (.) also wirklich nichts tierisches  
58 außer eier, käse, milch  
59 und sowas, aber keine toten tiere quasi (.) äh  
60 egal ob aus dem meer oder von der wiese  
61 Int.: du bist vegetarierin seit zehn jahren  
62 Elena: ja  
63 Int.: das heißt (.) es hat in der schule begonnen?



64 ja mit [sechzehn]  
65 [angefangen]  
66 ende sechzehn ungefähr ja  
67 Int.: was haben die eltern dazu gesagt?  
68 Elena: oh GOTT, haha  
69 Int.: ja  
70 Elena: ganz ehrlich in nachhinein frage ich mich heute  
71 Int.: hm\_hm  
72 Elena: wie ich das eigentlich durchziehen konnte?  
73 vor allem ich bin die einzigste in meiner familie  
74 die kein fleisch isst  
75 und meine familie fleisch LIEBT  
76 Int.: ja  
77 Elena: und weil es halt wirklich in der russischen küche,  
78 irgendwie so  
79 fast alles mit fleisch ist (.) außer vielleicht wareniki  
80 Int.: ja  
81  
82 Elena: was kocht deine mutter? vorwiegend russische küche?  
83 russische gerichte?  
84 jain (---)  
85 also früher eher ja (.) aber das hat sich so wie äh  
86 wir sind schon immer hin schon 23 jahre in deutschland  
87 Int.: hm\_hm  
88 Elena: hat sich schon stark gewandelt  
89 und es ist schon auch (.) ziemlich (---)  
90 ja international nicht (.)  
91 aber also viele deutsche gerichte auch  
92 und was ich auch ganz witzig find  
93 also meine mutter holt sich immer inspiration  
94 von meiner schwester und mir (.)  
95 und kocht dann inzwischen immer was mit currypulwer  
96 oder sowas  
97 ich voll so OH MAMA, hahaha, ja  
98 Int.: hm\_hm  
99 Elena: ja (.) also schon so prinzipiell (.)  
100 eher so russisch-deutsch so überwiegend  
101 aber klar so sachen wie italienisch (.) aber [wobei]  
102 Int.: [klar]  
103 klar

104 Elena: spaghetti mit tomatensauce,  
105 bolognese sind nicht mehr itelienisch,  
106 weil es in deutschland auch so gängig ist  
107 Int.: du sagst, dass bei euch gab's viel fleisch,  
108 viele gerichte aus fleisch.  
109 Elena: ja, also mein fater, also wirklich,  
110 der muss jeden tag fleisch essen.  
111 wenn es was vegetarisches gibt,  
112 dann schneidet er sich eine wurst dazu  
113 es ist echt übel, haha  
114 und manchmal, nach über 10 jahren  
115 muss ich mir immer einen blöden spruch  
116 von meiner familie anhören  
117 Int.: ja  
118 Elena: ja  
119 Int.: haben sie es zugelassen? Haben sie nicht gesagt,  
120 dass es ungesund ist?  
121 Elena: doch (.) meine oma glaubt immer noch,  
122 dass ich tausend millionen mangelerscheinungen habe  
123 Int.: ja  
124 Elena: ja  
125 aber die glauben auch,  
126 dass man zucker für die knochen braucht  
127 ich weiß auch nicht, wer das den erzählt hat  
128 ah so  
129 ja, ne, auf jeden fall, ähm, ne die waren da schon so  
130 es gab schon was  
131 ich weiß noch, dass wirklich gerade  
132 zwischen meinem fater und mir (.)  
133 also was das betrifft, schon öfter diskussionen gab  
134 die schon so in streiten bisschen ausgeartet sind  
135 ich bin bei so sachen auch relativ stur und ich war dann so  
136 ich habe es dann einfach  
137 ich hab dann einfach gar nichts gegessen  
138 Int.: hm\_hm  
139 Elena: also bei zum beispiel pelmeni, oder irgendwas mit fleisch  
140 und ich so ne das esse ich so aber nicht  
141 und es gab streiten und dann habe ich gar nicht gegessen,  
142 oder sie haben mich dann in ruhe gelassen ,  
143 und waren dann einverstanden  
144 dass ich immerhin wenigstens die fleischlose beilage esse,

