

2020-01-01

Translanguaging practices of multilingual learners in the German as a foreign language class

Annabell Sahr
University of Texas at El Paso

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.utep.edu/open_etd



Part of the [Bilingual, Multilingual, and Multicultural Education Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Sahr, Annabell, "Translanguaging practices of multilingual learners in the German as a foreign language class" (2020). *Open Access Theses & Dissertations*. 3032.
https://scholarworks.utep.edu/open_etd/3032

This is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UTEP. It has been accepted for inclusion in Open Access Theses & Dissertations by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UTEP. For more information, please contact lweber@utep.edu.

TRANSLANGUAGING PRACTICES OF MULTILINGUAL LEARNERS IN THE GERMAN
AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASS

ANNABELL SAHR

Doctoral Program in Teaching, Learning and Culture

APPROVED:

Timothy Cashman, Ph.D., Chair

Erika Mein, Ph.D.

Jesus Cisneros, Ph.D.

Stephen L. Crites, Jr., Ph.D.
Dean of the Graduate School

Copyright ©

by

Annabell Sahr

2020

TRANSLANGUAGING PRACTICES OF MULTILINGUAL LEARNERS IN THE GERMAN
AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASS

by

ANNABELL SAHR, MSC

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at El Paso

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Teacher Education

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO

May 2020

Abstract

Translanguaging of multilingual learners in the German classroom is a qualitative study situated at the border between Mexico and the United States. This participatory action research explores how bilingual students learn German at the university level. The data collected includes participatory observations, memos, audio-recordings of all in-class conversations for the duration of one semester. A total of three German classes participated. Furthermore, three phenomenological interviews were conducted with each participant. Additionally, focus group interviews were conducted. The recordings were transcribed and analyzed for emerging themes. Findings from the in-class conversations show translanguaging as an applied learning strategy. Findings from the interviews point to the connection between the participants' backgrounds including previous educational experience, language ideologies and language use shown in the German class.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Tables	ix
List of Figures.....	x
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Significance.....	5
Purpose and Limitations	5
Chapter 2: Conceptual framework.....	6
Language ideology.....	13
Language identity.....	14
Literature review	14
Translanguaging in the classroom	14
Translanguaging to promote language acquisition	18
Translanguaging to integrate and include students.....	18
Code-switching.....	19
Multilingual identity	20
Heteroglossia.....	21
Border pedagogies	23
Language choices of multilingual learners of German in a Texas border town	27
Positionality	31
Gaps in literature on German language learners.....	32
Parameters for the review	33
German as a foreign language at universities in the United States.....	36
German language learning at universities in the United States	37
Language discourse in the United States	38
Gaps in the literature.....	40
Chapter 3: Methodology	40
Rationale	41
Why this study? The Pilot.....	43

Why this study? The focal research project	44
Research design	44
Situatedness of the research	45
The study participants	46
Positionality/role of researcher	47
Data collection	48
Participant observations & memos	48
Audio recordings of classroom discussions.....	49
Focus groups	49
Semi-structured interviews	50
Data analysis	52
Thematic analysis.....	52
Study limitations	54
Chapter 4: Findings from in-class conversations.....	56
Languaging in the German I Group	57
Languaging in the level II German Groups	84
Chapter 5: Findings from in-class conversations.....	109
In-vivo codes.....	109
Here vs. There.....	109
Mexican.....	110
Chicana/Chicano	111
Pocha/Pocho.....	111
Spanglish.....	113
Participants background, language use in class and language ideologies	117
Themes from the interviews.....	153
Border culture with unique language practices.....	155
The real bilinguals are from Juarez.....	158
The made-up language of predominantly Mexican neighborhoods in El Paso	159
Not knowing English on the border is a stigma and humiliating.....	160
Cultural divide following along a language divide.....	160
Performing personalities along the border	162
Family background	165
Coming from El Paso.....	165

The role of Spanish for participants who identify as coming from El Paso	165
Spanish use with peers	166
Spanish use in the family	167
Experiencing language but not cultural loss	171
Answering in English when spoken to in Spanish.....	172
Coming from Juarez or another place in Mexico	173
Spanish use in the family	173
Spanish use with peers and friends	175
Coming from a military family	175
Coming from a family with German ancestry	176
Previous experiences in the educational systems.....	179
Being exposed to a mix out of Spanish and English in school	180
Being identified as Hispanic and put in remedial class	181
Bilingual education in El Paso.....	181
Attending a multilingual program.....	186
You cannot be bilingual to be in the AP classes.....	186
Public school: it is like people drowning in water.....	187
Teacher attitudes	187
Segregation among English-and Spanish-speaking student groups	188
Speaking English	189
Bilingual education in Juarez or other schools in Mexico.....	191
ESOL classes	193
Previous language learning.....	202
The individual learning in the German class	211
Classroom work and learning strategies	216
The classroom environment.....	216
Comments on the textbook	220
Learning strategies	221
Individual learning strategies.....	222
How does one make sense out of the material in class?	227
Group work	230
Languaging	235
Homework.....	252

Resources that one utilizes inside and outside the classroom	253
Chapter 6: Conclusion.....	260
How do the findings connect with existing research?	268
What are limitations of the study?	271
What are practical implications of this study?.....	272
Implications for future research	277
References	278
Appendix.....	285
Vita	319

List of Tables

Table 1: Excerpt 1	58
Table 2: Excerpt 2	60
Table 3: Excerpt 3	64
Table 4: Excerpt 4	65
Table 5: Excerpt 5	70
Table 6: Excerpt 6	75
Table 7: Excerpt 7	79
Table 8: Excerpt 8	85
Table 9: Excerpt 9	92
Table 10: Excerpt 10	95
Table 11: Excerpt 11	98
Table 12: Excerpt 12	101
Table 13: Excerpt 13	104
Table 14: Excerpt 14	108
Table 15: Participants background, language use and language ideologies	119
Table 16: Comparison of German class to other language classes	203

List of Figures

Figure 1: Connection between self-identification and languaging in German class	141
Figure 2: Balance of translanguaging	147
Figure 3: Layers of themes	155

Chapter 1: Introduction

The number of bilingual students in the United States is continuously rising. There are currently 37 million bilingual speakers and this number is projected to grow to 40 million by 2020 (Lopez, 2013). Moreover, the U.S. Department of Education national center for education statistics (2017) states that the number of English language learners is increasing. Stating that 15.5% of public-school students in Texas were English language learners during the 2014/2015 school year. Yet, a review of secondary level curricula for German as a foreign language produced by American textbook companies, illustrates that textbooks and teaching materials for German are written assuming students to be monolingual English speakers (U.S. Department of Education, 2017). Textbook publishers that focus on an American audience and produce German curriculum for college level German classes include McGraw-Hill and Pearson. All German textbooks available from these publishers use a communicative approach to teaching German as a first foreign language (Gonglewski, 2013; Di Donato, 2004; Tschirner, 2017). From my own experience working as a German teacher at elementary/middle school and university level, I have observed that the existing German textbooks overlook the bilingual and multilingual competencies of students. Bilingual students bring untapped potential to the classroom, which is not recognized by textbooks or considered in research on German learning in the United States.

Current research on German learning in the United States focuses on monolingual students (Bartolotti & Marian, 2017; Belz & Reihardt, 2004. Scheutz & Eberhard, 2004; Schmid, 2014; Abrams, 2016; de Oliveira Santos, 2015; Neville, Shelton, & McInnis, 2009; Dixon & Hondo, 2014). Bilingual identity is only explored in a few research studies that focus on German instructors, the biliteracy of students is not considered (Aslan, 2015; Ghanem, 2015, Weninger, 2007). The current approach to focus on monolingual learners of German leads to the problem

that bilingual student populations are underrepresented in the available research in the United States. Bilingual students have previous experience with language learning, which facilitates learning a new language. As a German instructor I work at a university in the Mexico-United States borderland, which has a student population representative of a local community with a student body of about 80% Hispanic students. Some of my students are transfronterizos meaning they cross the border frequently, others live and were born in the United States to Mexican families who have immigrated to the United States (UTEP, 2017).

Nativist language ideologies and anti-immigration sentiments may have been contributing to the fact that bilingual learners have been systematically overlooked in the field of German learning in the United States. Another reason could be that the universities conducting research in the field of German language learning have student populations that are predominantly monolingual. Speaking more than one language is common in the borderland and an observation I made over time is that bilingual students use both of their languages when they are learning German. Because of my work in a border city I know that students change effortlessly between Mexican-Spanish and English when they are talking amongst themselves, this very common practice can also be utilized in the classroom. Translanguaging as a term originated in Welsh bilingual schools in which students had input in one language and would respond in another, it refers to the practice of using one's full linguistic repertoire when making sense out of any content (García, 2009; García & Wei, 2014). The practice of translanguaging is considered the norm for bilinguals (García, 2009; García & Wei, 2014). My observations led me to the question of what does a translanguaging curriculum look like for Spanish-English bilinguals who are learning German? And how do these bilingual students make sense of learning German? In previous years I noticed that students translanguage outside of the classroom but would not use

their Spanish skills in the classroom, which led me to question further what the reasoning behind this is. Unfortunately, it can be said that previous educational experiences which endorse monolingualism as the norm appear to have been influencing some of the students not to use Spanish inside the classroom. There is also a long history of discrimination against Spanish speakers in the classroom, therefore, some students prefer not to speak Spanish. After having made these observations and while learning more about translanguaging I began to look for ways to systematically incorporate the full linguistic potential of all students in the classroom, and translanguaging as a construct allows for that; which is why it became part of my theoretical framework, and will be discussed in chapter 2.

Students through their previous experiences in the United States educational system have already been assimilated into the authoritarian discourse surrounding English as the monolingual norm in the United States. When students are in my German language classroom, they are experiencing heteroglossic (Bakhtin, 1981) language practices that challenge those beliefs and language ideologies. This can lead students to enter a stage of nepantla throughout the course of the class. Nepantla means torn between ways and refers to an in-between state (Anzaldúa, 1987). This then causes students to question existing language beliefs and ideologies; and potentially change their epistemologies about languages through the creation of new truths (Anzaldúa, 1987).

The theories of translanguaging, nepantla and heteroglossia intersect and complement each other to create a theoretical framework, this allows me to shed light on the question of how multilingual German language learners are making sense out of learning German at the university. Since I aimed to shed light on the question of how translanguaging can be useful for German teaching and learning at the university I pursued action research. As an educator I am

always evolving the way I facilitate learning and my aim is to adapt to the diverse needs in the classroom. Taking this into account, action research allows me to document the progress in developing a German language curriculum that is addressing the needs of my bilingual students; this also allows for students to make their individual contributions to the development of that curriculum. Action research refers to practitioner research that educators execute (Cahill, 2016; Fichtman Dana, 2013). An educator develops an inquisitiveness, collects data, analyzes the data, implements an intervention in response to the collected data and collects data again to evaluate and reflect on the intervention (Schwalbach, 2003).

Instead of encouraging students to conform to monolingual language ideologies I encourage students to make use of their full linguistic repertoire when learning German. Through translanguaging practices I have the opportunity to include every language that the students speak in the classroom. Even if I have a higher level of competence in English compared to Spanish I can learn from my students, which builds their confidence as being knowledgeable in the language classroom. When teaching German, I have been including Spanish in my teaching, which has been helping students to make connections to German. I hope to open up the German classroom space to all the languages that students speak, not just the ones I, as the teacher feel most comfortable with.

An analysis for emerging themes was used to understand the data collected as part of this study, which took place in three different German classes. German I which is a beginner's level class, the other two consist of German II classes for advanced beginners, all three courses taken at a university that is situated in the borderland between Mexico and the United States. The participants of this study are bilingual speakers of English and Spanish who are learning German, or they are heritage language learners of German. The data collected from student

interactions in the German classroom and the interview data, as well as focus group data were analyzed. I identified discourses surrounding language use. It is important to identify those discourses as they focus on the power of language which can shape our social world (Abraham, 2014).

Significance

This study adds the perspective of bilingual learners who are learning German, as there is a dearth of scholarly literature about German learning in the United States. Furthermore, this study adds to the theory about translanguaging, which so far centered mostly on Spanish and English in the United States (Esquinca, 2013; Esquinca, Araujo, & de la Piedra, 2014; García O. &, 2014; García, 2009; García & Sylvan, 2011; García & Wei, 2014; García, Homonoff Woodley, Flores, & Chu, 2012; Sembiante, 2016). This study sheds light on the question of what bilingual learners need in order to make sense of learning German. Together with the students I deconstructed a curriculum that is designed for monolingual learners and work towards creating a beneficial learning environment for bilingual learners of German. This research does not only contribute to theory but also to teaching practice, as it highlights the role of translanguaging pedagogy for multilingual language learners.

Purpose and Limitations

The purpose of this study is to understand the German language learning experiences of bilingual students at a border city university through the method of action research. A limitation of the study is that it does not focus on monolingual students learning German.

Chapter 2: Conceptual framework

Currently there is a dearth of research focusing on bilingual or multilingual students learning German in the United States. As Grenfell and Harris (2015) point out there is research in the field of third language acquisition, but there is little research on German as a third language particularly outside Europe (Grenfell & Harris, 2015). While it has been established that a second language influences a third language as much as a first language and there are a growing number of bilingual students in the United States, German as a third language has not been focused on (Falk & Bardel, 2010). My EBSCO database research revealed no results for German as a third language in the United States, although research on third language learning is available (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009; Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; De Angelis, 2007; De Angelis, 2011; Jaensch, 2011; Jessner, 2008; Rothman, Iverson, & Jurdy, 2010). In the United States the available research focuses mostly on cognitive language learning (Bartolotti & Marian, 2017; Scheutz & Eberhard, 2004; Schmid, 2014), isolated language learning strategies (Abrams, 2016; de Oliveira Santos, 2015; Neville, Shelton, & McInnis, 2009; Dixon & Hondo, 2014), or German instructors (Aslan, 2015; Ghanem, 2015, Weninger, 2007). Cross-cultural differences have also been studied, for example one study focuses on cross-cultural differences between Spanish and German bilinguals, who when tested in Spanish scored higher on extraversion and neuroticism whilst they scored high on agreeability when tested in German (Veltkamp, Recio, Jacobs, & Conrad, 2012). In the United States experimental research conducted with monolingual students is common (Belz & Reinhardt, 2004). It can be observed that studies focusing on German language learning in the United States have only monolingual English-speaking students as participants who are learning German (Jackson, 2007; Neville, Shelton, & McInnis, 2009). Dixon and Hondo (2013) focus on an interactionist and constructivist approach studying an open

educational resource for learning German which is provided by Deutsche Welle. However, the focus remains on English speaking students utilizing these interactive language learning resources (Dixon & Hondo, 2013). The available research on multilingualism points out that the students' languages are only useful resources for learning a new language if they are allowed in the classroom and they are part of how the teacher teaches the new language. An instructor must be able to facilitate the relationships between previous languages and a new language (Jessner, 2008; Grenfell & Harris, 2015). This study focuses on bilingual learners of German and takes up a translanguaging perspective informed by border pedagogies. The conceptual framework is informed by a translanguaging framework (García, 2009) that includes concepts such as heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981) and nepantla (Anzaldúa, 1987). Translanguaging originally is a pedagogical practice from bilingual schools in Wales and originated in the Welsh word for trawsieithu referring to having “input in one language and conducting a task in another language” (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, p. 341). Translanguaging as an approach considers the different languages that a bilingual or multilingual person speaks as one linguistic repertoire (García & Wei, 2014, p. 2). A bilingual person is more than a combination of two monolinguals (Grosjean, 2010). García explains translanguaging as “multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds” (García & Wei, 2014, p.22). In bilingual communities translanguaging is the discursive norm (García & Wei, 2014, p. 23). García & Sylvan (2011) also theorize translanguaging as “a product of border thinking, of knowledge that is autochthonous and conceived from a bilingual, not monolingual, position” (García & Sylvan, 2011, p. 389). Creese and Blackledge (2010) argue for translanguaging as bilingual pedagogy and state that translanguaging (García, 2007) and heteroglossia (Bakhtin,

1984, 1986) serve “to describe language fluidity and movement” (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p.112).

Heteroglossia allows to theorize the “social and historical context of the utterance” so the focus lies on what is being said which allows to move away from the concept of multilingualism as parallel monolingualism (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 106).

Translanguaging can be perceived as a heteroglossic practice and pedagogy for social justice (García & Leiva, 2014, p. 204). Through the translanguaging practices in the classroom students’ epistemological frameworks might change what they believe to be true about language. The students have been socialized into monoglossic language ideologies and are practicing translanguaging in the German class, so they might be at an in-between stage which Anzaldúa describes as *nepantla*, as a place where the transformation of identities can take place (Anzaldúa, 1987). Anzaldúa explains that *nepantla* is a Nahuatl word referring to an “in-between state, that uncertain terrain one crosses when moving from one place to another, when changing from one class, race, or sexual position to another, when traveling from the present identity into a new identity” (Anzaldúa, 2009, p.180). Assimilationist discourses that favor English-only education have long been dominant in the United States this promotes notions of Americanness that are tied to speaking English. This has led to an eradication of immigrant ethnolinguistic identities (Bondy, 2016, p. 764). Through the transformative work of both critical pedagogy and the development of translanguaging pedagogy a paradigm shift in bilingual education is visible. I draw on Anzaldúa’s concept of the borderland and particularly of *nepantla* to explain potential epistemological changes that students undergo in the German classroom; due to using translanguaging practices that might contradict prior language ideologies that students have been socialized into.

As a foreign language educator who is teaching German in the United States, I think that these theoretical concepts of heteroglossia, border pedagogies as well as translanguaging woven together can shed light on the questions that I am exploring in this study.

Through my pilot study, which I conducted with bilingual students learning German, I gathered the idea that performing to be an English speaker plays an important role for students who do not want to position themselves as Spanish speakers. In view of the fact that they have learned that the educational environment discredits Spanish as an immigrant language of low status. Many learning opportunities are missed because of this focus on performing as an American student which is equated with being a monolingual English speaker. As a teacher working in a border city with a bicultural and bilingual population, I learned that some students go to great lengths to perform their Americanness by exclusively using English in the classroom and by denying their home languages and cultures. Which is a perspective that also closely aligns with the translanguaging concept that assumes that all students have linguistic capital to bring to the classroom (García & Wei, 2014). A hegemonic and authoritative discourse assuming university students learning German to be middle class, monolingual and White can be found in both the German textbooks written by dominant textbook producers, as well as in the curriculum that accompanies these language learning textbooks (Di Donato, 2004; Gonglewski, 2013). The fact that bilingual students are not considered and are “overlooked” by those writing and publishing German foreign language textbooks in the United States can be viewed as an expression of homogeneity and a normalizing discourse of whiteness (Abraham, 2014). In the United States the idea of who counts as a citizen is somehow connected to whiteness and being a monolingual English speaker. The identity of the bilingual students is erased from monoglossic curricula, and students might even face reprimands for speaking Spanish in educational settings.

In my pilot study I learned from participants about language ideologies that they have faced in their educational settings. Participants regardless of their age spoke about teachers who told them not to speak Spanish at school. Some participants described that their families did not even want them to learn more Spanish, particularly grandparents who had been heavily discriminated against. They tried to protect their children and grandchildren from these negative experiences by training them to conform to the requests of schoolteachers to speak English. Other participants shared with me that they did not consider themselves to be bilingual with Spanish and English, because they did not speak what they described as academic Spanish.

The use of English is associated with being at the core of what constitutes being an American according to the dominant discourse, which can be described as the one nation, one language ideology (Hansen-Thomas, 2007; Hornberger, 2002). Students who might happen to speak other home languages will try to subscribe to this dominant discourse and adopt English language practices for their communicative purposes whilst in the university setting, because they tend to be aware of the cultural capital of English versus their home dialects or home languages (Ullman, 2012). Language ideologies are very powerful (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998; Woolard, 1992).

While Anzaldúa (1987) differentiates the various languages she speaks in *Borderlands/La Frontera* as standard English, standard Mexican Spanish, standard Spanish, working class English, North Mexican Spanish dialect, Chicano Spanish with regional variations in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, Tex-Mex and Pachuco, translanguaging is moving away from the concept of different distinct language systems that exist inside the multilingual person's mind but it maps those as part of one fluid language repertoire. I consider translanguaging to be the living practice of students around the border (Cervantes-Soon & Carillo, 2016; Collins &

Cioe-Pena, 2016; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Esquinca, Araujo, & de la Piedra, 2014; García, Homonoff Woodley, Flores, & Chu, 2012; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012; Mazak & Herbas-Donoso, 2015; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015; Ramirez, Ross, & Jimenez-Silva, 2016; Rios, 2013; Salinas, Vuckery, & Franquiz, 2016; Velasco & García, 2014). Speakers effortlessly include both elements of their Spanish and English language repertoire into a conversation, students who are learning an additional language such as German in the case of this study will include German into their available register and make use of Spanish, English and German depending on the communicative needs of their interlocutor.

Translanguaging together with border pedagogy and heteroglossia inform a pedagogical approach for teaching German through which students might be able to deconstruct their language ideologies and the dominant monolingual discourses through a raised consciousness and reflexive practices. Bakhtin's as well as Anzaldúa's work shed light on processes of ideological becoming which was helpful in discussing participants' language ideologies and language identities, as well as possible changes in their language ideologies and language identities over the course of this action research in which translanguaging practices were applied to learn German.

Textbook writers and curriculum developers might want us to believe that the average German learner is White, middle class and monolingual, but heteroglossic discourses and translanguaging practices that advocate for a multiglossic discourse counter these notions (Garcia & Wei, 2014). Bakhtin's notions about the internally persuasive discourse and how it functions as an authoritative discourse that informs a person's behavior are very helpful. Especially when trying to explain why bilingual students will not want to make use of their bilingual language repertoire when making sense of a new language, such as German in a

university setting. Because students are persuading themselves of monoglossic language ideologies that are part of the authoritative discourse and have become internalized by students (Bakhtin, 1975/1981, p. 342). There is a view in the United States that English is a unitary language, which is ideologically saturated and represents a unifying, centripetal force (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 271). On the other hand heteroglossia is a centrifugal force (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 272). Different languages and concepts such as translanguaging with a multilingual language ideology are drawing away from the idea of a unitary language and ideology, and they are representing stratification (Pakkar-Hull, 2014, p. 252). Centrifugal and centripetal forces are co-existing and heteroglossia allows for a disunification and de-centralization, while centripetal forces pull towards homogeneity (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 272).

The German classes are a heteroglossic environment where translanguaging takes place and centrifugal and centripetal forces interact. Classroom interactions that students engage in can be understood as a product of the social and cultural environment. The language use that can be observed in the German class is stratified and will also reveal a performance of identity in a heteroglossic understanding of language (Meerzon, 2015, p. 290). Bakhtin explains the “diversity of social speech types” which should surface in a language classroom (Bakhtin, 1981, p.262). Bakhtin explains heteroglossia in literary utterances as potentially conflicted between different co-existing voices (Meerzon, 2015, p.291). This concept of conflict between different voices is also taken up in what Anzaldúa describes in her concept of nepantla. The social interactions in the multilingual German language classroom might cause epistemological changes in students who have come to subscribe to nativist discourses of what it means to be a student at an American university. This concept of living in between epistemologies is well

captured in Anzaldúa's definition of nepantla and her conceptualization of the borderlands (Anzaldúa, 1987).

Language Ideology

Language ideologies are defined as the “beliefs, ideas and values that exist as systems binding communities together” (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012, p. 348). The beliefs about languages become revealed as well as reproduced through cultural practices (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012, p. 349). Language ideologies are representing “ideas of power and identity as constructed by a society” (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012, p. 349). Language hegemony and the domination of ideologies are backed up by policies and politics, this hegemony can also be observed in classrooms, in view of the fact that “power structures are inherent in every instance of language use” (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012, p. 349). Classroom discourse is mediating interactions. Razfar and Rumenapp (2012) are explaining that discourse analysis together with ethnographic methods provides a lense for understanding language ideologies in educational settings, and that through critical pedagogies counterhegemonic discourse can be produced (p. 365). “Making language ideologies explicit opens the classroom as a site where teachers and students can contest hegemonic symbolic relations and inequitable power structures, and seek transformative change” (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012, p. 365).

According to Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity (1998) language ideologies underpin notions of identity. Language ideologies can be deconstructed through discourse analysis. Razfar and Rumenapp (2012) give an example of a study on two urban high-school English language classes using language ideological inquiry to analyze how language ideologies mediate classroom discourse practices (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012, p. 347).

Language Identity

Language ideologies and identities are closely connected, which is demonstrated for example in a study by Turkan and DaSilva Iddings (2012) who look at English language learners' identities in an era of standardized testing, in which hegemonic ideologies about English guide educational policies (Turkan & DaSilva Iddings, 2012, p. 279). Speaking English and being successful in educational settings are discourses that are related to educational policies. The metaphor of speaking English as a success impacts immigrant children's self-identification and conceptions of language according to Turkan & DaSilva Iddings (2012). These tensions between ideological discourses can be analyzed with critical discourse analysis. As a result of my pilot study I have already learned that there can be a discrepancy between what students do in the praxis of a language classroom and their stated explanations of these practices that are informed by language ideologies.

In the following pages I am reviewing studies that focus on translanguaging, multilingual identity, border pedagogy, language choices of multilingual learners of German, code-switching, German as a foreign language at universities in the United States and German language learning at universities in the United States, as well as language discourse in the United States.

Literature Review

Studies on translanguaging are divided into three categories regarding the function of translanguaging either for the classroom, to promote language acquisition, or to integrate and include students.

Translanguaging in the classroom

Translanguaging, which was first used as a term by Williams (2002), goes back to the Welsh word *trawsieithu* and refers "to having input in one language and conducting a task in

another language-a pedagogical practice in Welsh bilingual schools” (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, p. 341).

Furthermore, translanguaging is defined as an approach that considers the different languages which a bilingual or multilingual person has as one linguistic repertoire (García and Wei, 2014). Previously a bilingual person’s two languages would be perceived as two autonomous language systems. García explains “translanguaging are multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds” (García & Wei, 2014, p.22). Bilingualism here is seen from a sociocultural perspective (de la Luz Reyes, 2012; Freire, 1987; Vygotsky, 1978).

García and Wei (2014) in their explanation of translanguaging, highlight that the language practices of bilinguals should be considered as the norm and not the language practices of monolinguals, a bilingual is not to be considered as two monolinguals in one person. According to García and Wei: “Translanguaging is the discursive norm in bilingual families and communities” (2014, p. 23).

Anderson & Kagwesage & Rusanganwa (2013) in their case study on group-work sessions at a university in Rwanda describe how translanguaging was used as a successful learning strategy by the students in their interactions. The authors summarize that they see great potential for meaning making and the facilitation of learning through translanguaging (Anderson & Kagwesage& Rusanganwa, 2013). While translanguaging is occurring naturally in interactions when speakers are allowed the space to utilize their full linguistic repertoire, theorizing these practices is still a work in progress. Canagarajah (2011) in a study on undergraduate academic writing demonstrated dialogical pedagogies and explained that it is possible to “work toward the development of students’ translanguaging proficiency while studying from them” (p.415).

Canagarajah also emphasized the importance of developing translanguaging pedagogies from the practices that bilingual and multilingual students use. In that sense a case study focusing on practices used in a classroom by a bilingual student might be able to contribute to the development of the translanguaging pedagogies. In the United States two-way bilingual immersion programs can be found that are supposed to keep the two languages separate and some programs have the goal to transition to the dominant language as fast as possible. Research on translanguaging has been questioning the strict separation between the languages that can be identified in the dominant discourses on parallel monolingualism.