145 was ich auch dann oft gemacht habe.  
146 pelemeni ohne fleisch?  
147 ja, wenn, dann habe ich mir was anderes gemacht,  
148 aber wenn es irgendwie was kartoffelpüree mit fleisch gab,  
149 habe ich kartoffelpüree salat und sauce gegessen.  
150 Int.: hm\_hm  
151 Elena: anstatt fleisch jetzt  
152 Int.: hm\_hm  
153 Elena: und ich meine inzwischen haben sie sich auch  
154 schon daran gewöhnt  
155 Int.: ja  
156 Elena: inzwischen koch ich ja auch selber (.)  
157 weil wenn es so so familienfeste sind,  
158 dann klar gibt es hier oft russisches essen  
159 das ist komischerweise immer noch so (--)  
160 bei familienessen gibt es ausnahmsweise  
161 immer russisches essen  
162 Int.: zum beispiel?  
163 Elena: zum beispieleil manti, plov, borschtsch (.) ah so was  
164 Int.: hm\_hm  
165 Elena: ja nicht mehr so oft (.) aber (.)  
166 früher war das immer so viel zum vorspeise,  
167 borschtsch oder so was  
168 dann irgendwas anderes noch,  
169 aber jetzt nicht mehr so oft,  
170 und dann äh oh gott wie heißen die nochmal (.) tefteli  
171 Int.: tefteli  
172 Elena: tefteli so was und  
173 mit kraut  
174 GENAU  
175 Int.: hm-hm  
176 Elena: aber die gerollten  
177 die gerollten heißen (.) ähm  
178 ÄH, es fällt nicht EIN (2) GoluBEZ  
179 Int.: golubzy  
180 Elena: golubzy genau  
181 golubez ist einz so was  
182 auf jeden fall  
183 oder so rippchen frittiert  
184 also nicht frittiert aber so in fett gebraten (.)  
185 das finde ich

186 Int.: das kenne ich nicht  
187 Elena: wieso? das kennst du auch (.) glaub es mir (.) das ist so hm  
188 viel mit fleisch einfach  
189 Int.: [ok]  
190 Elena: [wirklich]  
191 Int.: aha manti  
192 Elena: und dann  
193 nein (.) ja genau  
194 Int.: das ist weil ihr aus kasachstan stammt, ja?  
195 Elena: genau (.)ja  
196 und dann halt wirklich also gerade bei so familienfesten  
197 immer so  
198 eingelegten tomaten (.) gurken (.)  
199 also aus dem russischen supemarket  
200 Int.: das ist doch vegetarisch (.) das magst du bestimmt?  
201 genau (.) da ist dann aber so  
202 klar (.) fällt mit ein (.) wenn ich so überleg  
203 Wirklich bei so familiensachen (.)  
204 gibt's oft russisches [essen]  
205 Int.: [hm\_hm]  
206 Elena: immer noch (.)  
207 also meine mutter würde NIE eine lasagne machen  
208 allein weil man es schon in so riesenportionen kochen kann  
209 wie sie kocht ja dann immer für drei millionen gäste  
210 auch wenn [nur]  
211 Int.: [ja]  
212 Elena: zehn kommen  
213 Int.: ja-ja  
214 Elena: ja  
215 Int.: und dazu gibt es auch salate mit majo  
216 Elena: genau  
217 Int.: ja?  
218 Elena: salate aber also generell bin ich in der familie aufgewachsen  
219 in der es schon trotz allem frisches obst und gemüse auch gab  
220 und dann fast zu jedem essen salat und so  
221 und jetzt ist es halt so grade bei familiensachen (.)  
222 dass ich auch angefangen hab (.)  
223 dann wieder richtiges vegetarisches gericht zu kochen  
224 und inzwischen mögen es auch ALLE  
225 auch wenn sie es so ein bisschen als beilage beachten  
226 hahaha