Deficit notions for so called non-native language speakers are widespread in educational settings, because emergent bilinguals or multilingual students are measured against monolingual speakers (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011). Grosjean (2008, 2010) argues that the communicative competence of a bilingual person cannot be compared to that of a monolingual. Bilinguals are valued for their multicompetences within a dynamic bilingualism conceptualization (García & Sylvan, 2011, p.389). García & Sylvan (2011) also theorize translanguaging as “a product of border thinking, of knowledge that is autochthonous and conceived from a bilingual, not monolingual, position” (García & Sylvan, 2011, p.389).

Creese and Blackledge (2010) argue for translanguaging as bilingual pedagogy and state that translanguaging (García, 2007) and heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1984, 1986) serve “to describe language fluidity and movement” (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p.112). Heteroglossia allows me to theorize the “social and historical context of the utterance” so the focus lies on what is being said which allows one to move away from the concept of multilingualism as parallel monolingualism (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 106).

In an ethnographic research study in a science classroom Esquinca, Araujo and de la Piedra (2014) found that although the science class was part of a two-way-dual-language program the Spanish and English language did not stay separated. Translanguaging in the study is described as the “recurring discourse practice as well as pedagogical tool that the teacher uses” (Esquinca, Araujo, & de la Piedra, 2014, p.176).

French (2016) found that some of the teachers showed passive acceptance of students’ multilingual language use but did not “challenge or transform policy” with their passive acceptance, they did not actively use translanguaging as a pedagogy (p. 314). In an ethnographic case study in a high school in Australia French (2016) examines the “dissonance between formal policy assumptions and the reality of the educational needs and practices of multilingual students” (p.302). Furthermore, French discusses how teachers could choose not to subscribe to the dominant monolingual ideology that shapes education (French, 2016, p.315).

García (2012) in a case study in New York City schools found that the schools were successful because they were using transcaring strategies that include translanguaging practices, that have the “potential to break the hegemony of English in ESL classrooms, and the strict separation of languages in bilingual classrooms. It refers to bilingualism being used flexibly in order to make sense of teaching and learning, communicate and appropriate subject knowledge, and develop academic language practices” (García, Homonoff Woodley, Flores, & Chu, 2012, p. 809).

García &Ibarra Johnson& Seltzer (2017) explain how a translanguaging pedagogy can be used by teachers in the classroom as part of a dynamic bilingualism at school. García &Ibarra Johnson& Seltzer (2017) highlight that a translanguaging classroom is strategic and purposeful in setting up a “powerful, equitable learning environment” (p.16) which enables students “to (1)

engage with complex content and texts, (2) strengthen linguistic practices for academic contexts, (3) draw on their bilingualism and ways of knowing, and (4) develop socioemotionally with strong bilingual identities” (p.16). If teachers manage to set up their classroom effectively according to these guidelines they can advance social justice (García & Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer, 2017, p. 16).

Translanguaging to promote language acquisition

Hornberger & Link (2012) describe translanguaging as a “pedagogical strategy to foster language and literacy development” (p. 242). Collins & Cioé-Peña (2016) discuss teacher-led intentional use of translanguaging as an instructional strategy (p.119). Having no linguistic restrictions creates a space that allows for fluidity in meaning making. Student engagement and access to content increases when teachers use multilingual/multimodal resources as entry points to lessons (Collins, Cioé-Peña, 2016, p.130). Makalela (2014) found that translanguaging worked well for language learning in his research. Students in South Africa who were assessed in several languages and were allowed to answer in their language of choice showed better results in all subjects including the English language versus students who were taught and assessed only in English (p.2).

Translanguaging to integrate and include students

Through translanguaging a social space is constructed that allows the cultural hybridity of the bilingual speakers to surface. García (2009) describes one of the functions of translanguaging to be including others (p.304). Including all languages in the classroom can lead to the inclusion of all students.

Collins & Cioé-Peña highlight the importance of collaborative group work, this can be a useful strategy to give students the space to use translanguaging strategies whilst allowing all

students to participate (p.138). Anderson & Kagwesage& Rusanganwa (2013) conducted a case study at a university in Rwanda and found how contrary to deficit notions “we can observe how people in fact use their multiple languages to include others and to make sense in different contexts” (p. 437).

Within the dominant discourse students who do not speak English well are labeled as having deficits. Within a translanguaging framework they are seen as emergent bilinguals who are able to participate in classes even when they do not know higher levels of English. The integration of all students into an educational setting shows the transformative element of the translanguaging approach that aims at reaching social justice. An example of this is given by the sociolinguist Makalela (2014). In the context of South Africa, Makalela, points out that previously students have not been considered to be bilinguals, unless they spoke former colonial languages. Therefore, the translanguaging framework can allow to deconstruct and reconceptualize multilingual education in South Africa, it can be a “catalyst for restoring social justice for the people whose languages were historically denigrated to the lowest social status” (Makalela, 2014, p.2).

Code-switching

Code-switching from the perspectives of bilingual teachers has been researched by Casimir; Mattox; Hays and Vasquez(2000), teacher attitudes towards code-switching have also been examined by Chimbutane (2013). The particular connection of ethnic minority teachers with bilingual learners and code-switching has been studied by Conteh (2007). Karakas (2013) assessed the potential of minority ethnic teachers from a transnational perspective.

Multilingual identity

As García and Wei (2014) explain, transanguaging is transformative and has the potential to “liberate the voices of the oppressed” (p. 42). I would add to this that through transanguaging practices students are given the opportunity to assert their agency not only to participate in a classroom in which they might not speak the dominant language but also to build self-confidence as multilinguals. As a practitioner in the field of language education I have experienced the outcome when students undergo subtractive bilingual education programs, or when they are told not to use one of their languages. As a German instructor at the university level I teach students of all age groups. Therefore, I have seen that although overtime the situation for bilingual learners has improved; currently students do not have to suffer physical punishment for speaking another language other than English in the classroom. However, nativist and racist language ideologies that see the role of education as transitioning students to English-only are still common and influence students’ language identity up to adulthood. When students have the opportunity to learn German in a safe environment, using transanguaging practices their perception of themselves as multilingual speakers might lead to more self-confidence and build their multilingual identity.

Collins and Cioé-Peña (2016) describe that through multilingual collaborative group work emergent bilingual students are given the opportunity to transanguage, which contributes to the development of a more assertive identity. Transanguaging can contribute to both the empowering of students and to their development of self-confidence. Creese and Blackledge (2010) discuss transanguaging as bilingual pedagogy and state that it can be used by participants in the classroom for identity performance (p.112).

With the paradigm shift towards critical approaches (May, 2013) a new conceptualization of language learning in the United States is possible, which might lead to a reframing of ethnolinguistic identities. Through the transformative work of both critical pedagogy and the development of translanguaging pedagogy a paradigm shift in bilingual education is visible.

Heteroglossia

Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia has been applied in various contexts such as gender studies (Butler, 1997; Butler, 2004; Francis, 2012). Several studies that focus on the field of education, specifically on language learning are included in this literature review (Busch, 2010; Dahlberg, 2017; Mariou, 2017; Blackledge, Creese, & Takhi, 2014). Another category that is included here is studies on multilingual theater performances, these draw on heteroglossia in their theoretical framework (Meerzon, 2015; Pakkar-Hull, 2014).

Dahlberg (2017) conducted a qualitative study in an Italian for beginners university-level language classroom in Sweden. 40 hours of student interactions with Italian materials were recorded with screen recordings of the computer based interactions (Dahlberg, 2017). Dahlberg (2017) discusses the advantage of a theoretical framework building on Bakhtin's work of heteroglossia as an epistemology of complexity because an "understanding of language and of the world as a social practice in diverse contexts" was useful for the analysis of the interactions in the Italian classroom (Dahlberg, 2017, p. 239).

Mariou (2017) presents a qualitative study on four women who are navigating language ideologies between standardized modern Greek and Pontian Greek. The four women took different stances regarding these two language varieties "in their communicative repertoires and they did so in ways that reflected wider social and sociopolitical discourses" (Mariou, 2017, p. 21). Mariou discusses the tensions between language ideologies reflecting centripetal forces and

on the other hand centrifugal forces pulling towards linguistic and cultural differences. Moreover, Mariou shows how these discourses impacted the speaker's evaluation of their identity "and their allegiance to their own minoritized group" (Mariou, 2017, p. 21).

Busch (2010) presents a qualitative study from South Africa in which students have heteroglossic life worlds and encounter processes of monolingualization in the educational system. Busch argues that there is a mismatch between the monolingualization in the school system that works with either English or Afrikaans and the heteroglossic and multilingual realities of the students in their environment (Busch, 2010). Busch concluded that the school system in Cape Town reduces the complex realities of the students and fails to recognize students as multilinguals (Busch, 2010). Bakhtin's work is helpful in considering the "plurality of individual voices" that are expressed in the students' individual experiences, the diverse languages and registers and the competing language discourses (Busch, 2010, p. 293). Busch recommends a speaker-centered school language policy which aims at "acknowledging, making visible and valorizing the heteroglossic resources present within the school community" (Busch, 2010, p. 293). Blackledge, Creese and Takhi (2014) in a study in Birmingham, England considered the linguistic repertoires in two families and considered how identities are shaped by language use and how heteroglossic analysis enables an understanding of the tensions between multiple voices (Blackledge, Creese, & Takhi, 2014). The diversity of voices indexes "students' localities, social histories, circumstances and identities" (Blackledge, Creese, & Takhi, 2014, p. 501).

Similarly to the United States, the United Kingdom has language ideologies that tie the use of English to cultural and national identity. Pakkar-Hull (2014) in a study of a theater-play that challenges and re-imagines the monolingual classroom, uses Bakhtin's concept of

heteroglossia, because it “links multilingual practices to their social, political and historical power hierarchies” (Pakkar-Hull, 2014, p. 243). Although students are multilingual in British classrooms English monolingualism is dominant in the educational system. In light of this background the play *Mosaic*, which Pakkar-Hull analyzed is trying to disrupt deficit theories of multilingualism using heteroglossia as a centrifugal force which stratifies language ideologies (Pakkar-Hull, 2014). Pakkar-Hull analyzed audio-recordings of six student interactions in response to the theatre-in education performance and highlighted how the play challenged monolingual norms and enabled children to negotiate new identities according to their multilingual resources (Pakkar-Hull, 2014).

Meerzon (2015) worked on a multilingual immigrant autobiography that was staged in Canada and draws on Bakhtin’s concept of heteroglossia to illuminate and analyze the complexities of the utterances between the author voice, and the voices of the performers and different characters in the play (Meerzon, 2015).

Border pedagogies

Multiple studies in recent years have adopted border pedagogies or the concept of borderland (Cashman, 2015, 2016; Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016; Ramirez, Ross, & Jimenez-Silva, 2016; Reyes, 2016; Rios, 2013; Stewart & Gachago, 2016). Rios’ (2013) study on Chicana students in the borderland applied border pedagogies and specifically critical dialogue, which lead to a deconstruction of race and culture in the classroom. Wilson, Ek, Ty, and Douglas (2014) used border crossing pedagogies in order to highlight that Latina/o students were made invisible in their secondary school (Wilson, Ek, Ty, & Douglas, 2014). In a similar manner, Reyes (2016) presents the case of the El Paso Independent School District (EPISD) corruption scandal as an example for the silencing of Latina/o student voices, who were systematically

excluded from high stakes testing and pushed out of the high school system altogether in order to improve the state exam test scores for the district. Reyes, argues for humanizing education through the use of border pedagogy. In his study pre-service educators learned from Bowie high school students about their realities in the high school, and the educational system that stigmatizes them for speaking Spanish, and constructs speaking another language as a threat to test performance, thus dehumanizing students (Reyes, 2016, p. 340). As Reyes (2016) summarizes the EPISD test cheating scandal in El Paso as reflecting the complexities of the border identity and education of marginalized Mexican American students. Moreover, the borderland is rich in discourses and tensions between “nationalism, bilingualism, monolingualism, racism, discrimination, and uniformity” (Reyes, 2016, p. 347).

Humanizing aspects of border pedagogies are also demonstrated by Stewart & Gachago (2016) in a transcontinental border crossing digital storytelling project, in which the results show that the notions of otherness are critically demystified. This allows students to counter global hegemonic discourses (p.528). In current research activism is also seen as an essential part of border pedagogy (Ramirez, Ross, & Jimenez-Silva, 2016). In their qualitative study on two U.S. Latina teachers in a border community in California Ramirez, Ross and Jimenez-Silva (2016) found that the teachers applied border pedagogy through authentic care/cariño (Valenzuela, 1999), critical consciousness/concientización (Freire, 1970), and community activism (Ramirez, Ross, & Jimenez-Silva, 2016, p. 318). Ramirez, Ross and Jimenez-Silva (2016) in their theoretical framework for their study draw on nepantla (Anzaldúa, 1987) as a place where the transformation of identities can take place. Through the enactment of border pedagogy students developed critical consciousness together with their teachers in this nepantla space (Ramirez, Ross, & Jimenez-Silva, 2016, p. 304). In a similar qualitative case study with one focal teacher

education candidate observing one high school student labeled as having limited English language skills, LatCrit was used in order to deconstruct majoritarian tales of what it means to be a citizen in the United States (Salinas, Vuckery, & Franquiz, 2016). The findings indicate that the student teacher's prior assumptions could be transformed, and Latina/o students could challenge dominant discourses by using mestiza consciousness (Anzaldúa, 1987).

Cashman (2015) suggests the development of critical border dialogism containing different elements: heteroglossia, meliorism, critical cosmopolitanism, nepantla, dialogic feminism and pragmatic hope (Cashman, 2015).

In an ethnographic study that took place in the academic year of 2009 and 2010 at Preparatoria Altavista in Juárez, Mexico, Cervantes-Soon observed 10 female students in and outside the classroom, interviewed students and teachers. This ethnographic work together with a theoretical framework building on border thinking Mestiz@ theories of intelligence (Carrillo, 2013), and Chicana feminist thought (Anzaldúa, 1987) informed three decolonizing border pedagogy practices for border thinking that Cervantes-Soon and Carrillo (2016) propose: straddling, translanguaging and testimonio (p.288). Cervantes-Soon and Carrillo (2016) connected cultural capital, border pedagogy and translanguaging. They explain that while students need to be aware of the cultural capital of the dominant world. They propose translanguaging, which they see closely related to border crossing and as an essential part of border pedagogy, as a way to overcome an Anglophone monolingualism, and a deficit view of bilingualism; at the same time overcoming a negative view of border variances of Spanish (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016, p.291; Zentella, 2007). Translanguaging, through their dialogic border pedagogy praxis orientation (Cashman, 2016) is described as a heteroglossic

practice for social justice. This notion is in sync with García's theorizing of translanguaging as a heteroglossic practice and pedagogy for social justice:

In translanguaging, the speaker is situated in a space where alternative representations and enunciations can be generated because buried histories are released and alternative, conflicting knowledge are produced [...] translanguaging refers to social practices and actions that enact a political process of social and subjectivity transformations, which in turn produces translanguaging (García & Leiva, 2014, p. 204).

This quote illustrates the close relations between heteroglossia and translanguaging, but it also shows that it ties in well with border pedagogy.

Translanguaging can contribute to decolonizing notions of language purism, which can be found in bilingual education that is informed by monolingual language ideologies and leads to a decolonization of knowledge and identities (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016, p.290). García has also explained translanguaging as an enactment of a dynamic bilingualism that is built on Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia. Within the realm of border pedagogy, one can also make the connection to nepantla, particularly as new identities emerge in between different epistemologies. Translanguaging fits in as a border pedagogy practice according to Cervantes-Soon and Carrillo because of the potential for social and identity transformation. Through translanguaging practices one utterance can represent "the juxtaposition and intermixing of two different and potentially conflicting worldviews, styles, social languages, accents, or voices" (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016, p. 290). The Cervantes-Soon and Carrillo (2016) study ties in the theoretical notions underlying this proposed study, from the connection of translanguaging, cultural capital and heteroglossia to decolonizing practices and border pedagogy.

Language choices of multilingual learners of German in a Texas border town

There are different themes that emerge when considering a study on language choice of multilingual learners of German in a Texas border town. One aspect being the situatedness of the study along the border, with the border being a particular space for language ideologies and bilingual practices. Sociocultural and historical discourses are influencing language ideologies, and language policies in education and through these means they also influence current notions on language choice and language usage at the university level. My particular interest lies in the language choices students in a German language class make and how they reflect on these language choices. The border in particular is a space where language choice is also linked to performing a certain identity, which can be interpreted as an expression of dominant discourses, over which one language holds more power over another.

As an educator, I am open to learn from my students and in my role as an emerging researcher I also become a student in my own classrooms and learn from my students. Wei (2014) discusses this as co-constructing identity from a Vygotskian perspective (p.163). Furthermore, I am interested in linguistic performance as explained in the context of dynamic translanguaging by García and Ibarra Johnson and Seltzer (2017). García and Ibarra Johnson and Seltzer (2017) explain their translanguaging stance and the elements of translanguaging pedagogy in action:

1. Students' language practices and cultural understanding encompass those they bring from home and communities, as well as those from school. These practices and understanding co-exist, work juntos, and enrich each other.
2. Students' families and communities are valuable sources of knowledge and must be involved in the education process juntos.

3. The classroom is a democratic space where teachers and students juntos create knowledge, challenge traditional hierarchies, and work toward a more just society.

(García, & Ibarra Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017, p.104).

I think that the explanation of the translanguaging stance is very meaningful because the Spanish word “juntos” is used to show the natural reality of Spanish and English bilingual language use, in which the two languages are not separate items, and Spanish is mostly framed as a non-academic language. Here in this definition of the stance of translanguaging pedagogy the reader can see that Spanish is used in an academic text and it is a legitimate language to be used in academia, although the dominant language discourse might still suggest a language separation versus using all languages as one repertoire.

García & Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer (2017) discuss the role of the translanguaging classroom for the socioemotional well-being of students and the advancement of social justice. The elements include “con respeto, con cariño, como familia, y con acompañamiento” (p. 167). Translanguaging values students’ languages and cultures as well as strengthens them. Teachers in a translanguaging classroom are caring for their students and making a stance against discourses that consider bilingual practices as illegitimate (García, & Ibarra Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017, p.157). Como familia refers to the deeper connections that are made in a translanguaging classroom (García, & Ibarra Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017, p. 158). Con acompañamiento can mean that the students are never using their voice in just one language but in their full linguistic repertoire (García & Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer, 2017, p. 158).

As I have outlined above I bring certain ideas about my professional role as German instructor to the classroom. In the classroom I get to experience the students positions on language learning. Due to the fact, that I have been educated in Europe my viewpoints differ

from the discourses that can be found locally. Here in the border area students have been socialized into certain discourses, for example into thinking that Spanish is inferior to English, and that it is not considered to be an academic language. As part of a pilot study on the topic of language choice in the German language classroom a constructivist grounded theory approach was used and one of the emerging topics was that Americanness is related to speaking English. English is the tool that participants used to demonstrate their “Americanness”, they adopted the English-only ideology of the dominant society. These problematic notions of American identity need to be further researched. It appears that English-only legislation was adopted out of a fear of immigrants, and it can now be asked why the second-generation of immigrants perpetuate these notions. Americanness is performed through language choice and a decision to focus on English as one’s dominant language. For the bilingual participant’s their second language did not play a dominant role in their lives, they used it mainly to accommodate speakers who had a perceived language deficit, although they actively used it in their German as a foreign language class.

The topic lends itself to an analysis of emerging themes, because as Gee explains “A speaker’s attitudes, values, and beliefs, indeed their very identities are embedded and displayed in the language that they use” (Gee, 1999, p.30). Foucault explained that social language practices have grown out of historical circumstances (Appleman, 2014, p. 100). American exceptionalism is a discourse, each discourse is socially and historically situated according to Appleman (p.100). Referring to the work of Michel Foucault(1982) Appleman explains how discourses and power are related “the notion that power is not so much a force to be imposed by the powerful upon the powerless as it is a force for the reproduction of cultural viewpoints.” (Appleman, 2014, p.101).

Students who are taking part in German language classes have diverse backgrounds. Some are heritage language learners of German, some are transfronterizos, who cross the Mexican-American border frequently, others are international students from other parts of the world. A substantial proportion of the students are bilinguals. In a typical German class there are combinations of the above mentioned categories.

In the process of acquiring a new language the existing languages are facilitating the learning process, because they serve to create understanding of the new foreign language. Many adult learners of a foreign language have already experienced different educational settings, in which they were allowed or not allowed to use all of their languages. When put in a classroom environment that allows multiple languages to be used, previously acquired language attitudes might surface and are shown through the expressed language preferences. The prestige and status of a language has an influence on language choices of multilingual speakers. The topic of language prestige has been researched by Borland, who examines language maintenance for a heritage language of lesser status, Maltese in Melbourne, Australia. Borland contends that this is a heritage language of lesser status in Australian society, other languages such as German and French enjoy a higher status and also have the additional support of a large community of speakers in the source countries (2005, p. 109).

There are also studies about bilingual classrooms, for example Budach (2013) conducted a study in a two-way immersion German-Italian classroom.

Peer interactions have been studied by Cekaite and Björk-Willén (2012) the settings in the study are multilingual classrooms with multilingual speakers using a second language as lingua franca, which is also the case for the German classrooms at the borderland university in which this study took place. The students are speakers of diverse home languages and come

together in the class and use English as lingua franca, which for some students is their second and for some is their third language. As a German teacher I frequently observe that students go through interactions searching for words or translations, and creating meaning of German phrases together while using both the lingua franca as well as their other languages.

Gaps in literature on German language learners in the United States

There is a gap in the current literature on German language learners in the United States. Chavez (2007), at a large public Midwestern university, observed three sections of a German-as-a-foreign language class where the students were traditional college age, White, as well as middle class English speakers. Chavez analyzed the transcripts of the observations and shows that code-switching is going on between German and English as part of the peer interactions. The main limitation of this study is the narrow student population, who are native English-speakers. The three German instructors in the study were also native English speakers that certainly influenced the teacher-student interactions.

Edwards (2004) discusses language and power as well as identity, and language shift, maintenance and policies, in his book Edwards gives a historic perspective of German in the United States. The author shows that German and French are traditional foreign languages taught in the foreign language classrooms. According to Edwards, heritage languages that are connected to minority groups in English-speaking countries are marginalized while foreign languages taught in the educational setting enjoy a higher status among members of the dominant group (2004, p. 144).

Gnutzmann; Jakisch and Rabe (2014) studied English as a lingua Franca that creates identity for young Europeans. The gap in research is the role of English in multilingual classrooms in the border area of the United States. Van Sluys and Rao (2012) look at the deficit

perspectives commonly applied towards new-English language learners and the connection of power and language.

Keim (2009) studied institutional deficit notions towards peer-group interactions in multilingual classrooms. A study within a subtractive bilingual context regarding heritage language learners was conducted by Lechner and Siemund (2014). The gap in current literature is in the field of foreign language classrooms with students' who have gone through different educational settings (additive, subtractive bilingualism, dual-language programs, heritage language learners) and how that has affected their language attitudes towards the different languages they know.

Ntelioglou; Fannin; Montanera and Cummins (2014) highlight the advantages it brings to students when they develop literacy in two or more languages. Relano (2008) studied language choice among pre-schoolers in a bilingual after-school setting. The gap in research can be found in the topic of language choice for adult learners in foreign language classes

Parameters for the Review

For this literature review only peer-reviewed scholarly articles published between 2000 and 2017 were considered in the EBSCO data-base search. Book reviews, as well as articles that were not available in full-text were excluded from the review. Due to the emerging themes related to the topic of language choice in the German language classroom at a border town university in the United States the review is organized into several categories. The first category addresses German language studies at College level in the United States. The second category is addressing language discourse in the United States. I would argue that language discourse is influencing the choices of language learners in the classroom. Ten peer-reviewed scholarly articles were identified under this category. Closely related to language discourse is language

ideology, which can be informing language discourses. Language ideology is a widely researched topic in the United States. The third theme to consider is the connection between language and identity, because language choice is related to language identity. Translanguaging is the fourth theme and it is divided into subcategories: Translanguaging in the classroom, translanguaging to promote language acquisition, and lastly translanguaging to integrate and include students.

I propose that the use of translanguaging in the classroom might influence the multilingual speakers identity, therefore multilingual identity, as well as multilingualism and identity are the last category. The keywords “multilingualism” and “identity” yield 241 results for the last ten years in the EBSCO database, which shows that it is a widely researched theme internationally; however, when applying the filter “multilingualism in the United States” only 6 scholarly peer-reviewed article were found.

German as a foreign language at universities in the United States

This category reviews current research on German studies at universities in the United States, in order to expand the search there are two subcategories: German as a foreign language at United States universities and German language learning at United States universities. During an EBSCO data base search of the search terms “German as a foreign language” and “university” and “United States” seven peer reviewed scholarly article were found. Of those seven peer reviewed scholarly articles four are included in this review, the other three either focused on Turkish language (Yigitoglu& Reichelt, 2014), historical aspects of foreign policy (Engel, 2008) or English in German language programs in Germany (Hilgendorf, 2005), because none of these three topics are part of this literature review they were not included.

Costabile-Heming (2011) is contextualizing the study of German at US universities and concludes that the struggle for the existence of German programs will continue and that the most successful attempts at saving German programs all show the importance of local support for these programs.

The most recent study (Abrams, 2016) explores second language writing at a US university among first year learners of German. This qualitative study focuses on 28 first-year learners of German, and their second language writing, it does not include any multilingual learners.

There is a trend in research about German studies at US universities to analyze the role of the language teacher. There has been a focus on the question of how native and non-native German language teachers put a different emphasis on their teaching practices and to what extent they include cultural studies in the study of German. Increasingly there has been an interest on teacher identity that came along with the social turn in second language learning as Aslan (2015) explains. The foreign language teacher identity is considered from a constructivist viewpoint as “plural, and dynamic, context-bound, negotiable across different power relations” (Aslan, 2015, p.248). While there is interest in exploring teacher identity and teaching of languages this topic has mostly been explored in the context of English as a second language for example: (Borg, 2003, 2012; De Angelis, 2007, 2011; Jessner, 2008, Norton, 2000, 2006; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Pavlenko, 2003; Saenz, 2000). Pavlenko (2003) found that the English as a second language teacher’s self-identification as a bilingual and/or multilingual speaker constructed a “new imagined community of multicompetent, bilingual and multilingual speakers” (Aslan, 2015, p. 249). Aslan conducted one of the two studies that focused on German language teachers’ identity. In a case study on French native speakers and German non-native speakers

Aslan (2015) explored the intersection of teacher identities in different roles, as language teachers and the professional identity and practices in the different classrooms at the college level (p.244). The framework to analyze the data, collected from semi-structured interviews and classroom observations was the complexity theory. The findings suggest that the case study participant's dual native French speaker/non-native German speaker identities affected her teaching practices and her language awareness (p.244). Aslan (2015) argues that a multilingual teacher can identify with students and motivate them, because as a multilingual, one most likely has experience with language learning strategies as well as an awareness of teaching with multilingual skills (p.264). In another study with eight graduate instructors of German at a southwestern university in the United States Ghanem (2015) explored how the instructors' identities as native and non-native speakers influences their self-perception and comfort with teaching culture in the classroom (p. 169). Ghanem (2015) and Aslan both highlight the role of teacher identities and the way in which they "support students formation of identities" (p.170). Ghanem (2015) in her qualitative case study used a combination of grounded theory and discursive psychology to look for both emergent themes that arose out of the collected data as well as the way in which these German instructors conceptualized their identities (p.176). The data collection included questionnaires, field notes, self-reflective journals, focus-group interviews and semi-guided interviews (Ghanem, 2015, p.176). The collected data allowed for triangulation and a grounded theory approach (Glaser, 1992). The findings of Ghanem's study suggest that being a native speaker of German plays a significant role in the aspect of teaching German culture in a German language class (Ghanem, 2015, p. 183). The teacher identity had a direct influence on pedagogical approaches to teaching culture.

German language learning at universities in the United States

Using the search terms “German language learning” and “university” and “USA” brought forward two peer reviewed articles in the EBSCO data base search that were available in full text. Belz and Reinhardt (2004) had done a case study on one American college student learning German in a class. The focus of this study was on his course website, his in-class electronic correspondences with German keypals in Germany, as well as his out of class electronic correspondence with German speakers (p.324). Belz and Reinhardt analyzed the American student’s language play as an aspect of his advanced foreign language proficiency. According to Belz and Reinhardt (2004) multilingual foreign language play can be understood as an index of multicompetence (p. 330). The authors are concluding that their case study participant was able to use language “as a symbolic resource in order to effect membership in social groups” (Belz & Reinhardt, 2004, p. 351).

An interesting aspect about this study is that it is built on Gee’s work on discourses and Belz and Reinhardt (2004) explain that language use and valuing can produce “borderland discourse” (Gee, 1999, p.20) which are characterized, at least initially, “as liminal or transitional spaces in which rules of engagement are up for grabs” (Belz & Reinhardt, 2004, p.350). A limitation of this case study is that the participant is a White, English-only speaker prior to learning German. Belz (2005) in another study continued to research a German language classroom at a US university with the purpose of questioning techniques in a German-American telecollaborative partnership. Belz is referencing Halliday (1994), when looking at the dialogues that unfolded as part of this transnational partnership via chats and emails, adopting a social semiotic perspective on language “in which ideology (attitudes, beliefs, values)” are considered to be reflected in linguistic structure (Belz , 2005, p.7). In this study Belz considers the

heteroglossia of dialogue grounded in the work of Mikhail Bakhtin and foreign language discourse analyst Claire Kramsch (1993, 1994) and explains how this dialogic approach highlights the “difficulties with teaching the norms”, which is traditionally a main objective in foreign language classrooms, but can lead to essentialism and the perpetuation of stereotypes in dialogue (Belz, 2005, p. 28).

Language discourse in the United States

Giroux (2005b) explains that neoliberalism has been shaping the educational system and discursive formations. Discourse can also be analyzed for its hegemonic functions and the inequality that it naturalizes (Cachelin, Rose, & Paisely, 2015, p. 1128). The authors encourage educators to disrupt problematic discourse because the language used in education can “be leveraged either in support or in opposition to the dominance of neoliberal discourse” (Cachelin, Rose, & Paisely, 2015, p. 1129). Showstack (2015), in a case study on a Spanish instructor of a Heritage Spanish language class at the university level examined how the instructor created discursive practices in the classroom (p.343). Those discursive practices are understood as “repeated types of interactions” (Showstack, 2015, p. 343). The Spanish instructor would represent a monoglossic ideology and encourage students to speak Spanish according to the standards and norms of the Royal Spanish Academy, which excluded bilingual language practices that are common in the United States. A discourse of authority, and power was associated with speaking the “correct” Spanish in the classroom. It can be criticized that educational institutions serve to create discourses of inferiority towards linguistic practices of heritage language speakers. There was a discourse about the dominant standard language being of higher value in the hierarchy of language practices presented in the case study (Showstack, 2015). Showstack (2015) emphasizes that the manner in which the teacher represents certain

ideologies through stancetaking are part of the classroom discursive practices that students and teacher construct together through their interactions. Further research could focus on the ways in which heritage language students reflect and negotiate their instructor's stance towards language use (Showstack, 2015, p. 358). Furthermore, it would be interesting to learn about how students together with their language teacher construct discursive practices that embody certain ideologies and identities both inside and outside the classroom. Jones Harris (2016) critiques discourses surrounding language learning strategies for learners of English who speak other languages. Moreover, referencing Freire (1970) Jones Harris argues for new definitions of language learning (Freire, 1970; Jones Harris, 2016). Ester J. de Jong (2013) outlines two policy discourses in regards to English language learners that are common in United States educational settings. The assimilationist (monolingual) discourse and the pluralist (multilingual) one. The author found a trend towards an assimilationist discourse and argues for more pluralistic discourses regarding language learning (de Jong, 2013, p. 98).

Esquinca (2013), in a study about a transfronteriza pre-service teacher, states that mathematical discourse develops through becoming a part of the discourse community (Esquinca, 2013, p. 279). Transfronterizos are Mexican residents who frequently cross the border and for example attend schools in the United States (Esquinca, 2013).

Gaps in the literature

The literature review shows how issues such as language prestige, language identities, and ideologies are concepts that have been explored in academic research; however, not in the case of this specific setting of a bordertown considering German language studies. Research on learning German in the United States so far has not taken a critical stance, and it has also not considered a diverse student population. No study so far has been located that brings all these

elements of multilingual students in German as a foreign language class together, this includes their previous experience with language learning and their resulting language choices that are also connected to their multilingual identities and attitudes.

Current studies using translanguaging focus entirely on translanguaging between English and Spanish as the literature review shows. While this research is taking place in the United States and Mexican borderland, it includes a third language, English, Spanish, and German. To my knowledge there is no research conducted in the United States that used a framework of border pedagogy (Anzaldúa, 1987), heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981), and translanguaging (García, 2009) to understand how multilingual university students make sense out of learning German in a foreign language classroom. The setting of this study in a bordertown adds another layer of significance to this research. As it represents a unique environment in which everyday languaging practices meet language ideologies that can represent a full spectrum going from disapproving bilingualism/multilingualism and endorsing English-only education to a dynamic view of bilingualism (García, 2009).

Chapter 3: Methodology

Rationale

A qualitative study using the design of action research seems appropriate to shed light on the question of how multilingual students are making sense of learning German through their language choices at a borderland university. My goal, as an educator and researcher was not merely to describe the situation of bilingual German learners but to explore classroom practices that are conducive to learning for bilingual students, while valuing their cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Teacher-led action research brings inquiry to the teaching process and unites teaching (action) with research, which can be understood as a reflection on action (Freeman, 1998). Freeman (1998) discusses how foreign language teachers can undertake these two processes of teaching and researching concurrently, although the two are traditionally seen as separate (p.6). I perceived the students as active participants of the study. This action research study is based on the practices of a community of learners of which I understand myself, as the facilitator to be a part of. Action research has a long history in education (Munn-Giddings, 2012). As a practice its roots can be found in the work of John Dewey and was coined as a term by social psychologist Kurt Lewin, who described practitioners as researchers (Fichtman, 2013, p.1; Holly, Arhar, & Kasten, 2005; Schwalbach, 2003). It was applied to the field of education by Stephen Corey (Fichtman, 2013). Action research is defined as a systematic approach to studying, reflecting, changing and re-evaluating one's own teaching practice as an educator (Fichtman, 2013, p. 2). Cahill discusses participatory action research with young people and advocates for a "collective praxis approach" building on "critical pedagogical approaches that emphasize the relationship between dialogue, critical reflection, and action, and on Gramsci's (1971, 1999) and Freire's

(1970, 1997) action oriented approach to knowledge production and social transformation”.

(Cahill, 2016, p.158). The characteristics of action research include ethical commitment to the professional practice, as well as the underlying democratic principles and values in teaching and researching that students and the educator develop together for the community (Holly, Arhar, & Kasten, 2005, p. 40). This characteristic of ethical commitment includes questioning the curriculum and considering who does the curriculum privilege at the expense of others (Holly, Arhar, & Kasten, 2005, p.40). Furthermore, in a democratic learning community relationships are not hierarchical, communication is authentic, and participation is active with all participants included in a cooperative manner (Holly, Arhar, & Kasten, 2005, p. 42). Another important characteristic of action research is the cycle of reflective practice (Holly, Arhar, & Kasten, 2005, p. 42). An inquiry circle is typical for action research and consists of the development of a wondering, data collection and data analysis, taking action, sharing with others and a reflection process (Fichtman Dana, 2013, p. 2). As a research approach action research can have theoretical and practical outcomes (Stringer, 1996), as it combines action (teaching) with the reflection on action (research).

Why this study? The Pilot

The qualitative pilot study used grounded theory as the method for data analysis (Charmaz, 2014). Data had been collected through participant observations, researcher memos, audio recording of classroom discussions and individual semi-structured interviews with ten participants. The research was situated at the same borderland university as the dissertation research. Participants of the pilot study were recruited from an accelerated one-week intensive beginner’s course of German. The non-credit course was offered free of cost to the community during the spring in 2017. Although it was specifically advertised as a class in which research

was going to take place, the participation in the research was completely voluntary for people who attended the class. All participants of the class of 14 students were over 18 years old and had given their informed consent prior to the start of the study. For the pilot study I relied on participant observations. With the informed consent of the participants I had audio-recorded the full length of the class, which was 15 hours long as we met for 3 hours each evening for a one-week duration. The interviews took place after the class with ten of the participants who were available for the individual interview. I probed for how participants had made sense out of learning German, especially since it was a very fast-paced class. We covered a lot of material at each meeting and based on my perspective with my double role as instructor and researcher I perceived that translanguaging with Spanish proved to be a learning strategy that allowed for participants to make a fast connection with the German vocabulary. However, during the interviews I asked the participants for their language learning experiences in the class which would contradict what I had observed in the class. I transcribed the ten interviews and used a constructivist grounded theory analysis of the data.

Through the grounded theory approach the following topics emerged, students described never having used Spanish in a United States university classroom, but the transcribed audio recordings show that students were making use of Spanish in the German as a foreign language classroom. For the students, being perceived as an English speaker was more important than using their bilingual language repertoire to learn an additional language. Topics of a long history of discrimination based on being a Spanish English bilingual speaker also surfaced and explained the necessity to perform Americanness through the exclusive use of English in a university setting. The practices that could be observed in the classroom point to translanguaging as a naturally occurring practice for bilingual students, which is very helpful in learning and

understanding a new language, despite the language ideologies against Spanish that students have been socialized into. As a result of this pilot study I had learned that it was going to be crucial to have audio-recordings of actual languaging practices in the German class and that those needed to be shared with the participants as part of a longer interview series, because one interview did not allow to ask follow up questions and it also did not allow for reflections on the part of the participants. A limitation of the pilot study was the limited amount of time that I had spent interacting with the participants. I understood that when conducted over a longer time period and with more involvement of the participants a deeper exploration of the German language learning experience of bilinguals was going to be possible.

The conceptualization of the dissertation research was influenced by the pilot study results. I had learned that the German language class is a place where opposing forces meet. Bakhtin's (1981) concept of heteroglossia was useful in explaining how on the one hand unifying forces represented through assimilationist and nativist language discourses can be present at the same time as stratifying forces represented through translanguaging practices on the other hand. While the results of the pilot study had puzzled me at first, I came to an understanding that those contradictory forces can be understood from a nepantla perspective as an in-between state (Anzaldúa, 1987). Ways of knowing about language learning might contradict actual language learning practices; therefore, it was going to be important to gain a deep understanding of every participants educational, as well as family background and their language ideologies in order to understand their languaging in the German class.

Why this study? The focal research project

Through this research I hope to make both practical and theoretical contributions to the field of language education, specifically multilingual students learning German; because learning

needs are different for bilingual students compared to monolingual students learning a foreign language for the first time. My students are already experienced language learners and have a wide linguistic and cultural repertoire to draw on when attempting to learn German. Considering the student population that I usually work with these are the research questions I hope to explore in this study:

- 1) How do Spanish-English bilingual students learn German?
- 2) What are students' language ideologies? Are students' language ideologies related to their identities? If so, how are language ideologies and identities related?
- 3) How do students use translanguaging practices in the classroom? What are their beliefs about these practices?
- 4) How does epistemological change happen among these students?

As a practical implication of the study I also hope to explore translanguaging pedagogy for German language learning.

Research Design

Situatedness of the research site

The study took place in three classes, one German 1 beginner's class and two advanced beginner's level II German classes at a university on the border between Mexico and the United States. The student population at the university is representative of the overall population in this border city and consists of many binational and bicultural, as well as bilingual students. Some of the students live on the Mexican side of the border and cross the border daily to attend classes in the United States these students are the transfronterizos. In addition, there are also students who have been born and raised on the US side of the border but have parents who migrated to the United States from different parts of Mexico. There are also students who are heritage learners of

German. The German classes are capped at 25 students, so in a group of 25 there might be one or two heritage language learners of German and 22 or 23 Spanish-English bilingual learners. Previously I had students who could speak other languages, for example Portuguese, Mandarin and French. This presents the possibility that some of the students are bilingual with other language combinations but a majority of at least 80 percent of the students are expected to be bilingual and able to speak Spanish and English to a varying degree.

The study participants

The population of the study are bilingual university students who are enrolled in the German I and II classes. Participants for the study were selected through purposive sampling. The criteria for inclusion in the study was that the participant was willing to give informed consent and is bilingual, an emergent bilingual in either Spanish and English, or German and English or any other language combination. One exclusion criteria was students who were not willing to give informed consent to participate in the study, the other, monolingual English-speaking students due to the fact that there is research that has already focused on monolingual English speakers learning German in the United States. In accordance with these criteria 46 students volunteered to participate in this research study and gave their informed consent. Out of the 46 participants 20 spoke Spanish as their only home language and they explained that they had learned English when they arrived in the United States school system. Ten participants used both Spanish and English at home. Two participants explained to use Spanglish at home. Eight participants had spoken Spanish as children but through their participation in subtractive bilingual education, as well as through assimilation processes now speak only English at home. Five participants were German heritage language learners and familiar with German, and had

either spoken it as younger children or had consistent exposure to it through family members. One person identified as bilingual with English and Patois.

Positionality/Role of Researcher

Due to the fact that this qualitative research is participatory, it is also important to analyse my positionality towards the topic of language learning. In my different professional roles, as both middle school teacher of bilingual students and foreign language instructor at the university level; I can observe and engage in practices that I am now able to describe as translanguaging practices. Particularly in the context of the Texas-Mexico border one can easily see the relevance of translanguaging as a concept. As an educator I am interested in using translanguaging as a strategy to integrate students who do not speak the dominant language. I am also interested in learning about how translanguaging has been used by researchers to promote language acquisition. I developed a curiosity about the question of how translanguaging might be able to contribute to the development of a positive multilingual identity.

I was born and raised in Germany, in the Eastern part and have spent my entire life there until 2012 when I moved to the border region. In my family I am the only English-speaker and none of my parents or grandparents have ever attended a university. Although I am aware of my privilege as an immigrant from Europe, I might share the experience of immigrating to the United States with many of my students. As an outsider to this borderregion I needed to understand the dynamics of language attitudes and how they can affect learning in the German class. From my socialization speaking several languages is normal and desirable. I had learned both French and English in my school since an early age, and had learned some Spanish in Granada, Spain as part of a university exchange program. Not all of my language learning attempts were successful, an experience I often share with my students is how I unsuccessfully took

Czech classes and learned not much even over the course of five semesters at the university, I had no prior experience with any Eastern European language and was not able to make sense out of the material. I had two different native speaking instructors, and the motivation to learn; however, the style was very teacher focused and we would just write down what the teachers told us, without understanding it.

I conducted the action research while teaching the German class at the same time, which might raise some ethical concerns. Throughout the research process I emphasized to all students that participation in the research is completely voluntary and not required in order to take and successfully complete the class. I explained to all students, that current curricula as well as the textbooks that are being produced for German in the United States are not addressing the needs of bilingual students; and that I am interested in learning about what kind of curriculum and teaching approach would better address the needs of bilingual learners. The objective being to include their existing languages in the process of learning German. Students are very knowledgeable about their own learning and, therefore I strive to create a democratic classroom experience in which we all learn together. Through the process of this action research the opportunities for reflection on practices from both the students as well as the teacher/researcher perspective are given.

Together with the students I hoped to gain an understanding of what the needs of bilingual learners in the German classroom are and if translanguaging practices might be useful in learning German. In that sense this research has practical and theoretical implications.

Data Collection

Data were collected through participant observation with audio recordings, focus groups and individual interviews. In the classroom data were collected in the form of audio recordings

and by observing student interactions within their groups in class. Participants of this study recorded every class session over the course of 13 weeks. This research started in the second week of classes during the spring 2018 semester and finished the week before finals week. There was a one-week spring break during that semester. The data were transcribed and analyzed using thematic analysis. Furthermore, participants were involved in the process of selecting a transcript of classroom interactions that represented their work. During the individual interviews we would discuss the transcripts, which allowed to triangulate the data.

Participant observations & memos

In my dual role as teacher and researcher I was not able to observe the classroom in a way that an external researcher would; however, I wrote reflective memos after each class session to contemplate on my student's interactions in class (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Frank, 1999). I had three hours of face to face contact with each of the three participating German classes over the course of a week and the observations occurred over the entire time of the study, which was 13 weeks long. As a teacher in the classroom I observed whether students were engaged in the material, if they were helping each other, or if they were directing all their questions to me. Furthermore, I reflected which languages were used in the classroom. Writing these daily reflections allowed me to do member checks with students by asking specific questions during their individual interviews. Not only did I ask students for feedback about certain instructional techniques, I was also able to triangulate the data with the transcribed audio-recordings.

Audio recordings of classroom discussions

Students in the German class worked in pairs for partner activities, as well as in small groups of 3 or 4 students. I circulated around the classroom assisting groups with questions, a

recording device was placed with each group of participating students and all the recorded student interactions and interactions with me as the teacher were transcribed. As part of this study all conversations in each German class over the course of the 13 weeks were audio recorded. Three hours of classroom interactions were recorded per week in each of the three class sections of German. In sum nine hours per week over the study period totaled 39 hours of audio recordings from the classes.

Some of the 46 participants of this action research study who had given their consent to be recorded worked individually making it hard to record their utterances, and others worked in groups. Some of the participants worked together with other students in the German classes who were not participating in the study and their conversations were not recorded. Participants who worked individually are included in these findings with contributions they made to the class during whole class activities; such as a circle activity in which all students were talking to their neighbor or in a conversation with me as the instructor.

Focus Groups

On a volunteer basis some of the participants were reflecting about their language choices in the German classroom, as well as previous language learning experiences and how they compare to the current class. Students self-selected if they were interested in participating in the focus group. The purpose of focus groups was to collect participants' views on a topic (Lichtman, 2013, p. 207). Because these groups were small, individuals felt encouraged to share their experiences as they were comparable to experiences of other members of their participation group. Of the 46 study participants 24 took part in one of the six focus group discussions.

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with participating students (Seidman, 2013). The 46 students who participated in the study were asked to participate in the three-part phenomenological interviews (Seidman, 2013). I asked open-ended questions to encourage students to tell me more about their linguistic background and their previous experiences with language use in the educational setting. During the first interview I asked each participant: Can you tell me a little bit about your family, where did they come from and where did they live at the time you were born? Depending on the answers I would ask follow-up questions on the family background and each individual's language use as a young and older child. Furthermore, I inquired about any hobbies the participants had and what languages were used during those. Another set of questions pertained to the school background. I would ask each participant: if you could speak a little bit more about your schooling experience? What languages were you speaking with your friends? In addition to those questions I would also ask about language use with teachers. If applicable I would ask about language use with siblings, and if there was any type of development or change with the language use as the schooling progressed because sometimes there was a difference for example between elementary and middle school or high school. I concluded the first interview with the following questions: if you could tell me a little bit about why you decided to take this German class? Now if you are looking at new vocabulary in the class how are you making sense of it? So, let's say you were to get stuck with an activity in class what would you do? When you think maybe also outside of the class what resources are you using for learning German? If you had to give advice to a person who is attempting to learn German what kind of advice would you have for that person? In a future German class is there

anything you would like to see, any activities and anything that you think should be part of the curriculum?

The second interview consisted of a language profile and an introduction that the participants did in their own words. As an example, I would model what information to include by giving an introduction including my own experiences with languages and language learning. Self-identification was part of this second interview. Moreover, we would discuss what typical in-class conversations look like for each participant. In preparation for the second round of interviews I had looked up an example of each participant and I would play parts of the in-class audio for the participant, or if I already had it available in transcribed form would share the transcription with the participant. Depending on if we agreed on that particular example being representative of the daily in-class work we would then discuss it during the third interview. If participants had suggestions for what they thought was a typical conversation they would have in the German class I would take note of that during the second interview and prepare a transcript of that conversation for the third interview. When it came to group conversations, I would ask each individual group member if they thought an interaction that I had selected was representative of their work. If each group member agreed on one example during their individual interview, or if all group members suggested the same example to analyze I would follow the groups choice and we would discuss it during the third individual interview. The second and third interviews were also used for follow-up questions on the participants family and educational background. I would listen to the first interview of a person and write down questions for the follow up interviews. The interviews allowed for reflection on the German class. These interviews were transcribed.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis

The unit of analysis are the in-class interactions in the German classroom and participant observations, as well as the focus group and individual interviews. Analyzing this varied data allows to explore which languages are being used for learning German, to share knowledge, and to help other group members? Which language ideologies are participants bringing to the classroom, how have their prior educational experiences formed these ideologies and beliefs about languages? Thematic analysis was used to find out what the key topics are that participants focused on in their discussions (Aranson & Calsmith, 1990). This data analysis may be more oriented towards the practical outcomes of the action research. While critical discourse analysis might make more contributions towards the theoretical findings of the study.

The thematic analysis serves to understand underlying ideologies, perceptions and ideas about languages and language use in the classroom that might not be on a conscious level for the students, but have been acquired over time as they passed through the educational system in the United States. How are students describing their language choices in the classroom, are their perspectives matching their actual practice, or is there a disconnection? The theoretical framework of this study could explain the German learning experiences of multilingual learners who might enter a *nepantla*, an in-between state while potentially undergoing a questioning of epistemologies (Anzaldúa, 1987).

The first step in the analysis process was transcribing the data. I transcribed the data while the study was going on, which allowed me to go back to the participants and ask clarification questions throughout the data collection process. Through members checks as part of the interview process all study participants were involved with sharing their views and

opinions on transcribed in-class conversations, and they were also involved in the process of finding an example of conversations that represented their work in the class. After transcribing all interviews, I read through them and I coded all interviews by segments in an initial coding process using NVivo software to organize the data. During this process I noticed terms that were used by the participants that made sense to everyone involved in the study but might not make sense outside of the border region; in order to explain these terms, I coded them as in-vivo codes (Charmaz, 2014).

A second round of coding served to identify themes by clustering together previously assigned codes and further analyzing the data. I read through the transcribed data again and organized the codes into the emerging themes. I would sort new codes to either existing categories or open new topics and rearrange new found codes and previously assigned codes. Throughout the coding process I would write memos on emerging themes, going back to these memos helped to conceptualize how I wanted to present the themes in this study. Ultimately, I organized the themes as they pertained to the research questions, material that covered topics unrelated to the research questions was not included in the findings of this study. All themes that relate to the research questions are included and presented in the finding's chapters. Transcribing all interviews and analyzing the data took about a year to complete. In between the first and second round of coding I made sure to gain a precise overview of the data. As this was not a case study it was important to me to look for communalities and differences within the experiences that were discussed in the interviews. Stepping away from the details of each individual story allowed me to see the bigger picture and gave me insights as to how to organize and group the themes. Nevertheless, I still wanted to include the individual voices via contextualized vignettes.

Member checks were an integrated part of the third individual interview at the end of the study, I would paraphrase statements that had been made during the first two interviews and I would check if I understood correctly what had been said. Furthermore, together with each participant we would look at the transcribed in-class conversation that we had selected as being representative for the work in-class and I would share my observations with each individual, thereby checking if I understood the participants experience in the class. If I was unaware of any aspect of the participant's experience that was a time were more in-depth reflections or observations on the part of the participants were shared. The member-checks allowed to check in with each participant and to affirm if my interpretation of what we had discussed up to this point in the interview was correct and to check if I had understood their learning experience in the German class in as much detail as possible. For group work all involved members had the possibility to give their own perspective which allowed to gain an understanding of the learning interactions from all involved members. Data triangulation was achieved through the various types of data (in-class audio-recordings, participants observations, focus group and individual interviews) that was collected as part of this study.

Study limitations

This study explores the German learning experiences of bilingual students in three German language classes, that were taught at a university situated on the border between Mexico and the United States. This study did not focus on monolingual students learning German. A limitation of this work is that it took place at one institution and it was conducted by one researcher with the double function of instructor/researcher. The research process was very transparent for the participants and completely voluntary. During the first week of class in the spring 2018 semester I presented my research to all three classes and went over the informed

consent forms with those students who were interested in participating in this study. The students who gave their informed consent were then provided with audio recording devices and would record the class and the in-class conversations starting in the second week of class. Each participant was involved in the research process through member checks, and selecting data for further analysis, as well as through directing the conversations to topics of their interests in both the focus group and the individual interviews. While the individual interviews were conversations with me the focus groups were small group discussions in which I did not take part, the participants guided their own conversations and recorded them. This study took place in a border region with dominantly Spanish/English bilinguals the findings have to be considered in light of a current anti-immigration sociopolitical climate.

Chapter 4: Findings from In-class Conversations

The findings of this study are presented in two chapters. This chapter is focusing on the findings based on the in-class conversations. Firstly, seven excerpts from classroom interactions in the German I Group are shown, followed by seven excerpts from the German II Groups. Those interactions are presented to illustrate the variety of interactions. This serves to document how learning took place and what kind of interactions were going on between students and myself as the facilitator of learning, and which conversations took place amongst students as they were making sense of learning German. Each of the excerpts is from a different point in the semester and illustrates typical interactions and additionally highlights a unique aspect with regards to learning in the German class. The in-class conversations show specific functions languaging in the German class has and some excerpts call attention to translanguaging between English and German, others highlight translanguaging between Spanish and German, Spanish and English, or Spanish, English and German, while other excerpts do not show any translanguaging. Some students were translanguaging during the class whilst others were not. The study has the format of action research because I have the double function of being the researcher and investigator as well as the facilitator of the German class. My class notes and participant observations are included in this chapter, as part of the explanation columns in the tables below showing the in-class utterances of the participants.

The data below was gathered using audio recordings of participants who had given written consent to this as part of the informed consent process. The fourteen excerpts are examples of typical in-class conversations and allow some insights into the learning that took place in the class and classroom atmosphere. The conversations are presented in table format to allow the inclusion of translations and explanations. The explanations are based on class notes as well as

participant observations I gathered throughout the semester. After each class I took short notes on the content covered on that day which proved to be useful while analyzing the classroom data.

Languaging in the German I Groups

In order to facilitate the reading process of the multilingual conversations Spanish is underlined in the original utterance as well as the word by word English translation from German or Spanish, and German is in *italic* font in the original and the English translation. Comments on the utterances as well as the translation are indicated through parentheses.

In Table 1 a short excerpt from German one class is shown to illustrate a student-teacher conversation. This activity took place at the beginning of the semester when students were still learning how to introduce themselves and provide information about themselves such as their major, or nationality, or size. The activity covered vocabulary that might be useful when studying in Germany as one would have to fill out forms at the university. As a whole class we looked at an example of a student who had filled out some paperwork with personal information in German. We analyzed the necessary vocabulary and went over a list of questions that students were encouraged to answer for themselves. We broke into small pods to work in groups on the task. I walked around the classroom to facilitate group work and answered the questions students raised. After the five-minute small group phase, we compared our answers and each individual student would speak using the questions as a guideline for responses.