227           aber immerhin (.) ich werde langsam anerkannt (.)  
 228           so nach zehn jahren, ja  
 229 Int.:     ok  
 230 Elena:    welche salate gibt es bei euch an festen?  
 231           also eigentlich so klassische (.) blattsalat mit so gemüse  
 232           so weist du so jetzt nichts besonderes (.) einfach so (.)  
 233           typischer salat oder  
 234           ich kommt (.) das glaub ich meiner mutter heute nicht  
 235           also sie hat so zwei russische kochbücher zuhause  
 236           von russlanddeutschen glaub ich  
 237           salat „OLIVIER“  
 238 Int.:     da (.) hm\_hm (.)ok (.) da  
 239 Elena:    man kommt so (.) ich weiß nicht „OLIVIER“  
 240           das ist doch nicht RUssisch, das ist doch  
 241 Int.:     doch, das heißt „oliviER“  
 242 Elena:    „olivier“  
 243 Int.:     in deutschland heißt der salat, russischer salat, eigentlich  
 244 Elena:    meine mutter: salat „olivier“. oh gott, hahaha  
 245 Int.:     warum der „olivier“ heißt, weiß ich nicht.  
 246           das wurde vielleicht nach einem koch genannt,  
 247           oder dressing (.)  
 248           [oder salat]  
 249 Elena:    [ich war]  
 250           keine ahnung  
 251           wenn sowas manchmal  
 252           oder äh (--) ja (--) ich meine mutter mein  
 253           ja was ich auch eigentlich total witzig find  
 254           korEAnisches essen  
 255           hin-chin (.) machen (.) eine (.) [macht meine  
 256 Int.:     chin-chin?  
 257 Elena:    ja (--)  
 258 Int.:     was ist das?  
 259 Elena:    das (.) ähm (.) ich weiß (.)  
 260           äh, auf englisch heißt es pickles äh (.)  
 261           carbage pickles  
 262 Int.:     ok  
 263 Elena:    also quasi kohlringe eingelegt mit chili (-) scharf und knoblauch  
 264           das ist korea!nisch und ich weiß nicht,wie das kam  
 265 Int.:     also durch [kasachstan auch]  
 266 Elena:                   [durch kasachstan]  
 267 Int.:     durch kasachstan

268 Elena: genau

(25:10-25:50 ausgelassen)

269 Elena: dann auch (.) was fast obligatorisch ist  
270 Kartoffeln, in irgendeiner form kartofeln (.)  
271 entweder als brei oder so gekocht,  
272 aber ohne kartoffel geht ja GAR nichts  
273 grundnahrungsmittel bei meiner familie  
274 ja, ist es die beilage  
275 Int.: ja  
276 Elena: richtig  
277 Int.: richtige beilage  
278 Elena: richtig ja  
279 hahaha  
280 Int.: ok interessant interessant  
281 Int.: gibt es was neues (.) aus der deutschen küche  
282 was an festen gibt oder gekocht (.) gekocht wird?  
283 Elena: also (.) ja (.) das deutsches selten  
284 wobei ich das nicht unbedingt deutsch bezeichnen würde  
285 Int.: oder neue einflüsse  
286 Elena: ist der neue einflüsse sind tatsächlich so  
287 dann durch mich gekommen (.) weil ich vegetarisch leb und  
288 dann irgendwann angefangen hab zu sagen.  
289 ja (.) ich koch dann auch (.) was richtiges  
290 also dann mehr riesenportionen,  
291 dass alle probieren können und so  
292 und dadurch dann halt kommt das neue  
293 aber meine mutter experimentiert da nicht rum,  
294 wenn zwanzig verwandte zu besuch kommen.  
295 dann fällt ihr nicht ein  
296 äh, ich mach mal heute *chicken camasala* oder so, haha  
297 Int.: ja  
298 was würde sie nie machen, hehe  
299 Int.: ok  
300 Elena: oder schnitzel zum beispiel  
301 das gibt's auch (.) stimmt (.) das gibt's auch.  
302 Int.: ja?  
303 Elena: das ist auch noch das einzige deustche  
304 wenn dann so schnitzel oder sowas