Xavier: X

Annabell: A (instructor)

Table 1*Excerpt 1*

Utterance	English translation	Explanation
1 X: <i>Ich heie Xavier. Ahm ich einundzwanzig Jahr alt</i>	<i>I'm Xavier. I 21 year old.</i>	The second sentence is missing the verb "am", to provide immediate feedback I repeat that part of the sentence with the verb
2 A: <i>Ich bin</i>	<i>I am</i>	The student hears the verb, and restates his sentence
3 X: <i>Ich bin einundzwanzig Jahr alt, ich studiere ah Krimin...</i>	<i>I am 21 years old I study uhm criminal...</i>	This time the verb is correctly used, however I notice the hesitation with the word "Kriminalwesen"
4 A: <i>Kriminalwesen</i>	<i>Criminal justice</i>	I say the word because that is what the student is majoring in and I had noticed that he didn't know how to say it
5 X: Say the last part again!		The student feels comfortable to ask me to repeat the word
6 A: <i>Kriminalwesen</i>	<i>Criminal justice</i>	
7 X: There <i>Kriminalwesen</i>		The student is now able to say his major
8 A: Aha		
9 X: <i>Ich national</i>	<i>I national</i>	I infer what the student is trying to express
10 A: You can say <i>ich bin Amerikaner.</i>	<i>... I am American</i>	I model the sentence
11 X: <i>Ich bin Amerikaner</i>	<i>I am American</i>	The student repeats it
12 A: Mmh		
13 X: <i>Ich komme aus El Paso. Ich nicht weit.</i>	<i>I come from El Paso. I not far.</i>	The second sentence is missing the verb
14 A: <i>Das ist nicht weit, es ist hier.</i> It is here aha.	<i>That is not far, it is here.</i>	I offer two different ways to express the intended meaning

15 X: <i>Ahm ist nicht schön.</i>	<i>It is not pretty.</i>	The student is going through the list of questions and he is answering a question about the place where he is from, his answer is a sentence fragment
16 A: <i>Es ist nicht schön, you can say es ist nicht schön hier for example.</i>	<i>It is not pretty, ...it is not pretty here</i>	I repeat the students answer in a complete sentence, to model how it could be said
17 X: <i>Wie groß</i>	<i>How tall</i>	The student is reading part of the question out loud that said: How tall are you?
18 A: How tall		I translate the student's response to English to make sure he understands what is being asked
19 X: <i>eins siebzig</i>	<i>One meter seventy</i>	I had modeled to the whole class that there are two ways to answer this question by using the option that this student decided on or by including meter
20 A: <i>Ein Meter siebzig ein Meter siebzig okay. Sehr gut!</i>	<i>One meter seventy one meter seventy. Very good!</i>	I model the second option to answer the question and give some positive affirmation

In the short dialogue above Xavier is applying his newly acquired vocabulary to talk about himself, he feels comfortable trying out new sentences in German and is able to ask for help as can be seen in line 5. I listen attentively and provide immediate feedback in lines 2, 4, and 10. In lines 8 and 12, I reassure the student and in line 20 gave short praise to the student for successfully completing the task.

The excerpt in Table 2 stems from a later class and took place in March right after spring break. All students were working with a partner or in small groups to discuss their spring break. In the online German textbook different options for questions are given. The textbook assumed that students travel during their spring break, which was not the case for the majority of my students. In order to modify answer choices and provide alternative options I provided students with vocabulary and discussed how to ask and answer questions about spring break. This excerpt below is from a small group conversation where two students Iskra and Jay are following the

questions and answer options from the textbook. Participants identifying as Mexican-Americans in this study are showing a different language use pattern compared with those who self-identify as Mexicans. Below is an example of two students who self-identify as Mexican-American and have knowledge of both English and Spanish but prefer to use English in the classroom. Iskra and Jay are holding their conversation in German and use English to ask questions and explain what is being said, as well as to translate back into German.

Iskra=I

Jay=J

Table 2

Excerpt 2 in-class conversation

Utterance	English Translation	Explanation
1 I: <i>Wo warst du in den Frühlingsferien?</i>	<i>Where were you during spring break?</i>	
2 J: <i>Ich war in Las Vegas.</i>	<i>I was in Las Vegas.</i>	
3 I: <i>Kennst du</i> oh you ask me	<i>Do you know...</i>	Explanation of the task is given in English
4 J: <i>Kennst du Las Vegas?</i>	<i>Do you know Las Vegas?</i>	
5 I: <i>Ja ich kenne Las Vegas.</i>	<i>Yes I know Las Vegas.</i>	
6 J: <i>Ah, warst du schon in Las Vegas?</i> [Pause 2 seconds]	<i>Have you been to Las Vegas?</i>	
7 I: What's that?		Question about meaning is asked and answered in English
8 J: Have you been in Las Vegas before have you been to...		Jay is trying to explain to Iskra what he has just asked her in German
9 I: Ah		Iskra did not understand the question in German and is looking for the question in the textbook
10 J: It's over there.		Jay assists in pointing out where to look for the sentence structure
11 I: <i>Ja, ich war in Las Vegas.</i>	<i>Yes I was in Las Vegas.</i>	
12 J: <i>Gefällt dir Las Vegas?</i>	<i>Do you like it?</i>	

13 I: <i>Ja, Las Vegas gefällt mir.</i>	<i>Yes, I like Las Vegas.</i>	
14 J: Those are the questions. So I'll ask you okay? <i>Wo warst du in den Frühlingsferien?</i>	<i>Where have you been during spring break?</i>	
15 I: <i>Ich war in ah Cancun.</i>	<i>I was in uh Cancun.</i>	
16 J: You say: <i>Kennst du Cancun?</i>	<i>Do you know</i>	Jay tells Iskra to ask a question to get the conversation going
17 I: <i>Kennst du Cancun?</i>	<i>Do you know ...</i>	
18 J: <i>Ahm nein ich kenne Cancun nicht.</i>	<i>No I don't know ...</i>	

Both Iskra and Jay have knowledge of Spanish, but Jay does not identify as bilingual and therefore this small group uses English to converse about the task. On the topic of classroom atmosphere Claudia states:

I find every activity helpful cause it's very interactive not just sitting there and listening to someone talk and I don't know I like the way the class goes. And I think that is why people actually go even when you don't take attendance and stuff like that normally classes get emptier and emptier cause people don't go but German class is always full, I think it's because people like it. I'm always excited to go because I think I'm actually going to learn something (Claudia, Interview 1).

Jay commented the following on the classroom environment: "over here it is always relaxed, and I always have fun" (Interview 1).

The interviews reveal that the participants reflect positively on the set-up of the class which they describe as comfortable and conducive to learning. One element that participants mentioned was the positive effect of collaborative group work for their learning. Jay is a student who speaks Spanish and English but despite that he did not identify as bilingual because he is applying a different standard to himself: "I would say I know one language so I'm not bilingual but I know a lot of Spanish but not enough to be bilingual" (Jay, Interview 1).

This understanding of biliteracy reflects a monolingual view on languages. Jay judges his abilities in Spanish according to an internalized deficit discourse. According to this standard his Spanish does not measure up to his English.

At the same time Jay states the following when asked how he makes sense out of new German vocabulary:

I usually use English but if I am trying to figure out a word that is when I go to Spanish or I know how to say the letters instead of English with the ch and the sh I go to Spanish and it makes it a lot easier to think (Jay, Interview 1).

Although he is able to use Spanish to make sense out of German he does not self-identify as bilingual. Jay's mother is Mexican and his father American he self-identified in the following way: "I'm American but I'm of Hispanic descendance" (Jay, Interview 1).

Jay identifies as American, now connections can be made between discourses of Americans being English-only speakers and his own self-image as a monolingual American (Hornberger, 2002). Claudia talked about Mexican-Americans who do not use their Spanish language skills:

because for here speaking Spanish makes you, I don't know people see it as it is better to pretend you don't speak Spanish it's like a bad thing I don't know why so maybe they are always trying to not speaking it but I mean it is their first language and at home they speak it and sometimes it is so weird because I see parents speak in Spanish to their kids and kids answering in English and I don't get it maybe it is the way I was raised because I always see it as instead of wanting more you want less (Claudia, Interview 1).

In this comment on Spanish the passing for White theme emerges particularly since speaking Spanish is often associated with an immigrant community and it is a marker of non-whiteness. Nativist discourses are present in the border and are noticed by the participants. "The power I have seen: white people that are like: 'why are you speaking Spanish here? Speak American here'" (Luisa, Interview 1).

Within the group of participants, it can be noticed that language shift, as well as language loss have been going on. The group of students who are German heritage language learners have all

been experiencing language shift firsthand. They described that their German-speaking mothers would switch to speaking in English once they moved from Germany to the United States. Consequently, English became the language that was dominantly spoken at the expense of German. Language shift and loss can also be observed within the Mexican-American and Latina/o participants. As English becomes the more dominant language in their families over time, particularly, with a bilingual educational system that transitions students towards speaking English as their dominant language. Within the group of heritage language learners of German, only one person used German consistently together with English at home. The other heritage language learners would hear it only in conversations with grandparents and would rely on translations to English.

Students like Iskra and Jay describe that they feel more comfortable using English since that is what they have been socialized into throughout their academic careers. Although Spanish might be heard at home these students did not consider Spanish to be a language that they felt comfortable using in an academic setting.

The following example is from a group in the German I class that consists of students who partly identify as Americans, Mexican-Americans and Hispanics. The meta-linguistic discussion Adrian, Stephanie, Jarid and Jonathan engage in is an example of the student guided research, this group was discussing a topic of their own interest related to German learning but they were not prompted to discuss their language use. During the interviews that were conducted as part of this study all participants had the chance to self-identify and make connections to their identity based on the command of languages they have. Jarid, although born in Germany, identifies as American because he "only speaks American" which hints at a nativist discourse of associating American with the knowledge of English-only, while others hyphenated their identities based on the

languages they speak. Stephanie in the excerpt below talks about speaking Spanish and English. In line 9 she says that she speaks Spanish and English, she also shows consistency during her interview where she identifies as Mexican-American and bilingual. Jonathan and Adrian both identify as American with Spanish "descendants" a term they used during their interviews.

Table 3

Excerpt 3 in-class conversation

Utterance	Explanation
1 Adrian: So I guess we can use this time to talk about how German relates to other languages I guess. Cuz the sentence structure is very similar to Spanish.	This group had completed their task ahead of all the other groups so Adrian has the idea for this metalinguistic conversation
2 Stephanie: Yes.	Self-identifies as Mexican-American based on her interviews
3 Jarid: I don't speak Spanish, so I don't know.	Jarid was born in Germany and has been speaking English all his life
4 Jonathan: I told you my background in Spanish.	Although of Spanish-speaking decent Jonathan does not speak Spanish
5 Adrian: Wait, I know Spanish and you don't get along together.	
6 Jonathan: Haha [laughing]	
7 Adrian: It was my first language, I learned Spanish and then I learned German at the same time ...	Adrian attended an elementary school where he was able to take German every year
8 Jarid: Oh, that is awesome. Adrian: Yeah	
9 Stephanie: I speak Spanish and English [laughing]	
10 Jonathan: Like me. The most I notice Spanish is when my grandmother is cussing me out and that is at on a daily basis. [Group is laughing]	The grandmother is Spanish-speaking while Jonathan will respond to her in English as he explained during his interview

Students identifying as American were using English for their communicative needs in the German class. In the example below Shawn could be classified as a heritage German learner. His group relies on his knowledge and trusts his feedback although he did not have formal instruction in German he has been exposed to it through his German grandparents and his German mother. He is a resource for his group because of his ability to help them to identify mistakes in their

German phrases. Moreover, Shawn can give feedback to the group members that they are able to incorporate while practicing their sentences. This is an excerpt of the conversation for the full transcription please see page 277 in the Appendix.

Shawn=S
 Jared=J
 Ricardo= R
 Annabell=A (instructor)
 Evan= E

Table 4

Excerpt 4 in-class conversation

Utterance	English translation	Explanation
1 S: <i>Regnet es am Südpol?</i>	<i>Does it rain at the south pole?</i>	
2 J: <i>Nein, am Südpol regnet es nicht.</i>	<i>No, at the south pole it does not rain.</i>	
3 S: Mmh [nodding]		Shawn is approving of the sentence Jared just told him
4 J: <i>Schneit es oft in Houston?</i>	<i>Does it often snow in Houston?</i>	
5 R: <i>Nein, scheint es nicht oft in Houston.</i>	<i>No, it does not shine often in Houston.</i>	<i>Schneit [to snow]</i> and <i>scheint [to shine]</i> are often confused by German learners
6 S: <i>schneit</i>	<i>snow</i>	Shawn did notice the mistake and is correcting Ricardo
7 R: <i>Nein, es schneit</i>	<i>No, it snows</i>	Ricardo is using the correct verb but hesitates completing the sentence
8 S: <i>nicht oft</i>	<i>not often</i>	Shawn is helping him with the placement of the negation
9 R: <i>nicht oft in Houston. Regnet es in Israel viel?</i>	<i>Not often in Houston. Does it rain much in Israel?</i>	Ricardo is completing the sentence with the help provided
10 J: <i>Nein, in Israel...</i>	<i>No, in Israel</i>	Jared gets stuck with his sentence
11 S: <i>...regnet es nicht viel</i>	<i>It doesn't rain much</i>	Shawn is helping to complete the sentence the

		focus of the activity was on the negation
12 J: <i>nicht viel</i>	<i>not much</i>	Jared is repeating the negation part but without the verb
13 S: I think it is <i>regnet es nicht viel</i>	<i>I think it is does it not rain much.</i>	Shawn provides feedback
14 J: <i>In Israel regnet es nicht viel.</i>	<i>In Israel it does not rain much.</i>	Jared repeats what Shawn had told him
15 S: <i>Ist der Winter in Italien sehr kalt?</i>	<i>Is the winter in Italy very cold?</i>	
44 E: <i>Nein, am Nordpol nicht donnert und blitzt es</i>	<i>No, at the north pole there is no thunder and lightning</i>	
45 S: I think you can put anything at the end of the sentence too.		Shawn provides feedback
46 A: Yeah.		
47 J: <i>Donnert und blitzt es nicht?</i>	<i>There is no thunder and lightning?</i>	
48 S: For number five, could you put <i>nicht</i> at the end of the sentence?	<i>...not...</i>	As I am walking around the room I overhear Shawn's question
49 E: <i>Ja</i> that is the deal.	<i>Yes...</i>	Evan is using the German yes in his English sentence, up to this point he has worked with a different group because he is sitting in between two groups he would alternate who he would work with, for the second part of the exercise he is working with this group
50 A: Yes, you put it there. How would you say it?		I answer the question and ask Shawn to say the sentence
51 S: <i>Nein, am Nordpol donnert und blitzt nicht.</i>	<i>No, at the north pole there is no thunder and lightning.</i>	Shawn is saying this sentence with the correct word order; however, he is missing the "it" which is necessary in the sentence.
52 A: <i>..es nicht</i>	<i>..it not</i>	
53 S: <i>es nicht</i>		
54 A: The <i>es</i> we have to put it.	<i>...it...</i>	

55 R: But you can also say: <i>Nein, am Nordpol nicht donnert und blitzt</i>	<i>No, at the north pole does not thunder and lightning</i>	Ricardo is also asking about the “it” he is saying the German sentence without it which is not correct
56 A: <i>blitzt und donnert es nicht?</i>	<i>Lightning and thunders it not?</i>	
57 R: <i>Nein, nicht donnert und blitzt</i>	<i>No, not thunder and lightning.</i>	
58 A: You can say it, I mean I would understand what you are saying it’s not I mean people will understand. It would be better to put it at the end.		I am explaining that although I can understand the meaning of this sentence it is grammatically correct to use the “it”
59 R: Mmh		

Shawn is helping all the group members and the group trusts and relies on his feedback. In line 5 Ricardo confuses two verbs that are very commonly mixed up by German learners “scheint” and “schneit” the first one refers to shining and the later one to snowing. Shawn is listening to each of his group members’ utterances and corrects the wrong verb usage. Furthermore, Shawn is scaffolding the correct sentence composition for his group. First, he gives the complete sentence after Jared is stuck in line 10 and gradually Jared and Ricardo are experimenting with their own sentence composition and placement of the negation to which Shawn gives his feedback and opinions. When Shawn is unsure about the placement of the negation he asks me for clarification because he knows that his group relies on his knowledge and he does not want to tell them an incorrect answer. Through their group work the students were able to experiment with their sentence composition, and hear each other say the sentences out loud, which helped with their pronunciation and they were able to learn the underlying concept of the exercise which was the negation of parts of statements as opposed to the negation of complete statements.

In excerpt five one can see that the individual learning approaches vary by group, both Group One and Group Two are working on the same task, while Group One work together as a

whole to translate the complete paragraph, Group Two is analyzing the paragraph line by line. The leader in Group One is starting a short conversation in which one of the group members references a Mexican-American cultural element, buying some “pan” (bread), which to me was surprising because during his interviews that student would not emphasize any of his cultural elements and highlight that he does not know Spanish, or that he lost his ability to use Spanish. While the language itself might have been lost, other cultural elements such as food seem to be more deeply rooted although Jonathan tries hard to be Americanized there are elements that he cannot escape from; he also offers the example of his grandmother talking to him in Spanish which can be seen in line 10 in excerpt 5. To contrast how Jonathan embraces his Hispanic heritage in the class he presents himself as being of Spanish descent during his second interview:

Well I was born and raised here in El Paso. I guess you can say I am fourth generation American my family originally came from Spain. Growing up I would hear a mixture of both English and Spanish as I would primarily be at my grandparents as my parents worked and they weren't together so depending on which grandparents I would be at dictated what I'd hear more of. My mom's side my grandma usually just spoke English to me but every now and then if she would talk to a relative she would speak some Spanish because that was all her relatives would speak. And on my dad's side they would speak Spanish more or less because I wouldn't know what was going on. And especially if I was in trouble: oh man what are they talking about what are they going to do? I did take Spanish in high school and middle school. I started it in middle school my 8th grade year because I learned that whatever credits we would get there would roll over once I went to high school so I would only need one my credit once I went to high school and I took Spanish 2 non-native again in high school and after that I was done with it I never took a foreign language class again, because I wasn't really open to learning different languages there at school cos they didn't have anything that really interested me (Jonathan, Interview 1).

Jonathan has a lot of resentment towards Spanish and learning the language as he explained during his second interview:

yeah it was heavily pushed upon me by my father but I just there was a lot of resentment with wanting to learn Spanish and I just didn't open up to it. I don't know why it's just Spanish you know most of my family spoke it and I should probably learn it, too. I just

never really wanted to pick it up and I guess after learning nothing but English I was like: why do I need to learn Spanish if I am here in the United States? And I understand cos the region we are in and especially that part of Texas that we are in but I never wanted to pick it up (Jonathan Z, Interview 1).

Jonathan not only highlights his Spanish heritage during his interview series but he also emphasizes his whiteness, which contrasts the way he is emphasizing his Mexican heritage with his comments to his group during group work times. It might be a way to relate to his interlocutors to try to make a connection through commonalities.

Every time when it comes to filling out paperwork and it has those boxes I kind of just roll my eyes. I know usually what to put on it sometimes I put for ethnicity or race I'll put race White ethnicity Hispanic/Latino cos that is my family's ethnicity but I mean I am pretty much White (Jonathan Z., Interview 1).

Following this groups short conversation, Adrian who has the informal role of the group leader in Group One is creating a new task for the group that they start to engage in while they are waiting for the class to finish the task that everyone else was working on. Each of the groups are working at their own pace; however, because we are reaching the end of our class time I am asking the students to quickly say the translation so we can compare as a class if each one of the groups found the correct translation. In line 21 one can see translanguaging and creative spontaneous language use that involves Spanish and German. Ricardo knows Spanish very well and in that example he could have used just Spanish to ask for the German word "auch" but instead included both German and Spanish. At this point in the semester Ricardo knows that Jared speaks Spanish and English very well so he has the option to address him in either language and uses this combination here. In the border region it is common to translanguage between Spanish and English. In the context of the German class that same language pattern is used to include German and Spanish.

Adrian Z= Z
Jonathan=Jo

Jarid= Jd
Evan= E

Shawn= S
Jared= J

Ricardo= R
Annabell= A (instructor)

Table 5

Excerpt 5

Utterance	English translation	Explanation
<p>Group 1:</p> <p>1 Z: (reads for his group): <i>Heute ist das Wetter in Hamburg nicht sehr schön. Der Himmel ist grau und es regnet. Das Thermometer zeigt 18 Grad. Das ist nicht kalt, aber es ist auch nicht sehr warm.</i> So today the weather is not as nice.</p>	<p><i>Today the weather is not very nice in Hamburg. The sky is gray and it is raining. The thermometer shows 18 degrees Celsius. That is not cold but also not very warm.</i></p>	<p>Adrian is the lead figure in this group as he has extensive knowledge of German because he learned it in his elementary school. The task for this group was to read and translate this short paragraph.</p>
<p>2 Z and Jd together: The sky is gray, and it is raining. The thermometer reads 18 degrees Celsius and it is not cold and it is also not very warm.</p>		
<p>3 Z: I like cloudy days but I don't like rainy days.</p>		<p>The required task is already completed so this group starts a conversation while they wait for the rest of the class to finish the activity</p>
<p>4 Jd: I like both.</p>		
<p>5 Jo: I like rainy days.</p>		
<p>6 Z: I just don't like them cos El Pasoeans don't know how to drive on the freeway</p>		
<p>7 Jd: Yeah, that is true, never mind.</p>		
<p>8 Jo: It's not like you have to drive around.</p>		
<p>9 Z: Yeah, I do I drive around in my little PT cruiser you know picking up groceries and stuff running errands for my mom.</p>		

10 Jo: You know going to Valentine's bakery and buying some <u>pan</u> .	<u>bread</u>	Jonathan is referencing a well-known Mexican bakery in town where he buys sweet bread for his mother, although he does not want to speak Spanish or claims not having sufficient knowledge of Spanish he is using the Spanish term "pan" in this conversation
11 Z: What is the capital of Hungary?		The other groups in the class are still working on their translations so Adrian is coming up with an activity in his group they are looking at the weather map of Europe guessing the capital cities.
12 Jd: Budapest.		
13 Z: The capital of Turkey?		
14 Jo: Istanbul.		
Group 2:		translation activity is projected to the front of classroom
15 E: <i>Heute ist das Wetter in Hamburg nicht sehr schön.</i>	<i>Today the weather in Hamburg is not very nice.</i>	
16 S: The sky is gray and it is raining.		
17 R: Today the weather in Hamburg is not very nice.		
18 Group 2 together: The sky is gray and it is raining. The thermometer reads 18 degrees that is not cold but not warm.		
19 R: not much but not		
20 S: but very warm		
21 R: <i>Aber <u>qué es auch</u> ?</i>	<i>But <u>what is</u> „auch“</i>	Translanguaging between German and Spanish Ricardo knows that Jared speaks Spanish and addresses him

		with this language combination
22 J: <i>Auch?</i>	<i>also</i>	
23 R: What does it mean?		Ricardo repeats his question here
24 J: Also		
25 R: Also not ...		
26 S: very warm		
27 R: <i>Es ist nicht gut das ist zu klein.</i> [pointing to his table being too small]	<i>It is not good it is too small.</i>	
28 A: <i>Ja, es ist zu klein.</i>	<i>Yes, it is too small.</i>	
29 R: How would you read it in German?		
30 J: Exactly like you did. [Group is laughing]		
31 <i>Heute ist das Wetter in Hamburg nicht sehr schön. Der Himmel ist grau und es regnet. Das Thermometer zeigt zeigt[emphasizing the z] 18 Grad. Das ist ni-cht kalt, aber es ist auch ni-cht warm.</i>	<i>Today the weather is not very nice in Hamburg. The sky is gray and it is raining. The thermometer shows 18 degrees Celsius. That is not cold but it is also not warm.</i>	Group reading together The German letter “z” differs in how it is pronounced in English so the group is emphasizing the correct pronunciation and reading the verb that is starting with “z” twice, another word they are emphasizing is “nicht” which means not in English
32 R: So, it is <i>ni-icht?</i>	<i>not</i>	
33 S: Well it depends where you are in Germany. Like, because some people say <i>nicht</i> others say <i>nicht</i> .		Shawn is indicating that depending on the local dialect a German speaking person uses some emphasize the end and others the beginning of the verb and the “ch” in the middle sounds different depending on the dialect
34 R: What is nicer? <i>Ni-cht?</i>		
35 S: My parents, my mom is German she says <i>nicht</i> .		
36 R: <i>Nicht.</i>		

37 A [talking to another group about how to pronounce Thermometer]: I say almost like a double r. I don't say the first m.		I am answering a question for another group but Shawn was listening to my explanation
38 S: Yeah. You don't say the first m?		
39 A: No. Thermometer. You can say Thermometer too, cos German is normally pronounced the way it is spelled.		
40 R: Otherwise how do you say it?		
41 A: Thermometer, I say "Therometer", without the first m. Okay we have one minute. So you give me the translation.		
42 Students: Today the weather is not very nice. The sky is gray and it rains. The thermometer reads		
43 A: reads good ja		
44 Students: 18 degrees Celsius. It is not very warm and		
45 A: this means also not It is not cold but it is also not...		
46 Students: ...very warm		
47 Jd: What is it <i>aber</i> ?	<i>but</i>	Jarid is addressing the whole class here in his group they had translated the paragraph together but he had not asked this question
48 Students: but		The class is answering the question promptly

Jarid, who was working with Group One in the excerpt above, is asking about the meaning of "aber". His classmates are answering him very quickly. It shows that students feel able to ask questions to either their group members or the whole class. There is a positive classroom atmosphere as all students feel comfortable joking around and helping each other. Students laugh frequently during the class as can be seen in line 30 of excerpt five. In line 35 of excerpt five

Shawn mentions how his mom who is German pronounces a certain word. During his interview sessions he also discusses that he noticed how different German speakers pronounce words according to their local dialect. Shawn explained:

It sounds weird to me you know because my mom has a German friend and she is really good friends with a person who is German and so when they talk on the phone they are always talking in German and I don't know what they are saying but I hear the "ich" instead of the "isch" so it was weird to me the way you say it, she is explaining that it is in different parts of Germany. My mom was telling me, too she had a friend when she was younger that was from Eastern Germany and she would talk like that and it was obviously different. It doesn't throw me off I understand what you are talking about it is just weird for me to hear it because I am used to my mom talking and saying "ich" that is all about it. It doesn't bug me (Shawn, Interview 2).

Shawn had noticed the difference in how I enunciate words and how his mom and other German speakers pronounce words. In the example above he told his group about that and he also discussed this during his second interview. This is how Shawn describes himself:

I am Shawn I was born in Germany no I wasn't born in Germany but German was my first language because I was too young to learn anything else I am German and American citizen. My mom knows German my dad doesn't. Since my mom's parents are German my mom was born and raised in Germany (Shawn, Interview 2).

As can be seen Shawn states that German was his first language but he ended up transitioning to English-only after the family moved to El Paso where he had to learn English. In order to help him with learning his mother also switched to English-only in the house. When asked about his language use Shawn stated the following:

The whole time I have been here in El Paso it has probably been English because when I was a kid I spoke nothing but German when I was in Germany... after we moved over here you know everybody spoke nothing but English so I kinda had to learn English and then just I you know they spoke nothing but that at school you know and then eventually at home we spoke nothing but English, too and that is just how I came up and I forgot German, I forgot kinda (Shawn, Interview 1).

Although Shawn forgot German the class has helped him to reconnect with his lost knowledge:

"It is, it is really coming back to me." (Shawn, Interview 2) The German one class took place

three times a week for 50 minutes each session. When asked to compare the German class to previous languages he had, Shawn explained the following: “I’d say this class is more engaged, probably because it is group work but it is also with you and it is more let’s see follow up you know, I know the classes are short, they go by extremely fast” (Shawn, Interview 1).

Excerpt 6 shows a group work example in which one member, Evan is unsure of how to say the time in German which is a task the class is working on. Here, translanguaging between English and German is used to approach the task in a scaffolded manner. Evan is able to correctly tell time in German at the end of the example.

Evan=E
 Mario=M
 Vic=V
 Nico=N

Table 6

Excerpt 6 in-class conversation

Utterance	English Translation	Explanation
1 E: So, I don’t understand it		Evan is confused with the way time is told in German
2 M: You just read it.		Mario is trying to give him a hint
3 E: Okay so		
4 M: it is six fifty-five instead of five minutes to		Mario continues to explain more of how time is read
5 E: Okay. <i>Wie viel Uhr ist es?</i>	<i>What time is it?</i>	
6 V: <i>Es ist zwanzig Uhr fünf</i>	<i>It is 20 minutes until 5</i>	
7 E: <i>Es ist sechs</i> fifty five <i>Uhr</i>	<i>It is six fifty five o’clock</i>	Evan starts his sentence in German and includes English and completes the sentence in German
8N: <i>Sechs Uhr fünfundfünfzig</i>	<i>Six o’clock fifty five</i>	
9 M: <i>Wie viel Uhr ist es?</i>	<i>What time is it?</i>	
10 V: <i>Es ist siebzehn Uhr zwanzig. Wie viel Uhr ist es?</i>	<i>It is seventeen o’clock twenty. What time is it?</i>	
11 E: <i>Es ist drei</i> thirtynine	<i>It is three thirtynine</i>	Evan starts in German and uses the English numbers because he is not sure how to read time in German
12 N: You put the last number first and then you say let’s say		Nico gives an explanation of how to read the numbers

13 E: <i>Es ist zwanzig nach drei</i>	<i>It is twenty past three</i>	Evan is using German to read the time correctly
---------------------------------------	--------------------------------	---

The excerpt above is an example of a group conversation with a German heritage language learner Evan. In Excerpt 4, Shawn is a German heritage learner who is a resource for his group and offers feedback to his group members. In Excerpt 5, Evan identifies as an English only speaker although his father is Mexican and his mother has German ancestry; however, Evan speaks only English because as he describes: "I would usually kind of ignore Spanish just because I was arrogant ... I only knew English so I was like: ah whatever"(Evan, Interview 1). Evan made this reflection about previous opinions he had about Spanish indicating that there might have been a change. The conversation below is an example of the group practicing how to tell the time in German, and Evan translanguages between German and English when it is his turn to speak. The activity involved reading time in German; different clocks were shown and students had to ask each other for the time and read the clocks in German. Time is told differently in German compared to English and his group is explaining that to Evan by modeling it. Nico and Vic are two bilingual speakers who are very comfortable speaking in Spanish to each other. Mario is more comfortable speaking English but has knowledge of both Spanish and English; the common language that is used to give explanations here is English. Evan's opinions about not wanting to speak Spanish have led him to lose the Spanish he knew as a young child. He always ignored Spanish because it was not interesting to him as he explained during his series of interviews, his preference for English determined the language of choice for this group of students who might choose to work in Spanish if he was not present. Complex identities around languages are common in the German classes at this border university because the class becomes a space to reflect on other languages one might know or have previously known and it draws attention to discourses, beliefs and ideologies about languages and the value of language. Evan explained that although Spanish was heard frequently

either on his dad's side of the family or in the community, he did not feel the importance of knowing Spanish, as a consequence he cannot communicate well with his grandmother.

Table 7 shows excerpts of a complete German class from the end of the semester in April it focuses on one group throughout the class. For the transcript of the complete class see page 282 in the Appendix. After the greeting and warm-up phase I present the new concept of possessive adjectives to the class in a brief introduction before students try using them in a scaffolded approach. First, we have a dialogue in which we as a class discuss examples for the new concept and students ask questions and bring their own examples into the discussion. After giving examples we read a paragraph and analyze the possessive adjectives in it, then I probe for the students understanding. Students are able to correctly identify the possessive adjectives and ask their clarification questions, after we work together as a whole class, we start the group work phase. In the transcript of the class the language change is visible as the group phase of the class starts in line 63. Ricardo, Vic, Nico and Jared are using Spanish and practice their German. During their group work conversations their translanguaging and language choices stay consistent until I start talking in line 170 and we start to go back to a whole class discussion. While student groups work together, I circulate around the classroom checking on the different groups and helping the groups that have indicated they want help. Students were comfortable calling me over to their group to ask questions. Some students waited to ask their questions until I was close by. I am checking on the work student groups have completed by means of a dialogue that involves all students before another group phase begins. Between the lines 230 and 299 the student group this excerpt focuses on goes back to their established translanguaging pattern between Spanish and German while discussing the task and making sense of the German phrases and words. We finish the class as a whole group comparing answers in English and German. Students have understood the concept of

the day by learning how to use the possessive adjectives in sentences. The changes between whole group and small group phases during the class are visible in the language changes between English and Spanish. Students are actively listening to my explanations at the beginning of the class in lines 23 and 38 I talk about the difference between two specific possessive adjectives, one being used when you are part of the group the other when you are not part of the group. While my explanations are in English the exact same phrase appears to be used by the students in their small group work in Spanish when they are explaining the use of the possessive adjective to their group members. In line 255 Ricardo is using it and in line 279 Jared is using the phrase “when you are not part of the group” in Spanish as part of their reasoning. It can be summarized that the teaching approach in the class invites students to participate and share their knowledge whether that be in English or Spanish. Translanguaging is a normal part of the class. Instead of lecturing to the class I facilitate a dialogue in which I ask questions and develop an approach for analyzing a linguistic task in the class. That approach is used throughout the group work phases of the class and students have the time and freedom to ask each other questions, clarify their understanding of a German word or sentence. Sometimes there is no correct answer to a problem in a language class but as a group and as a class we develop a definition that makes sense to us and apply that definition to similar patterns. The ambiguity of the language becomes obvious throughout the dialogue that unfolds between Ricardo, Nico, Vic and Jared as they work together as a group. The task of that day was to complete sentences with the possessive adjectives, there were several sentences where more than one correct answer option was plausible. Due to that ambiguity the group had to discuss the meaning of the various options and then make a decision that made the most sense to them. In lines 275 until 283 a metalinguistic conversation in Spanish unfolds about how the specific concept compares with either English or Spanish.

Ricardo=R, Vic=V, Nico=N, Jared=J

Annabell=A (instructor)

Students=S

Spanish

German

Table 7

Excerpt of in-class conversation

Utterance	English translation	Explanation
1 A: <i>Guten Morgen, wie geht es euch?</i>	<i>Good morning, how are you all doing?</i>	I start the class with a greeting and the daily routine of asking short questions that students answer
2 S: <i>Sehr gut.</i>	<i>Very well.</i>	
3 A: <i>Prima. Welcher Tag ist heute?</i>	<i>Great. Which day is today?</i>	
4 S: <i>Freitag</i>	<i>Friday</i>	
5 A: <i>Freitag der?</i>	<i>Friday the?</i>	I am using a scaffolding approach for students to expand their knowledge at that point in the semester they had learned days of the week, the numbers and months
6 S: <i>zwanzigste</i>	<i>20th</i>	
7 A: <i>what is the month?</i>		
8 Students: <i>April</i>		
9 A: <i>April der zwanzigste April 2018. We are going to talk about possessive adjectives. I know this table is a bit confusing because we know a different order for the personal pronoun. [pointing at the projected screen with a table of the personal pronouns and the possessive adjectives]. Let's read them!</i>	<i>April the 20th 2018.</i>	I model how a German speaker would say the date including the month, day and year

<p>23 A: <i>Wir</i> is when you include yourself in the group so <i>unser Buch</i> our book. This one what we have right here is our book, <i>unser Buch</i>. The <i>ihr</i> right here is for a group and it is not capitalized this has a lower case “i”. Let’s do <i>euer Haus</i> when you are talking to someone but you are not included. <i>Euer Haus</i>.</p>	<p><i>Your house</i></p>	
<p>28 R: <u>usted</u></p>	<p><u>you</u></p>	<p>Ricardo is referencing the formal you in Spanish because in English there is no formal you</p>
<p>29 A: yes this is the <u>usted</u> form, now what we do we also capitalize the possessive adjective form, alright? So this is your house, your book you are talking to someone formally and the way that we are showing that we are talking formally is through the upper case letters so when you see it capitalized you know that it is used formally. Alright, let’s read it one more time. <i>Mein</i></p>	<p><u>you</u></p>	<p>I include the Spanish reference into my explanation</p>
<p>38 A: <i>euer</i> is referring to a group but you are not part of the group, in Spanish this is the <u>vosotros</u> I know it is not used, when you are not part of the group but you are talking to a group this is you guys’ house <i>euer Haus</i>, let’s say it</p>	<p><i>Yours</i> <u>your</u></p>	<p>I reference Spanish in my explanation</p>
<p>39 S: <i>euer Haus</i></p>	<p><i>You all’s house</i></p>	
<p>63 R: <u>Ahorita vamos a hacer</u> <i>Ich heiÙe Günter</i></p>	<p><u>Now we do</u> <i>I am called</i> <i>Günter</i></p>	<p>the group members address each other in Spanish because at this point in the semester they know that they are all comfortable speaking</p>

		in Spanish and I understand it as well
64 V: <u>estudio aquí en Leipzig, yo vivo aquí</u>	<u>I study here in Leipzig I live here</u>	
65 R: <u>él vive, ¿no?</u>	<u>He lives, no?</u>	
66 N: <u>sí</u>	<u>yes</u>	
67 R: <i>er sein</i>	<i>he his</i>	
68 N: <u>no, no, lo que ésta, o sea éstas, tienes que completarla, nomás tienes que usar <i>mein</i></u>	<u>No, no, what this, or these, you have to complete it, you just have to use <i>my</i></u>	Spanish is used throughout the group to discuss the German words
69 R: <u>oh, ¿nomás <i>mein</i>?</u>	<u>just <i>my</i>?</u>	
70 N: <u>ajá, tienes que usar el modo correcto, sí es como</u>	<u>Aha, you have to use the correct mode, it is like</u>	
71 R: <i>meine Eltern? ¿Qué es Eltern?</i>	<i>My parents? What is parents?</i>	Here Spanish is used to ask for the meaning of a German word
72 N: <u>papás, eso sería, ahí es plural, entonces sería <i>meine Eltern</i></u>	<u>Parents, that would be, there it is plural, then it would be <i>meine Eltern</i></u>	
73 R: <i>meine Eltern</i> [whispering]	<i>My parents</i>	
74 N: <u>¿porque se acuerda que cuando es plural entonces sería <i>meine Eltern</i>?</u>	<u>Because remember that when it is plural then it would be <i>meine Eltern</i>?</u>	Nico here is referencing back to the explanation I gave at the beginning of the class
75 R: <i>meine Eltern leben in Leipzig. Meine Vater</i>	<i>My parents live in Leipzig. My father</i>	Ricardo is using the e-ending on <i>mein</i> which is not correct because father is masculine and does not take the e-ending
76 N: <u>no <i>mein Vater</i></u>	<u>No <i>my father</i></u>	Nico is correcting him
77 R: <i>mein Vater ist Polizist und meine Mutter</i>	<i>My father is a police officer and my mom</i>	Ricardo is now using the correct forms
78 N: <u>ajá entonces sería <i>mein Vater ist Polizist und meine Mutter ist Lehrerin</i></u>	<u>Aha it is supposed to be <i>my father is a police officer and my mom is a teacher</i></u>	Nico recognizes that he is using the correct forms and repeats them
79 R: <i>meine Bruder</i>	<i>My brother</i>	Ricardo is again putting the e-ending on a masculine noun
80 N: <i>mein Bruder</i>	<i>My brother</i>	Nico immediately corrects the mistake
81 R: <i>mein Bruder</i>	<i>My brother</i>	Ricardo repeats the correct answer
82 N: <u>sí</u>	<u>yes</u>	Nico provides feedback

83 R: <u>er ist siebzehn es diecisiete und geht noch in die Schule</u> <u>¿y no va al escuela?</u>	<u>He is seventeen he is seventeen and still goes to school and does not go to school</u>	Ricardo is reading a German sentence and translating it to Spanish and asking if he understood it correctly
84 N: <u>no, va a la escuela</u>	<u>No, he goes to school</u>	Nico is giving feedback
85 R: <u>¿y qué es noch?</u>	<u>And what is still?</u>	Ricardo is asking for another translation
86 N: <u>noch es como una palabra así de relleno er geht noch in die Schule</u>	<u>Still is like a repetitive phrase he still goes to school</u>	Nico is explaining the meaning of the flavoring particle “noch” that does not have a direct translation in English
87 R: <u>Schwester sie Schwester</u>	<u>Sister she sister</u>	Ricardo is trying to use “sie” which is used for feminine nouns but in this context it does not fit the task
88 N: <u>no, porque todavía estamos hablando del meine</u>	<u>No, because we are still talking about my</u>	Nico is explaining that a form of the possessive adjective has to be used
89 V: <u>el meine</u>	<u>the my</u>	Vic is participating in the discussion now after having listened to the conversation and emphasizes that “meine” will be used
90 R: ok, so, <u>es meine con e</u>	<u>Ok, so it is my with e</u>	English, German and Spanish are combined in this utterance
91 N: <u>ajá, porque es femenino</u>	<u>Aha, because it is feminine</u>	
92 R: <u>meine Schwester ist zwei..., es veintidós y estudia en Hamburgo, bioquímica. Meine</u>	<u>My sister is two..., is twenty-two and studies biochemistry in Hamburg. My...</u>	
93 N: <u>ajá</u>	<u>aha</u>	
94 R: <u>porque es plural y femenino heißen Helga and Tina sie studieren estudian auch</u>	<u>Because it is plural and feminine are called Helga and Tina and they study study also</u>	repeating the verb “to study” that was said in German in Spanish right after the German
95 N: <u>auch hier</u>	<u>Also here</u>	
96 R: <u>También aquí en la universidad</u>	<u>Also here at the university</u>	Ricardo completes the translation of the phrase he started in line 94
168 R: <u>y eurer es cuando estás hablando del grupo y no eres parte del grupo; es cómo diciendo: ihr euer</u>	<u>And yours is when you are talking about the group and you are not a part of the group and when you say</u>	

<u>Haus es su casa, no es nuestra casa, es su casa</u>	<u>your house is your house, it is not our house, it is their house</u>	
169 N: <u>sie es ellos; ihr, es que en español no hay mucha diferencia entre el ihr y el sie</u>	<u>They is they; their, it is that is Spanish there is not much difference between the their and they</u>	
249 V: <u>Entonces está preguntando [por] sus hijos, sería unser</u>	<u>Then it is asking [about] their sons, would be our</u>	
250 N: <u>unsere sí, y nuestros es como unsere</u>	<u>ours yes, and ours is like ours</u>	Nico is adding the e-ending to “unsere” because it is feminine
251 R: <u>ihre con “i” minúscula porque están hablando formalmente, y es con e porque es plural. ¿Sí les entendiste?</u>	<u>Your, with lower case “i” because they are talking formally, and it is with e-ending because it is plural. Did you get it?</u>	
252 V: <u>yes</u>		
253 R: <u>y sus hijos</u>	<u>And their sons</u>	
254 V: <u>y sus hijos</u>	<u>And their sons</u>	
255 R (talking to Jared): <u>minúscula porque están hablando formal, y si es femenino o plural es la e. Wie alt ist euer. Estamos en la treinta y cuatro. Cuando no eres parte del grupo.</u>	<u>Lower case because they are speaking formally, and if it is feminine or plural it is the e-ending. How old is your. We are in number thirty-four. When you are not part of the group.</u>	I had explained this concept in line 38 in English
256 J: <u>¿Hay una diferencia con ihre cuando es femenino?</u>	<u>Is there any difference with your when it is feminine?</u>	
257 N: <u>Sí, la r.</u>	<u>Yes, the r.</u>	
275 J: <u>porque es femenino. Es que no le he agarrado; en español, ¿eure que viene siendo?</u>	<u>Because it is feminine. I have not understood yet; in Spanish, what does yours mean?</u>	
276 N: <u>es que en español no hay para eso yo creo, o sea, porque es como... te vas a hacerlo en inglés porque wir es we, ihr es your and sie es they, ¿sí?</u>	<u>In Spanish there is no word for that, I think, because it is like... you do it in English because we is we, your is your, and they is they, all right?</u>	
277 J: <u>Cuando dices euer es...</u>	<u>When you say yours it is...</u>	
278 N: <u>nosotros</u>	<u>Us</u>	

279 J: <u>cuando no eres parte de grupo</u>	<u>When you are not part of the group</u>	I had explained this concept in English in line 38
280 N: <u>ajá, es diferente; creo que es más facil con inglés porque en español está diferente, es muy diferente. We is our, ¿your cómo es?</u>	<u>Yes, it is different; I think it is easier in English because in Spanish it is different, it is very different. We is our, how do you say your?</u>	
281 J: you		
282 N: you <u>es</u> your <u>y luego sie es</u> their	Your <u>is</u> for you <u>and then their is</u> for them	
283 A: here we are only using <i>euer</i> and <i>unser</i> .		

Languing in the Level II German Groups

The seven excerpts in this section show examples of classroom interactions of the different participant groups from the German Two level. Excerpts eight through fourteen show that multilingual interactions are taking place in the German class. Students identifying as Mexican often use Spanish to discuss content and ask each other questions about the tasks at hand, as excerpts eight and nine show. The students in both groups self-identified as bilingual in Spanish and English. In line 21 and line 23 of excerpt one Claudia addresses me in English to verify her answer, and in line 42 she uses English to answer a question that I had asked the whole class.

During this interaction, the students were working on an activity in the *Treffpunkt Deutsch* textbook during the German Two class. The activity focuses on verbs with stem-vowel change, and students work together to complete sentences that are projected to the front of the classroom. They are expected to use conjugated verbs correctly to form sentences. The English translation of German and Spanish is added in the middle column of the table. On the left side of the table is the actual conversation between the two students Claudia, Humberto and myself, the teacher. I walk around the room listening to different groups during this activity. This excerpt is an example of a typical conversation in class. The task that students are working on was two-fold, they first had to

find the third person singular conjugation of a verb with stem vowel changes and then transform the sentence into the plural form, which required a third person plural conjugation.

Annabell=A (instructor)
 Claudia=C
 Humberto=H

Table 8

Excerpt 8 in-class conversation

Utterance	English Translation	Explanation
1 C: fährt	drives	Claudia is reassuring herself that her answer is correct by getting the teachers attention while conjugating out loud
2 A: Oma Ziegler is third person singular, ich fahre, du fährst, er fährt	Grandma Ziegler ... I drive, you drive, he drives	I give an explanation and reassure Claudia that her answer is correct
3 C: Ich fahre, fährst du einen fahren Sie	I drive, drive you a drive you [formal]	Claudia conjugates the stem-changing verb <i>fahren</i>
4 H: Entschuldigung, wo [Pause 5 seconds] okay Entschuldigung wo halts hier der Bus?	Excuse me, where okay excuse me where does the bus stop here?	Humberto is working on the sentence that this group is looking at and he is using the correct word order in German; however, he forgot the a-Umlaut on <i>halt</i>
5 C: <u>No creo que er, ¿no?</u> <u>Porque está hablando de una cosa er, sie, es</u>	<u>I don't think it is he?</u> <u>Because you were talking about a thing he, she, it</u>	Claudia is questioning the third person singular conjugation Humberto chose
6 H: <u>Creo</u>	<u>I believe so</u>	Humberto insists
7 C: <u>er hält porque</u> <u>recuérdate que suena como ä</u>	<u>he stops because remember that it sounds like ä</u>	Claudia tells Humberto the correct conjugation for this sentence with the stem vowel change
8 H: Entschuldigung wo hält hier die Busse	Excuse me where does the buses stops here [incorrect combination of singular verb conjugation with a plural noun]	Now Humberto includes this information into his sentence that he transformed into plural; however, his conjugation of 'to stop' is not correct, because the a-Umlaut should not be used in the plural
9 C: <u>como a</u>	<u>like a [pronounced like a Spanish/German a]</u>	Claudia caught the mistake and tells him that it should be with an "a", the vowel sound "a" is identical between Spanish and German so she is telling him in Spanish what

		the correct vowel sound would have been
10 H: <i>Entschuldigung wo halt hier der Bus die Busse, Entschuldigung wo halt hier die Busse. Entschuldigung wo halten hier die Busse</i>	<i>Excuse me where does the bus the buses stop here, Excuse me where do the buses stop here. Excuse me where stops here the bus.</i>	Here Humberto uses the correct ‘a’ sound that would apply to the plural conjugation in both the singular and the plural version of the sentence, hereby overgeneralizing the feedback he received
11 C: <i>Meine Schwester lässt den Hund ins Haus. Meine Eltern ihr lässt den Hund ins Haus.</i>	<i>My sister lets the dog into the house. My parents you let the dog into the house.</i>	Claudia moves on to the next sentence and uses the correct conjugation for singular, however not for the plural version of the sentence
12 H: <i>Entschuldigung wo hält hier der Bus?</i>	<i>Excuse me where does the bus stop here?</i>	Humberto corrects his sentence after thinking about it and hearing Claudia’s example
13 C: <u>sigues tú</u>	<u>It is your turn</u>	Claudia tells Humberto to continue with a new sentence
14 H: <i>Ich schlafe jeden Sonntagmorgen bis halb zwölf. Ich</i>	<i>I sleep every Sunday morning until 11:30. I</i>	Humberto uses the correct conjugation for the first person singular
15 C: <u>se ve como Dein</u>	<u>It looks like your</u>	Combination out of Spanish and German
16 H: <i>Dein Freund schläft, ¿no?</i>	<i>Your friend sleeps, <u>right?</u> [combination of German and Spanish]</i>	
17 C: <i>er</i>	<i>he</i>	
18 H: <u>ah</u>	<u>aha</u>	
19 C: so it will be <i>schläft</i>	<i>...sleeps [third person]</i>	Claudia uses English here because I am circulating around the room making eye contact with C while listening to this group [Claudia explained her language choice here while reviewing this transcript as part of her interview]
20 H: <i>schläft. Dein Freund schläft jeden Morgen bis halb zwölf.</i>	<i>sleeps. Your friend sleeps every morning until 11:30.</i>	
21C: <u>ah</u> <i>schläfst du auch am Wochenende so lang, it would be if it is ihr it doesn’t have the Umlaut?</i>	<u>Aha</u> <i>do you sleep so long on the weekends, too.</i>	Claudia directly asks me for reassurance. In the question Claudia asks about the second person plural and that it doesn’t have an Umlaut.

22 A: right		The instructor A is still listening to this group and affirms C's statement
23 C: so here it would be <i>schlafft ihr, schläfst du auch am Wochenende so lang</i>	<i>Do you all sleep, do you also sleep long on the weekend?</i>	Claudia is still using English in the conversation with me, I'm nodding at her response. Claudia is correctly using the singular and plural conjugation
24 H: <i>Tante Bettina traegt elegante Kleider</i>	<i>Aunt Bettina wears elegant clothing</i>	
25 C: <i>du</i>	<i>you</i>	
26 H: <u>es lo mismo</u> <i>Tanta Bettina porque du es lo mismo du es traegst</i>	<u>it is the same</u> <i>aunt Bettina because you is the same you wear</i>	Combines Spanish with German
27 C: <u>du se</u> <i>Tante Bettina es sie</i>	<i>You aunt Bettina is she</i>	Spanish sentence structure is used with German words incorporated because the sentence is discussed
28 H: <u>oh entonces</u> <i>Tante Bettina tragt elegante Kleidung</i>	<u>Oh so</u> <i>aunt Bettina wears elegant clothing</i>	
29 C: aha		
30 H: <i>Tante Bettina tragst</i>	<i>Aunt Bettina you wear</i>	
31 C: <i>du Tante Bettina es du</i>	<i>You aunt Bettina it is you</i>	Claudia is following a Spanish sentence structure with "es" and uses the German words from the example to explain to Humberto that
32 H: <i>Tante Bettina du tragst</i>	<i>Aunt Bettina you wear</i>	
33 C: <u>No, estoy diciendo</u>	<u>No, I am saying</u>	Claudia is using Spanish when explaining something to Humberto
34 H: <i>du tragst elegante Kleidung. Tante Bettina tragt elegante Kleidung porque</i>	<i>You wear elegant clothes. Aunt Bettina wears elegant clothes because</i>	The <u>porque</u> is added to the German in Spanish indicating that he understood what Claudia was trying to explain to him earlier in Spanish
35 C: <i>Robert traegt oft Uni Sweatshirts.</i>	<i>Robert often wears university sweaters</i>	Claudia corrects the pronunciation of <i>traegt</i>
36 H: <i>Robert traegt oft Uni Sweatshirts</i>	<i>Robert often wears university sweaters</i>	Humberto repeats after Claudia with the correct pronunciation
37 C: <u>si es traegt, pero es more traegt asi</u>	<u>Yes it is traegt but it is more like that traegt</u>	Claudia gives feedback in Spanish and English on how to improve the a umlaut pronunciation
38 H: Okay I get it.		Humberto got the concept and acknowledges that he understood it in English

Line 37 in this example shows a language combination of Spanish, German, and English applied in one statement while Claudia is explaining to Humberto how to pronounce the third person singular conjugation of "tragen" which is "trägt". Because Claudia has used one English word to address Humberto he replies in English in line 38 which is a deviation from the rest of their conversation which is carried out in Spanish and German. Claudia is using English while I am in the vicinity to her group and to directly address me with clarification questions.

During the individual interviews each of the participant's had the opportunity to read their transcribed interactions from the German class which allows me to triangulate the data. In regards to her changes in language use during the class Claudia explains that she uses English for English speakers like myself but has a certain flexibility in the class to also translate to Spanish: "if I am talking to other people that I know speak only English I speak English to them but sometimes it is easier to translate it to Spanish but some things are easier to English so I think it depends." (Interview 03/19/2018). Humberto made a similar statement about using both English and Spanish in the class during his first individual interview. When asked about his language use in the German class he explains:

I guess whatever is convenient I have seen that there is some stuff that translates better in Spanish so since I have that advantage that I know both I kinda use it to my advantage to translate to Spanish cause it is easier to remember and then like the conjugations it is easier to do it in English so it depends on what is happening (Humberto, Interview 1).

Although both Claudia and Humberto mix English and Spanish in their conversations during the German class Claudia states that this particular languaging is not "mixing" languages. During the interview process with Claudia she said in regards to referencing Spanish while explaining German and talking in English: "but that is not mixing it that is fine it is explaining something cos it works because sometimes it makes more sense in some other language." (Interview

03/18/2018). The languaging in the German class is not considered as “mixing” languages which is something that has a negative connotation for both Claudia and Humberto. Although Humberto is someone who speaks “Spanish mainly but with a mix of English” he thinks: “It is kind of weird honestly” it is weird and he states that he does not like what the language mixing represents: a loss of proper Spanish one had before coming to the English-speaking side of the border:

Yeah, I don't like it cause I feel Spanish I like a lot how it sounds and how proper it is so I don't like when they mix it I guess what happens is that a lot of people do that in order to like well in our culture it is that you feel very prideful for the language you speak but what happens is when people come over here they try to forget like the Spanish so they just stick to English and they mix it that is probably this is what I personally feel this is what I don't like the mix (Humberto, Interview 2).