305 Int.: ok  
306 Elena: mit dann eventuell auch spätzle  
307 weil es ja hier schwäbisch, der region ist (.)  
308 Int.: hm\_hm  
309 Elena: spätzle auch  
310 sowas wäre dann noch  
311 das deutscheste was mir einfällt (--) ehrlich gesagt (ja)  
312 Int.: kochst du was deutsches zuhause?  
313 Elena: (3.)pf  
314 Int.: oder magst du? und wenn, dann was?  
315 Elena: (3.) also ich muss ehrlich gesagt sagen (---)  
316 mir fällt das in den meisten fällen relativ schwer  
317 meine gerichte ländern oder nationen einfach zuzuordnen  
318 Int.: hm\_hm  
319 Elena: weil es mir eigentlich hauptsächlich darum geht  
320 viel mit gemüse zu kochen  
321 und sich dadurch in einem rezept  
322 mehrere nationen wiederfinden  
323 also (.) keine ahnung ich  
324 Int.: experimentierst du denn?  
325 Elena: ja, also die rezepte  
326 die ich mir dann such sind auch wirklich dann weiß ich  
327 ist die gewürzmischung aus indien  
328 und (--) keine ahnung die nudeln aus (.) THAILAND oder so  
329 Int.: hm\_hm hm\_hm  
330 Elena: also es ist wirklich dann icht nur asiatisch  
331 was ich auch gerne mag ist (.) amerikanische küche  
332 vor allem was backen und so betrifft  
333 aber das liegt halt an auslandssemester ja  
334 Int.: hehe  
335 Elena: ja  
336 so ganz typisch deutsches gericht,  
337 was ich koche fällt mir gerade gar nicht ein  
338 ehrlich gesagt  
339 also mir geht es echt hauptsächlich darum  
340 Int.: und vielleicht salate  
341 Elena: also frische salate  
342 aber da halte ich mich je nach rezept,  
343 weil da rein was ich gerade da hab.  
344 mir geht es wirklich hauptsächlich darum  
345 frisches gemüse zu verwenden in meinen gerichten

346 und dann mit vielen gewürzen oft.  
347 Int.: hm\_hm  
348 Elena: nudeln und also schon ein bisschen so die öko bio abteilung  
349 Int.: hm\_hm  
350 Elena: so mit (.) ich habe echt ich habe  
351 ich habe pfirsichkörne zuhause (.)  
352 drei millionen sorten linsen (.) quinoa  
353 also wirklich viele sachen  
354 die ich auch da in supermarkt kauf  
355 so generell einfach gesunde ernährung  
356 die ich nicht einer nation binden würde jetzt  
357 Int.: ok  
358 also wirklich komplett buntgemischt  
359 Int.: hm\_hm  
360 ich wareniki mach ich auch (.) wenn es erdbeeren gibt (.)  
361 das ist immerhin vegetarisches  
362 habe ich sogar letztes jahr für christine und anke gemacht  
363 Int.: ach (.) deswegen kennen sie es  
364 hm, die waren so (.) hm\_hm lecker  
365 Int.: ja (.) sie hat es erkannt (.) ja  
366 Elena: ich habe davon vor kurzem gesprochen sie war kenn ich  
367 Int.: ja hehe  
368 ja (.) also das mach ich dann auch,  
369 weil es vegetarisch schmeckt natürlich lecker  
370 und ich mag es halt mit erdbeeren  
371 mit quark machen es meine eltern manchaml im winter  
372 und so  
373 das mag ich nicht  
374 Int.: mit quark magst du nicht?  
375 Elena: ne  
376 dafür muss man bestimmte quark verwenden  
377 ja aus dem russischen laden kaufen die den dann immer  
378 so ein ganz so trockener ja  
379 so in russischem supermarkt  
380 Int.: und ihr kauft nicht in russischem supermarkt?  
381 Elena: (2) ich WÜRDE gerne (.) wenn ich wüste wo einer WÄRE  
382 weil ich habe schon so manchmal anfälle  
383 vor allem so im herbst winter so denke ich mir  
384 oh halva wäre jetzt auch gut  
385 Int.: hm\_hm  
386 Elena: da mag ich