Humberto also gave an example of what that language “mixing” sounds like in El Paso:

let's say you can ask: Que estas haciendo? No pues ahorita voy al park y voy al ir comer con mis friends. Like that weird mix that is how a lot of my friends from here talk. And then I have a lot of friends from Juarez and it is just Spanish (Humberto/ Interview 2).

In his explanation above Humberto distinguishes between people from “here” that mix their Spanish with English and people from Juarez who speak “just” Spanish. Claudia also describes that although language “mixing” is part of the local culture and a natural way of speaking in the border she views it through a deficit perspective as losing the proper way of speaking Spanish. Speaking proper Spanish is part of her identity as a Mexican, making up words, pronouncing English words with a Spanish accent on the other hand is a sign of not knowing Spanish or English properly. Claudia does not talk about English but specifically about Spanish which one should know if it is the language of one's origin or the language spoken at home. Claudia is particularly skeptical of Mexicans who go to the United States and forget where they came from, which shows that language use on the border is tied to identity, wanting to pass as American

rather than as Mexican is her explanation of why some people on the border have the tendency of mixing English into their Spanish or addressing her in English altogether:

And then there are a lot of words in English and they sort of pronounce it as if they were in Spanish and it is not actually a word so I don't know I don't agree with people mixing languages I know it helps and I know it is impossible that everyone speaks English and Spanish but I don't like it I don't know I mean I know it is a culture but I feel that they are losing like they don't know how to speak the proper language because if you say they are mixing it on purpose but no they actually don't know how to say it so it means like you are not actually you don't know how to speak that language and it was your mother language so yeah. It is because sometimes I know people from Juarez come here and they suddenly feel like they don't speak Spanish anymore because they are: I'm more than that and they start mixing but they are people who are actually were born here whose parents maybe they speak Spanish to them but they don't really speak Spanish so they mix it and they do it so naturally and I'm like: no I think they actually don't know how to say that in English I mean in Spanish I feel like that is bad because it means you are losing the language instead of cultivating it and learning more you are just ok with two languages I don't know but I mean there are a lot of mixed opinions on that my family has never seen it ok they always see people who mix Spanish and English ah they are like ah but I mean it is completely normal here so I try to like okay that is fine you do it, but for example I have a cousin I mean she is Mexican and she suddenly speaks to me and she starts mixing Spanish and English and I'm like now I feel so uncomfortable having that conversation because or I don't know if I should answer in English because sometimes she is like somebody who speaks to me in English and sometimes in Spanish and I don't know what to answer so I think it is very confusing (Claudia, Interview 1).

Claudia also discussed the advantage of having previous language learning experiences when it comes to learning a third language. She explains that because she has learned English in a class this language learning experience helps her to play an active role in learning German as a third language:

I actually took classes and people for example Humberto he always went to school here so he doesn't know when he learned to speak English so I think if you actually took a class and know what it means to learn another language then it is easier to learn a third language cause you know how the language works (Claudia, Interview 1).

Garcia (2009) explains that multilinguals use one linguistic repertoire for their communicative needs, and this is what can be observed in the conversation between Claudia and Humberto. They

both know Spanish and English and are learning German. While they are practicing forming German sentences they discuss the correct use of the conjugations in Spanish. The spontaneous language use in the group in Table 9 shows that the two students are drawing on their full linguistic repertoire to make sense of the task at hand. Claudia draws connections between cultural identity and language use during her interview:

On my Kindergarten here, my mom wanted me to speak English so she put me in a really weird school that they only spoke English and they were like a Lutheran school cos there were only White people there were no Latinos or anything (Interview 03/19/2018).

Due to the fact, that Claudia was placed in an educational setting with only English speakers she was exposed to English early. Her comments here reveals that she connects "White people" with being monolingual English speakers. Claudia describes her language use with friends in the following way:

With my childhood friends I always speak Spanish most of them they don't speak one word in English they don't even know how to speak English which is weird because they live on the border, so I think it is kind of weird (Claudia, Interview 1).

Living as a transfronteriza, a person who crosses the border frequently allows Claudia to understand the mentalities of people on both sides of the border (Esquinca, 2013). She speaks both Spanish and English and expresses a disbelief that her childhood friends are not also bilingual.

In excerpt nine I go through a list of vocabulary and ask the students to go over the list with a partner to find the plural of the nouns that are shown in the singular. Lino and Carlos frequently work together and translanguaje to make sense out of German vocabulary. Table 9 is an excerpt. For the full conversation please see page 303 in the Appendix.

Annabell=A (instructor)

Carlos=C

Lino=L

Spanish is underlined in the original utterance and the English translation

Table 9

Excerpt 9 in-class conversation

Utterance	English translation	Explanation
1 A: <i>die Kaufhäuser</i> okay so the <i>au</i> with the <i>Umlaut</i> is almost gonna be the <i>oy</i> as in boy, <i>die Kaufhäuser</i> , <i>der Verkäufer</i> , <i>die Verkäuferin</i> , and then <i>die Verkäuferinnen</i> so those are the ones that we will be focusing on, so go ahead and go over the list with someone ask how you would say the plural and how you would say it. For that side we will do a minute and then we will switch	<i>the department stores</i> <i>the sales person (male and female)</i>	I show students a list of German vocabulary and give directions
2 L: <u>¿Qué tenemos que hacer?</u>	<u>What are we supposed to do?</u>	Lino and Carlos usually work together and talk in Spanish to each other here Lino asks Carlos
3 C: <u>Tenemos que leer el lado izquierdo y derecho</u>	<u>We are supposed to read the left and right side</u>	Carlos answers and gives a translation of the directions that were given in English
4 L: <u>Entonces...</u>	<u>Ok then</u>	
10 A: <i>Verkäufer</i> is male, <i>Verkäuferin</i> is female	<i>Sales person</i> is male, <i>sales lady</i> is female	instructor gives the singular for sales person masculine and feminine
11 C: <u>ah era femenino</u>	<u>Oh it was feminine</u>	Carlos affirms that he understood what was being said in English with his utterance in Spanish that is a form of inner speech that he happened to say out loud to himself
12 A: <i>die Verkäuferinnen</i>	<i>The sales ladies</i>	
13 C: <u>Oh sí era plural</u>	<u>Oh yes it was plural</u>	Carlos demonstrates understanding of what instructor said in this utterance in this form of inner speech
21 C: <u>Y tú me preguntas a mí</u>	<u>And you ask me</u>	Carlos continues to give directions in Spanish
22 C: to take <i>nehmen</i> <u>míralo yo pensé que ésa estaba más relacionada con nombre</u>	<u>To take look at that I thought that <i>nehmen</i> was more related to name</u>	The group discussed that it could be related to the word "name" in English which is also written as "Name" in German.

23 L: <u>Yo también</u>	<u>Me too</u>	
24 C: <u>Porque ésta tiene h, es por eso, porque se viene de <i>nehmen</i> creo <i>ich nehme</i></u>	<u>Because this one has an h that is why it comes from <i>to take</i> I think <i>I take</i></u>	Carlos demonstrates metalinguistic awareness in this multilingual vocabulary inquiry.
25 L: <u>la que hicimos el <i>nehmen</i> con h</u>	<u>What we did to take with h</u>	
43 L: <u>to run <i>laufen</i></u>	<u><i>to run</i></u>	
44 C: <u>Yo pensaba que era como que laugh para la risa, no es, to wash</u>	<u>I thought it was like for laugh it is not</u>	Making associations between German words when trying to understand their meaning
50 C: <u>leer, ah ya le vi, <i>lesen er liest a ver</i> to sleep</u>	<u>To read I saw it, to read he reads let's see to sleep</u>	Spanish translation from English is given before the German translation
51 L: <u>sleep?</u>		
52 C: <u><i>schlafen</i> y no sé decirlo to sleep pero <i>Plautdietsch</i></u>	<u>To sleep and they don't say to sleep in low German</u>	Carlos is familiar with <i>Plautdietsch</i> a German dialect that is spoken by the Mennonites a religious community living in Chihuahua, Mexico
53 L: <u><i>Plautdietsch</i> ¿cuál es ése?</u>	<u>Low German which one is that?</u>	
54 C: <u>El alemán bajo de los Menonitas</u>	<u>The low German of the Mennonites</u>	
55 L: <u>aha</u>		
56 C: <u>Se dice <i>mischläft</i> se dice que tiene sueño</u>	<u>They say ...when one is tired</u>	Carlos is sharing his knowledge of <i>Plattdeutsch</i> with Lino
57 L: <u>¿pero de dónde aprendiste eso?</u>	<u>But where did you learn that</u>	Lino is wondering why Carlos knows it in <i>Plautdietsch</i> and he reminds him because of Monika, his girlfriend who grew up in the Mennonite community speaking the German dialect, Spanish and English
C: <u>de Monika</u>	<u>From Monika</u>	
L: <u>sí, es cierto</u>	<u>Yes that is true</u>	

Lino and Carlos are translanguaging for meaning making and show that they comprehend what is being said in English and German by making their connections to the German vocabulary in Spanish, for example in utterances number 11 and 13. In line 16 Lino is expressing confusion

about the directions that were given in English but Carlos was able to quickly clarify the directions in Spanish and their group was able to complete the task at hand. Starting with utterance 22 Carlos and Lino are discussing that to them the German verb "nehmen" has resemblance to "Name" phonetically when pronounced in English the word name sounds similar to "nehmen" when pronounced in German this multilingual vocabulary inquiry shows that the two students are drawing on their full linguistic repertoire (Garcia & Wei, 2014). During their interviews the participants stated that they used both English and Spanish to make sense of German. He describes to reference English:

Making sense? Basically, I look at English and I say these words look alike and then for instance *laufen* first I thought it was something like laugh but it is run. I try to make sense with English and then based on English figure out how to make a sentence I know that the order of the sentence is different. So, I will create these rules for instance how to ask questions you would interchange the verb and that is how I mostly make sense in my mind (Carlos, Interview 1).

Starting with line 51 until the end of excerpt 2 a discussion around Plautdietsch unfolds because after being asked for the translation of the verb “to sleep” Carlos draws a connection to this low-German dialect that he also happens to be familiar with. This excerpt shows that students who are given the possibility to use their full linguistic repertoire will be able to draw on knowledge that is tied to their cultural identities and that of their respective communities. Being able to make these connections enriches the German language learning experience, because students can make meaning of the new language by building on existing background knowledge (Garcia & Wei, 2014). Claudia, Humberto, Carlos and Lino made connections between cultural identity and language choices.

Excerpt 10 shows how I work directly with individual students and provide feedback for their work. The task of the day was to describe one’s family members. First, we read an example from the online textbook and analyzed the vocabulary in it. Following that, students had time to work together or to individually write and prepare a short paragraph about their family members. The guiding questions that students were required to include in their responses were projected to the front of the class. Students spend a few minutes working on their responses. Kristin and Mickey worked together in preparing their blurbs. After the group or individual work students presented their answers to the class. The conversation below shows that there is an element of humor in the interactions as part of a relaxed classroom environment.

Kristin= K

Mickey= M

Annabell= A

Table 10

Excerpt 10 in-class conversation

Utterance	English translation	Explanation
1 K: <i>Meine Schwester heißt Sarah und mein Bruder heißt John sie wohnen in Texas. Mein Schwester und mein Bruder sind students...</i>	<i>My sister is called Sarah and my brother is called John and they live in Texas. My sister and my brother are...</i>	Kristin talks fluently in German there are two little mistakes in her last sentence it is supposed to be “ <i>Meine Schwester</i> ” with the feminine e-ending
2 A: <i>sind Studenten</i>	<i>are students</i>	I focus only on providing the correct translation for “students”, a word that Kristin had borrowed from English in her German sentence
3 K: <i>sind Studenten sie fahren einen Pontiac und einen Honda. Mein Schwester ist einsundzwanzig und mein Bruder ...</i>	Are students they drive a Pontiac and a Honda. My sister is twenty-six and my brother...	Kristin includes the German word and repeats that part of the sentence, she is still missing he e-ending for “ <i>mein</i> ”, Mickey who worked

		in her group noticed that Kristin struggled with saying the numbers in German
4 M: <i>sechszwanzig...</i>	twenty-six	During the group work phase of the class Mickey had heard what Kristi wanted to say about her brother and helps her out by saying the age
5 K: <i>Jahre alt. Meine Schwester sammel</i> collects	Years old. My sister collects	Kristin forgets the “t” in the verb collects, the possessive adjective for sister is correctly used here in the feminine form
6 A: <i>sammelt aha ja</i>	Collects	I provide the verb “collects” in the complete form
7 K: <i>Münzen</i> coins	coins	Kristin has some trouble with pronouncing coins it sounds more like a mix out of coins and mice
8 A: oh <i>Münzen</i> because <i>Mäuse</i> is mice I know some people...	Coins	Knowing her sense of humor I start joking around
9 K: laughing		
10 A: <i>Münzen</i> with an <i>ü</i> is coins		I say the term coins again for Kristin to hear the pronunciation
11 K: Oh <i>Münzen</i> und my brother <i>mein Bruder</i> collects		Kristin is correctly using the term coins now but was so focused on the noun she forgot the verb
12 A: <i>sammelt</i>	<i>collects</i>	
13 K: <i>sammelt Comics</i>		Kristin repeats the verb she had forgotten to say
14 A: <i>Comicbücher</i>	<i>comic books</i>	I provide an alternative word for the one Kristin has just used
15 M: <i>Meine Mutter ist Kunstlehrer. Mein Bruder fahren ein Toyota und meine Mutter fahren einen Hyundai.</i>	<i>My mom is an art teacher. My brother drives a Toyota and my mother drives a Hyundai.</i>	Mickey has some trouble using the correct verb conjugation for driving
16 A: <i>fährt, meine Mutter fährt</i>	<i>drives, my mother drives</i>	I provide the conjugations
17 M: <i>fährt</i>	<i>drives</i>	Mickey repeats the verb

18 A: Because it is third person, we are talking about her <i>fährt</i>	<i>drives</i>	
19 M: Ah <i>sie haben zwei Hund</i>	<i>they have two dogs</i>	
20 A: <i>Hund</i> is going to have the plural ending <i>Hunde</i>	<i>dog...dogs</i>	
21 M: <i>Mein Bruder ist neunzehn und meine Mutter ist fünfundfünfzig Jahre alt, sie machen gern Kunst, sie spielen kein Instrument, mein Bruder fechten, meine Mutter ist nicht sportlich</i>	<i>My brother is nineteen and my mother is fifty-five years old, they like to make art, they play no instrument, my brother fences, my mother is not athletic</i>	
22 A: You could say <i>mein Bruder mag fechten und meine Mutter ist nicht sportlich.</i>	<i>my brother likes fencing and my mother is not athletic</i>	I give another option of how to improve his last sentence

Excerpt 11 is an example of group work between two students, one self-identifies as Mexican and one self-identifies as Chicana. While Catalina used Spanish for informal conversations in the hallway she used English exclusively in this excerpt and whenever she was working with Rory, a participant who would speak English in the class. It is an example for adjusting one's language choice to the interlocutor. For this study I interviewed all participants separately each in a series of three interviews and during our third interviews I showed them a transcribed version of a conversation and asked them about their thoughts on it, to allow member checks and a triangulation of the data. With Rory I talked about how I noticed a slightly different languaging pattern in the past semester prior to the study. Rory used only English within the German class although she knows both Spanish and English and she uses both simultaneously when speaking with family members, however in the class she only speaks English:

R: It was different in different semesters, there is no mixing anymore.

A: it is funny, I should record people in the hallway because there I hear it all the time.

R: I hear it, too. That is how I talk with my mom.

A: in English and Spanish

R: a lot of switching (Rory, Interview 1).

There is a possible influence of the study itself on the languaging pattern: “maybe they feel like they should stick to one thing” (Rory, Interview 1). This could be a reason why she only used English with her group in the class. In Table 11 an interaction between Catalina, a student who self-identifies as Mexican and Rory, who self-identifies as Chicana is shown. They both use English when discussing their task. They had to identify the meaning of “wie” in German sentences which could mean what or it could be used in comparisons. The entire conversation between Catalina and Rory is carried out in English. Table 11 is an excerpt for the full conversation please see page 307 in the Appendix.

Catalina= C

Rory= R

Annabell= A (instructor)

Table 11

Excerpt 11 in-class conversation

Utterance	English translation	Explanation
1 All: <i>Wie ist Ihr Name und Ihre Adresse?</i>	<i>What is your name and your address?</i>	
2 A: In English we would say what. In German we would say it as how. <i>Wie heißt du?</i>		I highlight the difference between English and German
3 All: <i>Wie heißt du?</i>	<i>How are you called?</i>	
4 A: Is this formal or informal?		I probe for understanding

5 All: Informal		
6 A: Very good! Wie can also be in a comparison or you know in a sense what it is like, so what is your new apartment like. <i>Wie ist Ihre neue Wohnung?</i> <i>Wohnung</i> is feminine it is die <i>Wohnung</i> , <i>Ihre</i> is capitalized because we are addressing someone formally. Let's read it:	<i>How is your new apartment? ... the apartment, your</i>	I'm giving explanations
30 R: You want me to read the next one?		
31 C: So the first one is like?		
32 R: Yeah, I think so.		
33 C: Okay. If you want? You want?		
34 R: Yeah. <i>Wie ist das Wetter? Ist es immer noch so schön wie heute Morgen?</i>	<i>How is the weather? Is it still as pretty as it was this morning?</i>	
35 C: <i>Nein, jetzt regnet es wie verrückt.</i>	<i>No, no it is raining like crazy.</i>	
36 R: How is the weather		
37 C: Wait that is not an option		
38 R: Would it be what?		
39 C: Yeah, it would be what is he weather like?		

Excerpt 12 shows a group conversation in English the group members reflected on their languaging patterns during their individual interviews. Lily states that she uses English because of one English speaking group member: “I think I mostly use English because of Dylan so just when I talk to Luisa I just talk to her in Spanish but with the group-I talk English” (Lily,

Interview 1). Luisa confirms using English while talking as a group but she uses Spanish when communicating with Lily:

Whenever I am with Dylan and Lily I try not to speak that much Spanish I say a word so Dylan won't feel left out or so he can understand and not feel like I am being rude but when I am with Lily by ourselves I'm just talking to her in Spanish but it is a different kind of Spanish because there is different kinds of Spanish there is the slang and that is maybe what you are listening to the slang part it is saying this they are faster there are differences. Aja ey wey que te I listen to that I use that kind of language whenever I go to Juarez because I don't want to sound that people actually make fun of you [laughing] especially you are Mexican and you are supposed to know how to speak Spanish properly so they kind of make fun of you: *muy pocha blabla* (Luisa, Interview 1).

Furthermore, she values her class notes that she takes in Spanish while listening to my explanations of the material in German and English which can be considered an example of translanguaging:

Whenever I am writing stuff down when I go to the class I have everything from last semester and this semester I do like Spanish and English and you know. Not everything is readable but [showing her class notes] well this is English and German but I know I have some that say like English and Spanish and then I put the translation in Spanish so I won't forget. Yes, it makes more sense when you kind of remember in your language in the language that you learn: ok I'm really chiple. I even draw when I can I draw. [looking through her notes] I also write in the book good think I bought it, poor book I do little notes to myself. That I do. Yeah it has to be something that I'm not going to remember, I know that I write it down in Spanish. The ones that I know that won't stick around me like I'll put them in Spanish, I haven't been able to put the little tabs and I need to go through it that is how I go back to whatever I want I can. Look: *accion, tenia* I kind of write I try to erase it because I want to stick to something. I try to keep the notes as much as I can (Luisa, Interview 1).

Dylan=D

Luisa=L

Lily=Ll

Annabell=A (instructor)

Table 12

Excerpt 12 in-class conversation

Utterance	English translation	Explanation
1 A: right, so now you guys can go ahead and work with your groups and go ahead and see what is missing again the change is going to be for the second and third person singular that is going to take the Umlaut, so a(ah German) is going to change to ä okay, only for second and third person singular, so for that one it will be <i>Oma Ziegler</i>		(activity is projected to the front of the classroom students are required to fill in the blanks on a short conversation using the verbs that they just saw presented)
2 Luisa: <i>Oma Ziegler bäckt einen guten Kuchen</i>	<i>grandma Ziegler bakes a good cake</i>	
3 Ll: <i>backen</i>	<i>to bake</i>	
4 D: <i>bäckt einen guten Kaschen</i>	<i>bakes a good</i>	
5 L: with a t and the second one is going to be ich backe, because there is two of them		
D: ich backe, yeah aha	<i>I bake</i>	
L: so it is going to be er backt no	<i>he bakes</i>	
D: that be <i>Oma Ziegler</i>		
L: <i>bäckt</i>	<i>bakes</i>	Luisa corrects herself after having heard herself saying out loud
D: <i>bäckt</i>	<i>bakes</i>	

A: Mmh it is <i>bäckt</i> because it is an <i>Umlaut</i>		
D: <i>ich backe</i> , only the <i>du</i> 's and <i>er</i> 's change	<i>I bake, only the you and he</i>	
L: <i>So was für einen Wagen fahren</i>	<i>What kind of car drive</i>	
D: mmh because it is you are conjugating it for <i>du</i>	<i>you</i>	Dylan explains how to find the correct conjugation to the group
L: oh so it's <i>fahren</i>	<i>drive</i>	
D: <i>du fährst</i> or something like that	<i>you drive</i>	
L: <i>du fährst</i>	<i>you drive</i>	
D: <i>Was für einen Wagen fährst du?</i> And if you add if you change <i>du</i> to <i>Sie</i> then it is <i>fahren</i>	<i>What kind of car do you drive?</i>	
L: Yeah		
Ll: so with the st-ending, right?		
D: Yeah with the st-ending for <i>du</i> , I don't know if it changes because I can't see the page, can I see your book real quick? Oh that is what it is called, sorry.		
L: So it is <i>fahren</i> with an n, it is <i>fahren</i> ?		
Ll: <i>sie fahren</i>	<i>they drive</i>	
L: No, no, no <i>was für einen Wagen fahrest du</i> , <i>Sie</i> is going to be <i>fahren</i>		
D: mmh. <i>Entschuldigung halt der Bus</i> we are so good	<i>Excuse me does the bus stop</i>	
A: For <i>die Busse</i> you change it to D: <i>halten. Meine Schwester lest</i>	<i>For the busses ...to hold. My sister read</i>	
Ll: What number are you on? <i>Lest</i>		

D: <i>Lest</i> yeah		
L: <i>Lest</i> yeah		
D: <i>Meine Eltern lest</i>		The item “parents” require a plural conjugation on the verb
L: No		Luisa recognizes that it is the wrong verb conjugation
D: It’s plural? <i>Meine Eltern lesen, lassen den Hund ins Haus</i>	<i>My parents read, let the dog into the house</i>	Dylan checks with the group
LL: <i>lesen</i>	to read	here it should have been lassen=to let, which is to let the dog in the house
D: <i>lesen</i> yeah cos it is plural ok next one		The group is confused on the verb but has identified the correct verb form
L: <i>schlafen</i>	<i>to sleep</i>	
D: Yeah, <i>ich schlafe jeden Sonntagmorgen bis halb zwölf, dein Freund</i> your friend	<i>I sleep every Sunday morning until eleven thirty</i>	

Excerpt 13 is another dialogue from the class that shows that while English is the language of the whole class discussion bilingual participants such as Narda, Christian, Lino, Carlos, Claudia and Humberto use Spanish to communicate with each other, to exchange information and for learning German. These students engage in translanguaging, an everyday practice that is part of the local community, although in the context of the German class German is part of the languaging process. Narda self-identifies as Mexican and bilingual and while Christian also identifies as bilingual he describes himself as a “border person” who is neither from here nor there. When he introduced himself to me in class he would say his name with an American pronunciation, during our interview series I specifically asked about that and he

explained that because I am White he gave me the White way to say his name. Narda and Christian worked together in their German class. Narda mostly draws on Spanish to make sense of German:

Spanish mostly it depends who I'm working with but I think a couple of people that I do work with know Spanish so that is a faster way for me to communicate something. Using examples in Spanish it's sometimes more effective than using samples in English because the formal there is no formal in English like what is that? Spanish is like Sie is like usted you know the difference cos if you just know English you are like: what is that for? I don't know so sometimes I go back to Spanish and sometimes I go to English depending on what works best to learn that thing (Narda, Interview 2).

Annabell= A (instructor)

Narda= N

Christian= C

Table 13

Excerpt 13 in-class conversation

Utterance	English translation	Explanation
1 A: <i>Und Sie was dürfen Sie alles nicht tun?</i> I'm going to ask informally: <i>Was darfst du nicht?</i> So, I'll give you guys a minute to think about something that you are not supposed to do.	<i>And what are you not allowed to do?</i>	
2 C: <u>Como se dice comer? Tragar?</u>	<u>How do you say eat, to gobble up?</u>	
3 N: <u>No, qué quieres decir?</u>	<u>What do you want to say?</u>	
4 C: <u>Porque va decir</u>	<u>It is going to be</u>	
5 C: <i>Ich</i>	<i>I</i>	
6 N: <i>Ich darf</i>	<i>I may</i>	
7 C: <i>Ich darf nicht</i>	<i>I may not</i>	
8 N: <i>Ich darf nicht hot cheetos</i>	<i>I may not hot cheetos</i>	
9 C: <u>¿Pero qué es comer?</u>	<u>But what is to eat?</u>	
10 N: <i>ahm isst</i>	<i>eats</i>	
11 C: <u>Esto es comer?</u>	<u>That is to eat?</u>	
12 N: <u>Es essen lo es ich esse, du isst, er isst</u>	<u>It is to eat that is I eat, you eat, he eats</u>	
13 C: okay		

14 N: <i>Ich darf nicht viele Süßigkeiten essen.</i>	<i>I may not eat many sweets.</i>	Narda and Christian worked together and both had the idea to use not being allowed to eat something as their individual example
15 C: <u>No comer algo.</u>	<u>I don't eat something.</u>	I hear that comment Christian makes and assume that he does not know the translation for sweets
16 A: <i>Was sind Süßigkeiten?</i>	<i>What are sweets?</i>	I address the whole class and ask for the translation
17 Students: Sweets		The students provide the translation, this shows that English is the language of whole class interactions, although I ask in German and a lot of students talk to each other in Spanish when we work together we use English
18 A: <i>Und was darfst du nicht?</i>	<i>And what are you not allowed to do?</i>	
19 C: Talk to strangers.		Christian comes up with a different example because his partner had just used the idea with the food in her example
20 A: <i>Ich darf nicht mit Fremden</i> what is to talk guys?	<i>I may not with strangers...</i>	I scaffold the answer for Christian and ask the whole class for their help which they provide chorally
21 Students: <i>sprechen</i>	<i>to talk</i>	
22 A: <i>Ich darf nicht mit Fremden sprechen.</i>	<i>I'm not supposed to talk with strangers.</i>	

During the third individual interview with Christian I was able to ask him clarification questions

on the specific interaction shown in the excerpt above:

C: Christian A: Annabell

C: If it doesn't make sense in Spanish I try to make sense out of it in English

A: and I heard that too later on you were using English and I guess with Narda because she likes talking in Spanish so the two of you were going back and forth between Spanish and German

A: and you were trying to figure out you wanted to say [A and C looking at the transcript on the computer screen] you wanted to say something

C: comer

A: you were looking for that word you guys were going back and forth until she finally says “essen”

C: sí essen

A: ich esse, du isst. Ich darf nicht viel Süßigkeiten essen.