387 Int.: was wäre auch gut?  
388 Elena: (3)  
389 also ja die kekse und so was ess ich schon gern  
390 oder süßigkeiten  
391 also es ist nicht unbedingt die schokolade,  
392 die mag ich nicht so, die russische (.) aber  
393 aber so конфеты (.) so die kleinen so verschiedene,  
394 ,süßigkeiten`  
395 weil meine eltern kaufen schon im russischen laden  
396 in balingen ein  
397 Int.: ja  
398 Elena: und da so die süßigkeiten mag ich schon relativ gerne  
399 oder was ich auch lecker find  
400 aber das gibt es ja eigentlich auch im deustchen supermarkt  
401 ich sag immer milch (.) weil ich mich  
402 Int.: ja  
403 kondensmilch  
404 Int.: ja  
405 gezuckerte kondensmilch  
406 Int.: genau  
407 Elena: und das mit waffeln aus dem russischen supermarkt  
408 Int.: oh ja  
409 Elena: LECKER (.) sowas  
410 Int.: ich kenne diese torte, hehe  
411 Elena: ja sowas ist auch lecker  
412 Int.: ja  
413 стущенка  
414 ,kondensmilch`  
415 Elena: hm\_hm genau  
416 und dann hat (.) schon wenn dann diese (.) oder гречка  
417 ,buchweizen`  
418 Int.: hm\_hm  
419 Elena: [buchweizen]  
420 [buchweizen], genau  
421 das gibt im deutschen gar nichts  
422 Int.: ja  
423 Elena: der ist ja schon gröstet im russischen supermarkt  
424 Int.: ja (.) das schmeckt anderes (.) ganz anderes  
425 Elena: genau sowas  
426 das esse ich auch so  
427 Int.: und wie magst du buchweizen?

428           wie wird es bei euch es gekocht?  
429 Elena:   also bei uns wirklich zuhause so als beilage  
430           einfach statt reis oder so  
431           dann mit sauce und fleisch (.)  
432           mein papa ist es immer manchmal so  
433           mit quark oder schmand irgendwie  
434           aber ich glaube das ist seine persönliche preferenz, hahaha  
435 Int.:     okay  
436 Elena:   ja und ich nehme es eigentlich auch so als beilage irgendwie  
437           anstatt von reis oder so  
438 Int.:     hm\_hm  
439 Elena:   da ist ja auch was schon gesundes, gell?  
440           ja buchweizen ist sehr gesund eigentlich,  
441 Int.:     viel gesünder als reis  
442 Elena:   richtig (.) vor allem gesünder als reis  
443           ja-ja (.) als weiser reis und überhaupt  
444 Int.:     hm\_hm  
445           und erbsen auch zum beispiel die schmecken auch anderes hier  
446           im russischen (.) in deutschem supermarkt erbsen  
447 Elena:   echt?  
448 Int.:     hm\_hm  
449 Elena:   aus dem glas jetzt oder woher?  
450 Int.:     hm\_hm (.) nee trockene erbsen  
451 Elena:   ach DIE (.) GENAU (.) meine mama auch a ja (.) ja stimmt  
452           grüner borschtsch mag ich  
453 Int.:     grüner borschtsch?  
454           ja das kenne ich nicht  
455 Elena:   mit sauerampfer und  
456 Int.:     ach  
457 Elena:   kennst du es sicher nicht?  
458 Int.:     ah doch doch doch (.) aber wie nennt ihr das?  
459 Elena:   grüner borschtsch sagen wir immer  
460           grüner grüner borschtsch,  
461 Int.:     ne wir nennen es ein bisschen anderes  
462 Elena:   oh gott oder wie heißt es (.) wie heißt es?  
463           jetzt fällt mir nicht ein  
464           das liebe ich auch so im sommer (.) oh  
465 Int.:     „okroschka“  
466 Elena:   ja (.) aber bei uns macht man es  
467           eigentlich ist es gericht wie kalte suppe,  
468           aber bei uns es ist eigentlich nur salat