C: yes, I knew it was that but I was getting confused cause you know drink is like trinken and I was like como to eat comer I was like como tragar is chewing, tragen you know tragar, tragen I wasn't sure I couldn't make sense because I was getting confused I remember [laughing]

A: but did it make sense once she told you? You said ok

C: yes, I was like ok essen, and you know what essen I am getting confused with sehen to watch I was trying to make sense

A: when I was writing it I was like I don't even know if I am writing this down correctly because I heard a German word I heard tragen

C: and what is tragen?

A: tragen is to wear

C: to wear

A: to wear clothes or your purse

C: como traer mmh

A: but you were saying there is a Spanish word to chew

C: si como tragar but that is not really like a nice way to say it (Christian, Interview 1).

Narda and Christian are two participants that both have a secure sense of self as Spanish-speakers and self-identify as Mexican. Whenever they did work with other Spanish speakers, they used Spanish for their group work and when working with dominant English speakers they used English: “I guess it is an accommodation you don't want to leave someone out” (Christian, Interview 3).

Quejona is a German heritage language learner who is exclusively using German in the class. At her home both German and English are spoken. Her grandma and mother are from Germany and she has traveled to Germany often. Quejona translanguaged during her interviews, the English translation is added in parenthesis:

*Ich war im El Paso geboren, meine **Muddi** ist geboren und die Familie in Deutschland. Ich spreche Deutsch und Englisch. In meiner Klasse ich spreche bloß Englisch und **daheeme** spreche ich Deutsch und Englisch, in die erste und dritte Klasse ich gelernt Spanisch **a bissl** but after that I didn't learn anything else. [I was born in El Paso, my mom and the family were born in Germany. I speak German and English. In my class I speak only English and at home I speak German and English, in first and third class I have learned a little bit of Spanish...]*

When she is talking about her family, she is not only using German but the specific home dialect of her German family from Mannheim, two words that stand out as dialect words are highlighted in bold in the original text “Muddi” which means mom and “daheeme” which means at home. Both these terms carry a strong connection to the family and family home life and are emotionally charged so it is not surprising that Quejona uses the dialect version instead of the standard German equivalent. Quejona uses another dialect expression “a bissl” which means a little in English and finishes her sentence in English. The sentence structure of the German sentences follows a grammar pattern that would be typical for an English sentence that is particularly exhibited in the first sentence when Quejona talks about where she is born using an English word order for her sentence in German.

The excerpt below is from a class activity in which modal verbs were practiced. In the conversation below I asked her for something that she must do and for something that she would like to do, so that the rest of the class could hear an example for each of the two modal verbs.

Table 14*Excerpt 14 in-class conversation*

Utterance	English Translation	Explanation
1 A: <i>Und du? Was sollst du machen?</i>	<i>And you? What are you supposed to do?</i>	Modeling modal verbs use in a question for the rest of the class
2 Q: <i>Ich soll nächsten Samstag zur Arbeit gehen.</i>	<i>I'm supposed to go to work next Saturday.</i>	
3 A: <i>Was möchtest du machen?</i>	<i>What would you like to do?</i>	
4 Q: <i>Ich möchte wieder heim gehen nach Deutschland.</i>	<i>I would like to go back home to Germany.</i>	When asked what she would like to do, Quejona gave this example thereby showing that she still has strong ties to Germany and she considers it to be her home, as she explained during her interviews
5 A: Okay.		

In this chapter excerpts from in-class conversations were presented. In ten out of fourteen examples the participants translanguaged. In the following chapter the results from individual and focus group interviews are going to be presented in an overview. To gain a deeper understanding of who is translanguaging in the German class and who is not, the themes derived from the three-part phenomenological interviews are presented including vignettes of student experiences that explain their language choices and their opinions on language use in the German class.

Chapter 5: Findings from interviews

In this chapter the findings from the data gathered through the individual interviews, as well as the focus group interviews are presented. The focus group interviews took place with the participants of the study. Participating students were sitting together in groups to discuss their experience and opinion on language learning. The focus group interviews took place in one setting. The individual interviews were phenomenological and separated into three interviews which allowed for member checks because all participants were able to see their transcribed classroom conversations and gave explanations of their learning in the German class. The data gained in this part of the study was analyzed for emerging themes. Invivo was used to facilitate the analysis process, all interviews including the focus group interviews were transcribed and analyzed for emerging codes.

In-vivo Codes

Terms that participants used repeatedly were analyzed as in-vivo codes. They include terms such as “here vs there”, “Mexican”, “Chicana/Chicano”, “Pocha/Pocho”, and “Spanglish”. These key terms are presented here with the explanations and definitions that participants gave for them.

Here vs. There

All interviews were conducted in El Paso on the US side of the border. The interview data has to be viewed in light of that situatedness. Two words came up frequently throughout all interviews “here” and “there” although in the context of the border everybody would understand what they mean. They might not make sense outside of the border context; therefore, I am going to explain in more detail what participants refer to when they use “here” and “there” as it also allows insight into the participants lived realities along the border.

Here refers to El Paso- There refers to Juarez

We moved here 10 years ago but we didn't really move I have a house here and I still have a house in Juarez so like we never really stayed in El Paso we are always going to Juarez cos my parents they have grown too attached to Juarez so it is like basically only for us to study here but I studied my whole life in Juarez. In Kindergarten I actually came here to the US but I didn't speak English and I don't remember it that much and it was when 9/11 happened so the lines at the bridge were super long and my parents had to change me to Juarez and I spend my whole life in Juarez and they taught us English but I was in public school so it is not good at all (Claudia, Interview 1).

I was born here in El Paso in 1995 both of my parents are from Mexico from Juarez they were born over there, kind of were raised here most of their life and my mom still lives here my dad got deported he lives in Mexico now (Adrian R., Interview 1).

“Here” was consistently used to refer to El Paso while “there” refers to Juarez or another place in Mexico over the border:

My family is from Juarez I live all my live there and they are from there, and we just came to El Paso because we wanted a better life, so we just came in 2009. My family doesn't speak English just my sister and my cousin, but they don't like to speak English over there (Lily, Interview 1).

My family is from Chihuahua, Mexico both of my parents were born in that place and lived their whole life there and I was born over there (Julio, Interview 2).

These examples show that “there” refers to Juarez or to another place in Mexico: “I am too Mexican and I have an accent over there I am too American” (Kristin, Interview 2).

“Mexican”

17 of the 46 participants self-identified as Mexican, what does it mean in the context of the study? Being “Mexican” is a feeling of belonging to or having a strong connection to Mexican culture represented through family members. The actual birth place is of secondary importance to the consideration of being Mexican because as the table above showed a number of those participants who were born in the United States identify as Mexican. That leads to questions of who is “fully” Mexican and who is American, who is identifying as Mexican although they are technically American, some of the participants avoided identifying at all. Luis

described an experience of not belonging to either country and he speaks of an identity crisis as a result of that:

You know if I travel around Mexico usually people ask me where I am from and usually I say from Ciudad Juarez you know some of my family and friends they say oh El Paso Texas, right and but a lot of people automatically assume oh you are American? To a lot of people in Juarez they consider me an American just because I was born here I mean that is how they refer to anybody born here regardless of race it is an American so it is a little identity crisis, right I don't really consider myself like a full-on American but then in Mexico I am not considered a full-on Mexican and maybe here in America people see me more like: oh he is Hispanic or he is Latino. Latina means someone that was born or came from Latin America and then Hispanic is someone who comes from any Spanish speaking countries for example Spain. And then Chicana/Chicano is someone who was born in the United States who was born in the United States but has parents that immigrated from Mexico and speak Spanish (Julio, Interview 2).

Chicana/Chicano

During the interviews I asked participants who brought up the topic of Chicanas/Chicanos about the term.

There is a lot of stigma on that term especially amongst Mexican-Americans who are older like when I told my grandfather this, it is common that Chicano is trash. There is a lot of stigma around that phrase cos of how the Chicano uprising during the 60s a lot of conservative people a lot of conservative Mexican-Americans and Mexicans they see it as a negative. Like my grandfather when I mentioned this he says: that is more American (Jonathan, Interview 1).

Now being Chicano is being a pride Mexican-American. There are many, many events here for Mexican Americans and what they do is getting other fights as their own. They are very aggressive and touchy about. They are so sensitive either you are with us or else you are a coconut (Ricardo, Interview 1).

“Pocha”/ “Pocho”

My mom was here in El Paso she was brought up in Jefferson high school and she would always speak Spanish and her teachers would get really mad and they would bang their rulers on the table: Don't speak that language. And that is what I think is really sad in American history there is a lot of stuff. Like when they got the Navajos and tried to eradicate their language just to strip away their identity. My mom told me that when she was little when she was growing up that when Sesame Street first came out, we were in

high school but we were all watching Sesame Street it was teaching kids English so at a basic language and they were teaching us English at a basic level. That makes sense because you guys are learning you are just starting and it was something small. You shouldn't do it! You shouldn't do it! You shouldn't do it! I think it has a lot to do with society and with the culture and the history in it the pride. How much cultural pride you have. My dad never wanted to learn English and still does not know English. He knows a couple of words and he knows how to reply in Spanish. If me and my siblings are fighting, he can know why we are fighting. No, just give her back the jacket and walks away. But he won't speak it one time I got mad. Papa why don't you speak English? And he started laughing he is like: because I am too much of a Mexican to speak English. I was brought up speaking Spanish I love Spanish and I heard that if you speak another language you start to forget it. No, it is nothing like that. You start mixing it if anything. No but I don't want to be like you guys all pocho and I started laughing. I'm a real Mexican (Kristin, Interview 1).

This vignette details how the term “pocho” is used in the local context. Kristin’s dad identifies as Mexican, as a real Mexican person who speaks Spanish, his children speak both English and Spanish because they were raised in both countries and are therefore mixing the languages which the dad considers as less valuable “pocho”. Kristin’s mom, who was raised in El Paso belongs to a generation that was physically punished for speaking Spanish at school. As Kristin explains discrimination and linguistic policing are part of American history. She gives the example of the Navajos, and draws the connection that eradicating their language had the purpose of erasing their identity. A parallel situation to that of the Mexicans in the United States, who are also stripped off their language in order to eradicate their cultural pride and identity. For Kristin one’s openness towards speaking English has to do with one’s level of cultural pride as Mexican. Kristin uses her dad’s story as an example for that concept, he does not want to forget his language and identity, he takes pride in being Mexican he is not “pocho” like his children. Kristin and her siblings were raised with both English and Spanish and have a different attitude towards being Mexican and speaking two languages, Kristin does not see being bilingual as an obstacle to identifying as Mexican. Luisa describes that she works hard to not look “pocha” because she does not want to be taken advantage of. Being “pocha” means not belonging, being

viewed as an outsider with low status by locals. It also entails not speaking proper and fluent

Spanish:

proper Spanish no, no and it is embarrassing when I've been down south visiting or whatever they told you like that: oh you are not from here. They hear it right away even though I try hard not to look what they call pocha so they won't try to take my money away I'm just like trying to talk like them but they are like: no you are not from here, there is different accents when I go down south our accent is more like when I come back it is Spanish but with a swing to it singing when I got here when I got to the border in Juarez, the people would tell me you are not from here. You are not from Juarez and I'm like no, I'm from down south, and people are mean to their own people because they are like: oh she is an Indian. Your own people, the fact that you are from a different place people are rejected to that idea, people are close minded. And my Spanish is like a you know what now that I live here it is really difficult because I don't really practice my good Spanish and everything is just everywhere I don't speak something fluently anymore (Luisa, Interview 2).

Ricardo points out two things, first, the negative connotation the word "pochos" carries and second he draws a direct connection between the two terms "Chicano" and "pochos":

Pochos in speaking has a negative connotation because it shows the ignorance of knowing correctly the language and you are neither from here nor from there. El Chicano normalmente es un pocho. Es un hijo de un inmigrante y el nacio aqui entonces identificar con la fantasia de Mexico para utilizar esa grande esa cultura indigena para avanzar su situación economica, politica para integrarse a la mesa donde se hacen las decisiones que efectan a su hija. Desgraciadamente esa mesa son puros anglosajones pero poco a poco durante los años 70/80 habia un programa en Estados Unidos en las universidades tenian que tener ciertas personas de color blanco de color Mexicanas, Chicanas y ciertas personas negras para poder entrar a Universidad. There were these quotas and I flew to that because when I finished Vietnam I was always the Mexican that they needed not because they wanted me but because I was Mexican the color of my skin I was there and I was at the right place at the right time all the time and I got the Ford foundation and I got this and that. And it was you know it was very good for Mexican Americans and I was supposed to be a Chicano. A Chicano and I have never lived here. And many Blacks also benefited from that but after a few years the Anglo-Saxon America though that this was discrimination in reverse and they ended those programs (Ricardo, Interview 1).

Spanglish

Ricardo reflects on the origins of Spanglish within the border community:

So they had an agenda and the agenda was to first they were no integrated schools they were separated schools for White children and for Blacks and for Mexicans and they kept themselves up to the 1950s separated and when they integrated them the curriculum was only in English and because you are a product of your environment then if your parents came from Mexico and they speak Spanish they spoke Spanish you will learn Spanish but if the parents if your parents came to work in the fields in the cotton fields and picking up things normally the people that came here were very poor and they didn't know how to read and write so what kind of language they are going to teach their sons so they are in the middle they have to learn English and they misspoke Spanish even though they look Mexican with a nopal here in the front they go to Mexico and they Mexican citizens will discriminate against them saying: How come you look like an idol but you cannot speak Spanish. I'm sorry. And then here in El Paso they are discriminated because the way they look because they are Mexicans because their race so they are born in this very insecure with no basis and that will reflect in their way of life but maybe the next generation will just be Anglo and forget our Spanish and so the second generation will create their own language (Ricardo, Interview 1).

Luis provides his definition of the term Spanglish: "Sometimes it is not very advanced Spanish maybe they have family that are second generation immigrants and so they speak a mix of Spanish and English what they call Spanglish" (Luis, Interview 1). "If you go to Juarez nobody speaks like that" the underlying idea is that Mexican people do not use a mix of English and incorrect Spanish. It is associated with Hispanics and as part of the: "Chicano culture", as Luis explains:

I really don't like it. I think it is an incorrect way of using a language. I mean there are times when I speak to my Spanish speaking friends that a term is better said in English the word 'random' it doesn't exist in Spanish there is no explicit way to define it so maybe when I'm speaking Spanish I can say 'random' I add it to a sentence, but I know there is people that say words wrongly in Spanish that is why I don't really like it. I mean it is still bilingual because you are able to communicate your idea so it is not entirely bad" (Luis, Interview 1).

Spanglish is not used by students who identify as Mexican but is strongly associated with the border region:

J: Julio A: Annabell

J: There is times I forget a word in Spanish I forget a word in English just the other word pops out I am talking in English and all of a sudden I am speaking in Spanish I don't know why that happens I don't know why it just happens I don't really know why you

forget it. Sometimes it is easier to remember that word and you just say it it happens a lot with people who also do a lot of Spanglish, too. That both know languages that is where it happens.

A: you hear it here in El Paso?

J: yeah because of Mexico well of the border itself.

A: What do you think about the mix?

J: About the Spanglish?

A: mmh

J: I don't mind it I mean I understand what you are saying I'm ok although sometimes it surprises me when people just mix it up all the way like they are talking in both languages at the same time like wow you don't know what to decide right now that surprises me but when you are talking and you suddenly forget a word that doesn't bother me

A: some people have their opinions about it they have certain ideas of who uses it, second generation Mexican-Americans. But for you, you see it as something very common?

J: Spanglish it is not that common for me because sometimes I can differentiate the languages there is times where I suddenly forget the word and use Spanish or vice versa. I have a friend who does that a lot he was born in Mexico but was brought over here when he was a kid so he has been growing in both cultures so he does it a lot he is talking to you in English and suddenly he switches to Spanish or he mixes both I understand him at least.

A: And your family do you see that too with them?

J: No, my family mostly speaks Spanish. I spoke with my friends from over here and in Mexico that we speak Spanglish it is not that often with the Mexican ones but it happens (Julio, Interview 1).

Spanglish does not carry a lot of status in the border, as Adrian R. discusses:

I lived in the far, far eastside like Montana vista area predominantly Mexican it was a mix of both Spanglish in other words a made up language a mix out of Spanish and English words so that is I mean it didn't stick to me as much but I was exposed to it more so I guess I spoke it more but I spoke English for the most part (Adrian R., Interview 1). Troy talks about Spanglish in a similar way as broken Spanish, which indicated that it is measured against the "correct" languages of English and Spanish while not being considered as a unique dialect of its own:

We are not fluent in Spanish my parents aren't fluent in Spanish I'm not fluent in it either they grow up in a region that Spanish is not really spoken so that's why it is spoken just a broken Spanish really, I guess like Spanglish, like a mix of English and Spanish (Troy, Interview 1).

Jarid reflects on the function of Spanish:

When people slip up it is because they have an equal comprehension of either language so if they speak English and Spanish sometimes they might slip up and use Spanglish because they comprehend it exactly the same so they can think of the word in English completely but they can also think of the word in Spanish completely but they chose to combine it I guess because it is easier so sometimes they would slip up and say it for whatever reason (Jarid, Interview 1).

For some participants Spanglish was the normal way of talking in their everyday life:

I think it is really interesting how people kind of flip the language switch in their head whenever they are talking as far as in my household I guess we do have some Spanglish. On the borderline you get it more because you have both of them going on. There is kind of like a mutual understanding that you might that you probably understand both so you just switch to whichever one is easier for you to make your point so like sometimes you have like certain sayings or catch phrases in Spanish that are easier to give or easier to understand when you say it in its actual language rather than explaining it in English so you just switch to it and then you come back to English. Yeah, a lot even people who seem like they are more primarily Spanish speakers they will switch to English to get something across sometimes and then they go back (Ivan, Interview 1).

Jared uses Spanglish at home and explains it in the following way:

We talk sometimes I talk in English my mom speaks in Spanish sometimes I talk in Spanish and she speaks in English sometimes we will be saying a few words in English and we cross over to Spanish so it is a good mixture of both. Spanglish is that funny word that was created I'm guessing alongside the border of the United States and Mexico because the people alongside the border live very differently than the rest of the people in the United States. Many people cross over every day and so many people live here from both cities and vice versa as well so I think over the years as people grow in their fluency with Spanish and English sometimes they can't know, they can't remember a word in one language so they say it in the other language so it kind of grew in this own little dialect here in El Paso so with my mom and I we both speak both languages fluently so every once in a while we will be speaking and sometimes we switch from word to word she can be talking in Spanish and I can be talking in English which is fine, to other people it might seem a little bit weird or different but to us it is just normal because we are just communicating and sometimes each of us will even use both languages in a sentence we will be talking in Spanish and then we switch over to a word in English or vice versa since we know both languages we just use them interchangeably (Jared, Interview 1).

Spanglish is described as unique to the region in which the study took place:

Well sometimes in a conversation or in a sentence you would use a Spanish word within an English dialogue, for example you would insert at least a few ahm words in Spanish, or otherwise the other way around you would use you would speak Spanish but then insert English words into the dialogue which you know it sounds in broken English but I think that is something very unique to this region we are in a binational community you know bilingual community (Vic, Interview 1).

While there is a characteristic use of Spanish along the US side of the border, the specific dialect is considered incomprehensible slang in other regions of Mexico:

I know if you speak it here in El Paso or even in Juarez it is slang Spanish in a way but if you go deeper into Mexico it is proper Spanish and they look at you like I don't know what the heck you just said. They look at you funny I don't know what that is (Ivanna, Interview 1).

Josh describes the language use of Spanish and English together at the same time as Spanglish in German: "Viele Leute sie sprechen Spanglish Spanisch und Englisch zusammen" [Many people they speak Spanglish, Spanish and English together](Josh, Interview 1).

Ira summarizes how language use is tied to status and an expression of language ideologies.

I noticed language is really a class marker, it is a big class marker and I don't know I see that and it makes me want to stop talking all I ever see is phrases it is just like and the whole Americanization is just like phrases now it is like we learn American words through phonology we don't necessarily know why we say these words or why we hold these attitudes towards these words and languages but secretly we agree to them and we are passing them on by how we speak. I noticed that a lot here in El Paso you can see that here in El Paso. I guess El Paso is really small and insignificant geographically, politically, racially El Paso is really resourceful El Paso has a lot of resources in that aspect so that whole power structure that is embedded even in the language that we practice here you see it in our attitudes and again the language reinforces that. Language reinforces our attitudes our behavior towards life in general and society (Ira, Interview 1).

Participants Background, Language Use in Class and Language Ideologies

The languaging practices students display in the German class are of course connected to the language practices in the local border community and cannot be seen in isolation from it. The

participants' life experiences, prior educational experiences and their family history are some of the factors that influenced their openness for bilingual language practices.

Both the in-class examples of some interactions as well as the examples of excerpts from the individual interviews show that some students translanguage including Spanish, German and English, while others only used English to make sense of German. Who are the participants that were open to speaking Spanish in the class? And who are the students who did not use Spanish at all? For various reasons Spanish was not spoken because they did not consider themselves to be bilingual, or they did not perceive themselves to have academic language skills. Nationality is a limited predictor for who is going to speak Spanish and English in the German class. The participants were asked to self-identify during their interviews. Identifying as "Mexican" can mean being born in Mexico or the United States, being raised in either country or both countries. It normally refers to having strong family ties to Mexico and speaking both English and Spanish in everyday life. Identifying as "American" is more of a predictor for who is going to speak only English or dominantly English. A third group of participants in the study identified as "Mexican-Americans". A small group identified themselves as Chicana/o. And the fifth group of participants are the German-Americans who have ties to both countries such as Quejona, Shawn or Garrett. What was the function of the translanguageing? The main purpose was communication with the group and building a connection with interlocutors and exchanging information as well as learning together. Spanish and English together allowed to make a deeper connection to German than just English alone. The group work for students working with all three languages was time-intensive but fruitful in creating "aha" moments, where information just clicked for students versus presenting it dominantly in English. Another element to consider is the fact that translanguageing including Spanish and English are a common language practice in border

communities and a lived reality for many students. Thus, including and inviting translanguaging into the classroom is a way to make a connection with students that would not be created by using an English only speaking textbook without any reference to Spanish. Through the interview process I gained a glimpse into the lived realities of my students. In the following I will be presenting themes that were discussed in their interviews according to the different groups they self-identified as. Personal language use is closely connected to what one knows about the world. The following Table 15 illustrates how participants self-identified during their interviews and how that connects with their family background and previous language experiences. Participants were interviewed individually, although each student has their own individual background and family history there are commonalities and patterns that become apparent when each individual participant is compared with the other. After this first overview emerging patterns and connections will be discussed.

Table 15

Participant’s background, language use and language ideologies overview

Name	Self-identification	Languaging in German class	Language ideologies	Born & raised	Educational language background
Mario	Chicano because it is “more of a political status” (Interview 1)	English and German home language: English	Exposed to a deficit discourse, changing school because of negative attitude of teacher towards him Despite of that wants to speak 3 languages and mix them	Born in Mexico spoke Spanish up to 5 years old when he was adopted in El Paso by English speakers	1 year of Spanish in school at a beginner’s level
Rory	“I identify as Chicana because I am the first	English and German	Identifies as bilingual, however: “I	born and raised in El Paso	Sign language class and passing

	generation American on my mom's side but second generation on my father's side"		speak border Spanish I don't speak proper Spanish"	home language: English	Spanish test for language credit
Ira	"I used to work at this restaurant they hired Mexicans us Mexicans Spanish speaking Mexicans a few of us knew English but it was mostly Spanish dominant speakers who would work there and it was people who identified as Mexicans and I was the only one that identified as Chicano and they were like: hey Chicano. They would make fun of me when they were trying to annoy me. Hey Chicano."	Spanish, English and German home language: Spanish English	Language as a class marker	El Paso Segundo Barrio Dad spoke Calo	Public school: "It is like people drowning in water and whoever gets out gets out and whoever doesn't that is your fault get out of it here. That is just how my experience through elementary, middle school and high school. And it was like: help me find a way, which way should I go? School wasn't a really cool experience for me it wasn't really, and I wish it was" Middle -and high school Alternative schooling in El Paso
Evan	Mexican-German "my dad is Mexican, but my mom is actually German not	English and German	Language barrier with Spanish speaking grandma "I only speak English and she speaks	born in El Paso home language: English	Spanish classes in middle and high school, now learning German "the

	completely but my her family origins our family is from Germany” When talking about his nationality he did not use “American”		Spanish” reflection process on having had a lot of arrogance towards Spanish, seeing German in a positive light, highlighting the fact that mom is White, but questioning his former ignorance towards Spanish: “the more I think about it the worst I feel”		lost family language” as a heritage language learner
Quejona	German-American „ <i>Ich bin Deutsch halbe Deutsch und halbe Amerikaner</i> “ [I am half German and half American]	German and with classmates English when giving explanations	Growing up bilingual is something normal, part of family culture	born in El Paso home languages: English German	Knowing family dialect, refreshing standard German in class
Shawn	“American and German probably a little more American because I know more English”	English and German home language: English	Speaking English means being American, language use tied to nationality	born in South Carolina, moved to Germany at age 1 until 5, moved to El Paso	“German was my first language” language loss due to the fact that he had to learn English for school in El Paso
Garett	“I’m American the only language I speak is English” (Interview 2)	English and German home language: English	Identifying by the language one speaks, although mom is German, grandmother on dad’s side Portuguese, oldest sibling kept German and still lives in Germany: “my	born in Ohio, frequent visits to Germany “my mother, brother and my sister were born	Monolingual education, learning German to connect with family

			sister is the oldest she always kept it”	in Germany”	
Jarid	“the only reason I say that I’m American is because I speak English and that is that used to be the native language of the States” (Interview 2)	English and German home language: English	Nativist language ideology	born in Landstuhl lived there until 2 years old, moved to Colorado, lived in Germany between 5 and 8 years, moved to El Paso after	Bilingual education setting in Germany English-German, taking German in high school in El Paso
Xavier	American	English and German home language: English	“learning German in Germany is great”, doesn’t like El Paso: “I’d rather be in Germany”	born in San Antonio, lived in Germany from Kindergarten through 4 th grade	Learned German in Germany
Ivan	“I find it easier to say I’m American”	English German home language: English	Participated in transitional English programs and family also transitioned to English	born in El Paso	“my first language would be actually Spanish but once I hit school all my Spanish went by the wayside”
Troy	“according to government papers I have to be classified as White and then Hispanic”	English German home language: English	Spanglish is broken Spanish: “I know a little bit of Spanish or like the broken border Spanish that is common in El Paso.”	born in El Paso	“my dominant language is English”
Dylan	American	English, German and a little	Culture shock in El Paso: “I don’t want to sound	“I was born in Bryan, Texas but I	Uses “English but when I’m “around my