469 Int.: hm\_hm  
470 Elena: also da kommen wirklich nur gemüse rein  
471 keine kartoffeln und gar keine wurst  
472 Int.: hm\_hm  
473 Elena: bei uns ist es wirklich (.) diese frühlingsszwiebel  
474 gurke und das war es und mit dickmilch  
475 Int.: wirklich?  
476 Elena: ja  
477 und dann ohne kartoffeln  
478 Int.: ohne eier?  
479 Elena: ohne eier (.) wir dann bratkartoffeln dazu und wurst oder so  
480 bratkartoffeln dazu  
481 schmeckt so lecker  
482 Int.: und auch mit kwas oder?  
483 Elena: nein ohne  
484 Int.: ohne kwas  
485 Elena: ohne (--) mein papa will es immer mit,  
486 ich habe es aber noch nie gegessen  
487 Int.: ok, das heißt (.) dass es nicht flüssig (.) oder?  
488 Elena: nee (.) es ist also cremig (.) durch die dickmilch  
489 Int.: ah (.) dickmilch  
490 Elena: genau  
491 salatmessig und dann halt bratkartoffeln dazu gebraten  
492 oh (.) das schmeckt so gut  
493 ja das schmeckt gut (.) ich mag das auch  
494 ah (.) wie gesagt (.) mit wurst natürlch  
495 Int.: hm\_hm  
496 Int.: hast du was für deine wg gemacht? gekocht? was russisches?  
497 hast du überhaupt irgendwann?  
498 Elena: also hier nicht (.) weil es so ein bisschen zweck-wg  
499 wenn wir schon darüber sprechen  
500 ne aber so deutsche freunde halt hier so ein bisschen,  
501 grade für christine und anke wareniki gemacht.  
502 aber das war glaub ich das einzige russische  
503 was ich mal für die gemacht habe (.) weil dann,  
504 wenn dann habe ich irgendwie eher so also mir  
505 ich mach es nicht bewusst so so äh (.) kulturvermittlung mal  
506 ich koch jetzt was russisches für euch oder so  
507 ich denk halt auch gerade auf was ich gerade lust hab  
508 mach ich halt mal jetzt so  
509 Int.: hm\_hm

510 Elena: mit backen und so (.) da ist halt viel frittiert  
511 meine oma macht es immer noch  
512 und die findet es nicht ungesund  
513 schmeckt ja schon gut (.)  
514 aber inzwischen mag ich es nicht mehr so  
515 früher mochte ich es mehr  
516 Int.: was ist es?  
517 Elena: das kann ich nicht richtig aussprechen  
518 vorost?  
519 Int.: „hvorost“  
520 Elena: ja danke, hahaha  
521 das ist auch was aus KAzachstan, kasach, typisch kazachisch  
522 ah ja auch  
523 macht meine oma viel oft oladiki  
524 schmeckt natürlich sehr gut  
525 Int.: oladji, ah oladji  
526 Elena: oladiki  
527 Int.: hm\_hm  
528 Elena: da gibt es auch du puschigen und die flache  
529 Int.: kenne ich nicht, dieser unterschied kenne ich nicht  
530 Elena: welche kennst du?  
531 Int.: äh (.) dicke (.) dicke  
532 Elena: die so aufgegangen sind  
533 Int.: ja die aufgehen  
534 Elena: so  
535 ja die gibt es und dann die sind glaub ich mit hefe  
536 und dann die flachen die gibt's bei uns auch  
537 die sind dann ohne hefe  
538 Int.: ja  
539 Elena: das macht meine oma SEHR oft  
540 und dann pfankuchen irgendwie total oft auch  
541 wobei ich es explizit russisch oder kasachisch nennen würde  
542 ja und sonst kuchenmessig (---)  
543 eher ja es kommt darauf an  
544 honigkuchen halt total oft.  
545 also was heißt total oft  
546 aber wenn dann den mit den schichten oh ja  
547 Int.: wirklich? „medovik“?  
548 Elena: kochen es deine eltern immer noch?  
549 ja ich maches auch selber gern  
550 Int.: du machst „medowik“ immer noch?

551 Elena: aber will ich (.) weil ich back voll gern  
552 Int.: das ist super aufwendig  
553 Elena: ich weiß  
554 wirklich ich back SO gerne  
555 und das schmeckt halt wenn ich wirklich genug cremes  
556 ohne dass es trocken wird schmeckt so gut  
557 aber wenn es halt immer wenn es kalt wird nicht im sommer  
558 aber wenn so backen und so betrifft  
559 esse ich schon eher so  
560 wenn ich überlege ganz am anfang  
561 als wir nicht so lange in deutschland waren  
562 äh ich meine hier gab's natürlich äh mehr so an AUSwahl  
563 wie man kuchen gestallten und machen kann  
564 als ist es so irgendwie zu komunistenzeiten in in kazachstan  
565 Int.: ja  
566 Elena: und ich weiß auch  
567 wenn wir nicht so lange in deutschland waren  
568 da hat meine mutter am anfang immer eierkuchen gemacht  
569 also das war einfach rührteig mit eiern  
570 heute will das keine mehr essen  
571 weil jeder denkt  
572 äh sorry (.) wir sind nicht mehr so arm  
573 wir können jetzt irgendwann mal äpfel reintun  
574 und sonst was, haha  
575 Int.: hm\_hm  
576 und inzwischen ist es eher so was das backen betrifft,  
577 grade bei so familiensachen, da back ich eigentlich immer  
578 Int.: hm\_hm  
579 und zwar dann immer alle kuche, weil ich es so gerne mach  
580 und das heiß ich auch dann immer querbeet aus  
581 was irgendwie eine französische tart,  
582 weil ich das rezept toll find  
583 oder was amerikanisches, oder was russisches  
584 oder was deutsches, also jetzt  
585 da bin ich wirklich ausnahmslos dafür zuständig  
586 Int.: hm\_hm  
587 Elena: und ich habe zum beispiel in der familie die sagt  
588 ja wir essen hier alles und dann passt es schon  
589 aber gibt es schon die rezepte die du präferierst?  
590 Int.: zum beispiel dieser dieser honigkuchen  
591 Elena: ja das schmeckt das esse ich schon sehr gerne

592 genau aber so bei russischen kuchen hm ja  
593 ja honigkuchen, wenn dann noch eher so gemacht  
594 aber ansonsten ja  
595 „general“  
596 Int.: „general“, ich habe davon gehört aber ich kenne den nicht  
597 Elena: ich hweiß auch gerade nicht ob ich ihn habe, mache schon  
598 Int.: „napoleon“  
599 Elena: ja sowas auch noch  
600 aber das eher NICHT so häufig  
601 und das macht denn meine mama so ab und zu mal irgendwie  
602 das ist super aufwendig  
603 Int.: ja  
604 Elena: aber die hut ab (.) schapeu (.) das ist so aufwendig,  
605 die russische torten die sind einfach  
606 aber die sind so lecker  
607 Int.: ja ja-ja das stimmt  
608 Elena: aber weißt du wirklich so süßer ja  
609 aber diese russischen torten die  
610 zum beispiel im russischen laden findest  
611 sowas nicht  
612 mit den ganzen cremes und so (--)  
613 die schmecken mir auch nicht  
614 wenn irgendeiner manchmal damit ankommt  
615 dann denke ich erst mal  
616 äh, das will ich nicht essen (.) weil so (.)  
617 das schmeckt so KÜnstlich  
618 Int.: ja hm\_hm  
619 Elena: also sowas dann nicht  
620 aber selbstgemachte  
621 ja das haben wir aber zu nie mehr  
622 weil wir sind halt nicht so die tortenfans eigentlich  
623 mit sahne und so  
624 ne, das muss ja nicht sein  
625 Int.: hm\_hm hm\_hm  
626 Elena: lieber dann  
627 deswegen esse ich schon den kuchen äh  
628 Int.: hm\_hm (.)ok  
629 Elena: ja

Ende: 37:50

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