		Spanish, particularly if something doesn't make sense in English: "I am definitely not fluent but when you will say the <i>es gibt</i> "hay" in Spanish that makes sense to me or when we were first learning the <i>Sie</i> and <i>sie</i> and you said it is just like <u>usted</u> I get it now_ <u>vosotros</u> and <i>ihr</i> I get it now!	like a racist but like I grew up primarily with white people because the military and then like it was white people and black people [...] and the Hispanics [...] wherever I lived they didn't speak Spanish on a daily basis [...] I wasn't around like real Mexican traditions it was like Tex-Mex [...] coming to El Paso [...] I was the minority and I really appreciated that"	tell people I am from Dallas" home language: English	grandma and my extended family I hear Spanish cos they are from Chile."
Adrian Z	American	English German speaks English at home	Talking about mother tongue in the past tense, the first book he read: "it was definitely in Spanish, because as a little kid I knew Spanish way more. It was my mother tongue"	"My family comes from Spain" "I was born here in the States, in El Paso."	Spanish speaking home learned English at school in dual language programs
Jonathan Z	"Well I was born and raised here in El Paso I guess you can say I am fourth	English German home language: English	Connecting low socioeconomic status to speaking Spanish: "my parents were	born in El Paso "I first attended a public	"but after I was born we only lived there for a few more years and

	generation American my family originally came from Spain.”		living in they are still living in El Paso. In a relatively poor part of El Paso where mostly Spanish is spoken” Transitioning to English also came with a transition to a higher socio-economic standard	elementary school where it was very 50-50 Americans Anglo-Americans, African-Americans, well we only had a couple of African-American and the other half was mostly Hispanic Mexican-Americans, or Mexicans but within that school it was very separate very segregated amongst the kids, where the kids who only spoke Spanish didn’t interact with the kids who spoke English”	then we moved to a much more suburban middle-class area, up till I was around 5 I was spoken to in Spanish but once I started going to elementary school and preschool they started phasing to pure English”
Jay	“I’m American but I’m of Hispanic descendance.”	English German home language:	Mom transitioned to speaking English to the family: “she is	born in Santa Barbara, moved to	“around my family we stopped speaking

		English	trying to [...]merge with the community [...] she met my dad and then they moved to California we lived in a more of a White neighborhood to where there is not that many people from out of the US so not that many Mexicans or Europeans so my mom tried to merge with them to speak more Spanish I mean English.	El Paso later, “my dad is from America, but my mom was born in Juarez”	Spanish so we started to be an English based family, but we would still talk in Spanish from time to time and then since I went to college my family has just been speaking mostly English now.”
Adrian R	Hispanic	English German home languages: Spanish with a mix of English	placed in remedial class potentially based on his skin color: “the remedial class was mostly Hispanics that really had trouble in English, but I felt I didn’t really struggle in English. I felt that maybe he is brown...”	born in El Paso, lived in Nebraska before moving back to El Paso, parents are Mexican, dad was deported	“I was in ESL [...] it was one year and then I showed them English wasn’t really a problem for me and they put me with the regular population, I was with all the other kids not just the brown ones”
Mickey	“I would say Hispanic because most of my family does come from primarily Spanish speaking decent. I do consider	English German “I use English but since my girlfriend is also in the class, she’ll make jokes	“I went to a private elementary school St. Joseph and all the schooling there was in English and it was one of those if you	“From my mom’s side my grandma came from Nicaragua [...] and my grandpa came from	English as “first language” Relates German to Spanish “I find it easier to relate it to Spanish when

	myself as bilingual”	in Spanish relating the vocabulary [...] and that is how I remember it” home languages: English Spanish	didn’t turn in your work in English you would get in trouble.”	Mexico, so they are both very Hispanic and my mother was born here in El Paso and I was born here in El Paso.”	it comes to conjugations and structure it is a lot more similar to Spanish than it is to English, I break it down by how I learned Spanish”
Cierra	American	English German home language: English	People give up their mother tongue to conform to society “I used to work on the commissary and the manager would actually get mad at us if we spoke another language besides English, my friend and his parents spoke German so they were speaking together at the register the manager would scream at them ENGLISH ONLY, so it is still like that today people get intimidated because they don’t know what you are saying”	born in Virginia “my father he is Jamaican so they speak Patois I heard that for a little bit, I can’t speak it, but I can understand it perfectly fine.”	“once I went to high school that is when we came here to El Paso, so I was at home here because I already knew Spanish, I also have a lot of military friends who spoke German as well and then my grandparents they speak Hebrew”
Justin	“my nationality is American, but my heritage is	English German home languages:	English is an academic language, Spanish is “more	born in El Paso	Uses English to make sense of German: “Since English

	Hispanic and Mexican”	English Spanish	to socialize not as much academic”		is my strongest language, I try to relate it back”
Alex	“Ethnicity wise it is Hispanic but race wise I don’t know. What is funny is that Hispanic can be any race.”	English German home language: English	level of education is tied to socioeconomic status: “I think the public education system is just horrible it is horrible here you really have to be in a private school or in the military to get some decent education here that is my experience.”	born in El Paso, parents from Mexico	went to public school in El Paso
Iskra	Mexican-American	German and English	English as an academic language, never used Spanish for group work	born in El Paso raised in Juarez, attending school in El Paso, speaking only Spanish at home	Bilingual school in El Paso took German there in addition to learning in Spanish and English, starting with 6 th grade just English at school, high school dual language program Spanish and English
Narda	“I would say I’m Mexican cause my mom and dad are Mexicans but I was born here in El Paso so I would say half and half	Spanish German, English	“At home it is only Spanish I only speak English I think here at school and with people that don’t know Spanish”, used mostly Spanish	Born in El Paso raised in Juarez, speaking Spanish only at home	Did her K-12 education in Mexico, took English classes and became bilingual, started attending university as a

	Mexican-American I guess is a term that I would use but when they ask me I'm Mexican" (Interview 2)		during group work "I feel more comfortable with me speaking Spanish", "a lot of people here they are from El Paso they know Spanish because their parents teach them and everything but they don't feel comfortable speaking Spanish because maybe they sound weird"		transfronteriza crossing every day for the first year of college then she moved to El Paso, she did not need ESOL classes very comfortable in both languages
Nico	Mexican	Spanish, German and English	"What happens here in the border and what I have experienced my whole life is that mostly the really bilingual people that speak either English or Spanish are people from Juarez or people from Juarez that moved to El Paso cause a lot of the Mexican-Americans that are born here usually speak more English and they probably mix a lot of English and Spanish"	From Juarez, home language: Spanish	Did K-12 education in Juarez, learned English at his public schools in Juarez
Carlos	"I'm a bilingual person a Mexican who is bilingual"	Spanish, German and English	"these students who like to be more involved with the	born in Toluca, Mexico,	K-12 education in Mexico, learned

	(00Interview 2)		American culture [...] they just don't want to have anything related to Mexican that is why they speak English rather than Spanish, although they might understand Spanish" (Interview 2) some students are very assimilated and perform a more "American" personality by not speaking Spanish	home language: Spanish	English in school
Andre	Questioned putting people into categories: "are you supposed to be from a certain region of Latin America to be considered as Latino or do you need to only speak Spanish to be considered Latino or Hispanic do you need to have families that come from Puerto Rico or do you need to have families that come from Mexico? It is kind of weird it is creating a complex divider	English German Spanish	Encountered deficit discourse in US educational system: "they thought because I was a Mexican student they told me that my level of English and my level of knowledge in most of the courses was pretty low or poor and I ended up proving them that I was a pretty good student and that I knew how to communicate myself and to write things in English as a normal English	born in El Paso, did Kindergarten in Juarez, 1 st and 2 nd grade in El Paso lived with aunt, returned to Juarez to live with parents until end of middle school, did high school in El Paso, now living with family in Juarez crossing border daily, home language: Spanish	"Spanish is my first language...I have always been in schools with bilingual programs" (Interview 1)

	between our society”		student who lived in the United States for his whole life”		
Lino	“my mother tongue is Spanish I am Mexican, so I identify as Hispanic” (Interview 2)	Spanish German English	English is a professional language: “with my professors I prefer talking to them in English [...] I feel it as a way of practicing to address more professionally to someone in English”	born in Chihuahua, later moved to Juarez, went to Brazil, came back to Juarez “I’m crossing every day to come to school”, home language: Spanish	English as a second language, started learning with 5 years, attended schools in Mexico and Brazil, learned Portuguese
Lily	“Mexican because I was born in Mexico” (Interview 2)	Spanish German English home language: Spanish	English is the language of education in the land of opportunities and necessary for success: “Spanish it’s my first language and when I came, I just started to speak English because of school [...] I had a teacher who told me to hang out with people who spoke English so I can learn it better”	born in Mexico: “My family is from Juarez [...] we just came to El Paso because we wanted a better live, so we just came in 2009”	Started school in El Paso in 7 th grade with ESOL program, had a good experience learning English in El Paso doesn’t mind using either or language
Christian	I’m neither Mexican [...] or full-American I’m somewhere in between so it is the way we	Spanish German English	Language use is tied to how one identifies “I identify as bilingual definitely”	born in El Paso: “I am a border person” I have both nationalities	Sink or swim approach to learning English worked for him: “once I

	<p>identify ourselves so I just consider myself Latino or Hispanic like my parents they identify as Mexicans even though they are US citizens now they are Mexican [...]if you ask my brother: I'm American cause I guess since he identifies as American I guess he stays with English</p>			<p>home languages: Spanish and a little English</p>	<p>entered to middle school they just threw me into monolingual so just English not bilingual at first it was very hard for me cause I didn't understand anything so but I guess that kinda helped me out I mean I speak very well English, I think?"</p>
<p>Claudia</p>	<p>"I am Mexican actually I recently a year ago I got my American citizenship, but I identify myself as Mexican because I wasn't born here, and I know people here have struggles knowing what they are, but I know I am Mexican"</p>	<p>Spanish German English</p> <p>home language: Spanish</p>	<p>White people speak English in the US: "On my Kindergarten here my mom wanted me to speak English so she put me in a really weird school that they only spoke English and they were like a Lutheran school cause there were only white people there were no Latinos" Bilingualism should be normal in the border: "With my childhood friends I always speak Spanish most of them they don't</p>	<p>"We moved here 10 years ago but we didn't really move I have a house here and I still have a house in Juarez [...] I studied my whole life in Juarez"</p>	<p>After her year abroad in Ecuador she was told to repeat the year "but I didn't want to do another year, so I did the GED it is supposed to be an open school for people who didn't finish school"</p>

			<p>speak one word in English [...] which is weird because they live on the border”</p>		
Humberto	<p>“I identify myself more as Mexican I speak both Spanish and English perfectly well and write them I did school in Mexico up until my first grade it was all in Spanish I had no exposure to English and then I moved, I started school in the US here in El Paso from 2nd grade up until today”</p>	<p>Spanish German English</p>	<p>Language is tied to socioeconomic status: “I started 2nd grade here it used to be the old area school in downtown there it was a lot of kids mainly Spanish speakers pretty much the whole school was in the situation were the classes had to be bilingual”</p>	<p>“I was born here in the USA, but I was raised in Mexico I moved here two years ago to live in America” “In my house it is just Spanish we don’t speak English at home.”</p>	<p>“I did school in Juarez up to 2nd grade and then when I started in El Paso I started in just Spanish classes and then with time bilingual and eventually just English.” Attended Bowie high school: “it was a mix so there was a mix of students that did not know English cause they barely started school”</p>
Julio	<p>I am Mexican I don’t really care much about heritage or anything like that just Mexican.</p>	<p>Spanish English German with classmates he uses Spanish and English: “depending on who I am talking about the activity with” “for pronunciation I use a lot of the Spanish [...] a,e,i,o,u is the same thing”</p>	<p>“Over here Spanish is not that important to the Americans but in Mexico it is really important to learn English” English and Spanish carry a different importance, University classroom is an English environment: “in the classrooms we use English</p>	<p>my family is from Chihuahua, Mexico both of my parents were born in that place and lived their whole life there and I was born over there. home language: Spanish</p>	<p>“Spanish is my native language throughout my whole life, parents, friends, family most of the people I know. English I’ve started learning it since I was very little like 5 or 6 years old.” identifies as bilingual</p>

			since all the classes are in English”		
Luis	“I guess legally I am Mexican-American since I have dual citizenship, but usually if someone asks me what do you consider yourself? I say: I consider myself Mexican but I think it is really improper since I grew up here I went to public school I grew up here I made my friends here so I would still consider myself as an American but yeah I say Mexican.”	Spanish English German home language: Spanish	Spanglish: “if you go to Juarez nobody speaks like that” the underlying idea is that Mexican people do not use a mix of English and incorrect Spanish: “I really don’t like it. I think it is an incorrect way of using a language”	“I was born here in El Paso Texas for the first three years of my life I lived in Mexico in Ciudad Juarez or in Vilomara as well, and also in a small town called Guadalupe both my parents are Mexican and when I was three years old I moved to El Paso”	“I spoke Spanish well it was my first language” “5th grade is when I was switched to a monolingual class in which it was all English and from there all my classes have been in English and I started having to communicate with other students in English [...] that was a little struggle in the beginning”
Luisa	“even though I was born in the US and I mean yes English was my first language I didn’t have the biggest vocabulary when I got to Mexico I guess I can consider myself more to be a Mexican than being I guess how people say that you are white I don’t think that is	English Spanish German	“Spanglish is really bad it can become a really bad thing; I mean it is a good thing somehow in our culture, but it is not a thing that we should be using”	born in California, went to Mexico for school and later to El Paso “I pretended that I know other languages and I still pretend” home languages: English Spanish	“I started with English as a matter of fact but my English I was a three or four-year-old, so I had like basic words so when I went to Mexico for school kids and everything was really hard because I wasn’t able to understand”

	what I am I'm Mexican."				
Vic	"I was born here in El Paso and I have lived here since" Hispanic	English Spanish German	"it sounds cultured, right? to hear two languages at once and people transition quickly and effortlessly" "Spanglish perhaps outside the university life it can be a little bit more for a lack of better word broken"	born in El Paso, home language: Spanish	"At home my first language is Spanish my second language I learned English throughout since Elementary school"
Kennya	"I identify as a Latina my passport is Mexican, I have dual nationality both of my parents are Mexican. My mom, her parents are Mexican completely Mexican and my dad, from my dad's side my grandparents have Spanish roots"	English Spanish German	Learning English is essential in the border: "That is the main thing if you live in the border cities they have to keep in getting your English education [...] for border cities you can't forget your English cause you get visitors from across the border every day."	"I was born in Tijuana it's a borderline city like El Paso and Juarez." moved to El Paso attends middle and high school there: "I was the only one that came over every day." home language: Spanish	"In middle school it was hard for me to speak English I didn't know many things [...] and my teachers were US citizens so they wouldn't speak Spanish at all, so it was kind of hard for me to communicate"
Catalina	Well I am I like to identify as Mexican even though I was born in the United States.	English German Spanish	in high school language use was very controlled and restrictive: "they wanted 100% in English in the contract which you have to sign before entering [...] it	born in El Paso, Texas "I feel more at home in Mexico honestly because the culture is much warmer	Spanish has always been used in my home with most of my friends and family and English is something that I was almost

			states that you can't that you will not use Spanish or else you will get detention"	than the American culture." home language: Spanish	strictly during school
Ricardo	"yo me considero Mexicano por nacimiento y nortamericano por nacionalidad" (considers himself as Mexican because he was born there, his nationality is north America)	Spanish German English	Translanguaging is a normal part of his daily language use both during class and the interviews	"I was born in Chihuahua city" home language: Spanish	"in Mexico I started with Kindergarten and I went first, second and third grade in Spanish and then I continued in Rome in Italian" later went to school in Switzerland
Jose	Mexican	Spanish English German	"Spanish it helps because it looks similar and it sounds like we are saying it in Spanish from an English perspective so some words like when we first started learning English we would say it one way but it was wrong but now when you are saying it wrong in English like you are saying it in Spanish and it is German"	Well my dad is from Mexico-city and my mom is from Juarez and we used to live in Ximena Chihuahua so I was raised there and then I moved here with my grandpa." Moved for high school home language: Spanish	"Here in the US I only spoke Spanish I knew kind of a little bit but not much and then I went to Canutillo and they really helped me because they do have an ESOL program that allowed me to learn English."
Ivonne	"whenever I learned English the key to getting rid of my accent was	Spanish English	"when I got here if I wanted to be a part of their advanced AP classes you	"my family is all Mexican, I grew up in a tiny town	"I had a really good teacher she was like just do this and I'll help you

	listening to country music because they have such a twang to it or they do certain words and they put so much emphasis on other syllables that I learned the accent through it I learned to copy it so you would never ever know I was Mexican”	German	couldn’t be bilingual so I didn’t get the option they told me you can do this or we can put you in bilingual but that means you don’t get honors you don’t get this and you have to take an extra reading class.” bias towards bilinguals in school system: “they look down upon you: oh, they are not that smart”	about an hour away from Juarez” moved to El Paso with 16, home language: Spanish	with the English so I could do the AP in math and science”
Kristin	“My dad would always take me back to Veracruz every summer and we actually studied over there for a year he wanted us: You guys may have been born over here but you guys are Mexican by nature and I am going to take you back and you are going to learn the culture”	English German Spanish	“when I start coming to school over here, I started figuring out less and less people knew Spanish cause they finally wanted to Americanize them, and they didn’t want them to know Spanish [...] I stopped speaking Spanish here as often. I am too Mexican, and I have an accent over there I am too American.”	“I am the youngest of 11 [...] when I was born, they made sure that we were all born here that way if we wanted to go back to Mexico, we had the choice” home languages: English and Spanish	“The first school I went to was here in El Paso I’ve only been to private schools”
Jonathan	“I personally identify as a	English	“There is no official language,	born in El Paso	“I was pretty much a mute

	Chicano which is a Mexican-American who is politically active. Mexican-Americans we are neither due to our indigenous origins we are very American, but we are not American enough to be American. As a phrase I like to put it is we are indigenous people that lost our track.”	German	but English is the official language.”	home language: “I’ve always been strictly English.”	kid until I was about four. I would be able to comprehend both English and Spanish [...] when I started going to kindergarten and around that time, I started going only English as that is how this is typically the American public-school system works, they force out Spanish.”
Jared	“I would identify myself an American although I have strong ties to the country of Mexico.”	English German Spanish	“I learned Spanish first [...] I went to school and then I was learning English along the way, so I had to take speech therapy to help with my accent and stuff. They would try to encourage me to speak English because living in America they want you to learn English better so that is what they would encourage me to speak to them with.”	“my mom is originally from Mexico-city she moved to Juarez and then to the United States, so she is an immigrant I was born in El Paso” languages spoken at home: “Spanish and English A: Both things? J: Fluently A: So how would that work?	I took speech therapy to help me to get rid of the accent and to pronounce English words more fluently with less difficulty and then I became as fluent in English as I was in Spanish and my knowledge of both languages grew exponentially together at an equal pace through the years”

				J: Spanglish”	
Ivanna	“I identify as Hispanic.”	English German “with the group that I sit with when they speak it to me in Spanish well like Spanglish it makes it a little bit easier because I can kind of relate it a little bit more than I can with English”	“with certain teachers it was Spanglish and with others it was English. It is more to help those children who come from Mexico or just speak Spanish to adjust to school life a little bit they don’t really understand English, I guess they put me in this classroom I guess by mistake I don’t know what happened they made us take a language test”	born in El Paso “We speak two languages we speak English and Spanish my grandmother only speaks Spanish so we go back and forward my Spanish isn’t the best, but I can still make conversation with her”	“My first language is always English here in El Paso it is just very broken Spanish it is kind of like it is more of I guess Slang Spanish in a way if you were to go somewhere else like deeper into Mexico it is actually really proper so that is the kind of Spanish that we were learning” “I still use the slang Spanish.”
Josh	„ <i>Ich bin Amerikaner ich bin hier in El Paso aufgewachsen.</i> “ [I am American, and I was raised here in El Paso.]	German English home language: English	A: What kind of schools did you go to? Bilingual? J: Monolingual A: <i>alles auf Englisch</i> [everything in English] J: <i>Ja das ist Amerika</i> [Yes that is America]	„ <i>ich habe viel Familie in California aber meist von meiner Familie ist <u>aqui</u> in El Paso.</i> “ [I have a lot of family in California but the most of my family is <u>here</u> in El Paso.]	has lived in Germany

Jaqueline	“my dad’s side supposedly comes from Germany I don’t know much about the background I just know we carry the last name and on my mom’s side it is Scottish supposedly but we just carry the last name as well because we are just pure Mexican American”	English German home languages: Spanish English	“when I came over here [...] I did find kids who spoke Spanish but they were embarrassed of the language and so it was difficult to communicate but I had to force myself into learning what everyone else spoke [...] in a bilingual class it was mostly English I would say 70 percent English 30 percent Spanish”	“When I was born, we were living in Juarez. Growing up Spanish and when I was around 7, we came to the US and I started learning English.”	“we came over here and they put me in a bilingual class all the way until like 6 th from elementary to all the way now it has been English [...] in high school I just focused on working on my accent I guess by high school I was already good.”
Stephanie	Mexican - American	English German	Transitional bilingual education she spoke mostly “Spanish and it let up to English” Assimilating into English speaking environments: “I heard also that monolingual students test better than bilingual students because they are using the language better.”	“My parents came from Mexico actually and then when I was born, they were already living here” home languages: Spanish, English	I learned Spanish first maybe up until first grade I started learning more English and in schools now even if you are in a bilingual class they still do more English than Spanish I think as we were younger 75-25 Spanish to English and as you get older it starts kind of decreasing.”

Figure 1 below shows the connection between language ideologies and self-identification. The way participants identify themselves reveals certain ideologies that are

connected to language. The family background can be a source for bilingualism or multilingualism or it can also show strong language ideologies. For example, nativist and assimilationist ideologies have influenced the bilingual/multilingual families to transition to one language and show a preference for one language over other languages. Participants have experienced language ideologies during their participation in the educational system, as ideologies surrounding languages form language policies and even the policing of languages. Participants who participated in the educational system in Mexico prior to coming to El Paso to attend the university did not experience the same ideologies as a participant who was either educated in both Mexico and the United States or entirely in the United States. Through language policies and the strict regulation of language use in a class, students learn which language is considered more valuable in an academic context. A bias towards education obtained outside of the United States was underlying in the experiences several participants shared. Claudia had to take the GED because she did not receive credit for her academic year in Ecuador. Ivonne was told that if she participated in a bilingual program, she would not be able to take advanced placement classes in the subject areas that she was indeed advanced in. Her math and science teacher helped her with her English language thanks to that teacher she was able to take the advanced placement classes. Ivonne describes that she felt looked down upon because her education up to 15 years of age was obtained in Mexico. Language ideologies can also have an influence on what languages are maintained at home. Therefore, there is an error pointing to and from language ideologies to the family background. Past experiences in the educational system, for example the Spanish detention period a grandparent has lived through will directly influence the family language ideologies, and language practices can change as a practical result of those past experiences. If participant's parents or grandparents experienced not being allowed to speak

another language except English in school they subconsciously or consciously have adapted those assimilationist ideologies that speaking English makes one “American”. There were several occasions where participants referenced the socio-economic status and differences in some of the areas of the border town known as low-income and Spanish speaking. Participant families that subscribed to those (language) ideologies also pass them on to their children and they might not even reflect on them anymore.

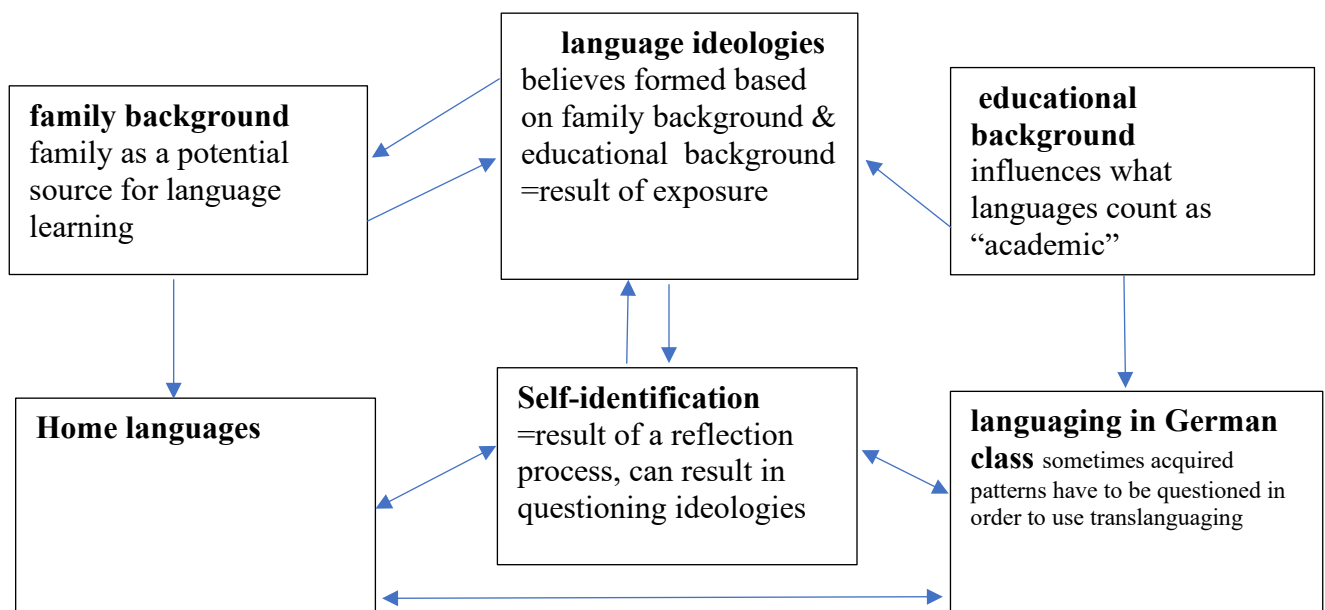


Figure 1

Connection between self-identification and languaging in German class

In order to be able and willing to translanguaging in the German class one needs to either have positive associations with being bilingual/multilingual or at least have an open mind to potentially question previous language assumptions and ideologies that have not been questioned. The German class takes place in an academic setting and previous educational experiences will have an influence on the language use. Although, there is the potential that this language use changes due to the role of the teacher who welcomes translanguaging and a

classroom environment that is conducive to translanguaging practices, leaving the language use decision to the individual student. There might be a dissonance between previous language practices in educational settings and the language practices in the German classroom, but those can be explained through the theoretical concept of heteroglossia.

Translanguaging practices in the German class can form a bridge to the home language practices by not only allowing them in an academic setting but by actively welcoming and fostering those connections. In the German class students were welcome to use the same languages and language practices they would use in their everyday life. On the other hand, a positive view and appreciation of students' home languages might influence the languaging in the German class. The way someone identifies could also be affected as a result of those lived experiences in the German class. When it came to the participant's I did not want to categorize them into preconceived groups or make assumptions about how the students would identify; therefore, all 46 participants identified themselves in their own words. I left it up to the participants to answer in as much or as little detail. Some struggled with self-identification because they feel that they are neither Mexican nor American enough. The term border person is used by Christian who first identified as Hispanic and then commenced to reevaluate the way he identified. Even the way he pronounced his name changed as the interview series progressed, he went from using the English pronunciation for his name to using the Spanish pronunciation after we had completed the first interview. When I asked him about that he emphasized that I am a White person and he initially automatically used the American pronunciation but after he built more trust with me he felt he could be more himself which also entailed using the Spanish way of pronouncing his name. All participants indicate in their explanations that their sense of identity is tied to a sense of cultural belonging. The largest group of participants self-identified as Mexican regardless of

birth- place or nationality. The seventeen participants who self-identified as Mexican all used Spanish in the German class and used Spanish at home with their families. There was a match between home language use and language use in the class. Luisa and Kristin discussed using both English and Spanish at home and they stayed consistent in their language use in the German class. The other 15 members of this group spoke Spanish at home. Throughout the German class translanguaging practices were used by all participants. Excerpts number 8 and 9 in this previous chapter show examples of how students who self-identified as Mexican made sense of learning German through referencing Spanish; also using languaging practices that they use outside of the academic setting. The second largest group of participants self-identified as American in that group the home language use and the language use in class was also consistent. The twelve participants who identified as American spoke English at home and use English in the German class to make sense of the material. Jared is the only participant who although he identified based on his nationality as American immediately explained that he has strong ties to Mexico. Jared speaks both Spanish and English at home, when I asked how that worked out for him and his mother, he said that they utilize Spanglish for their communicative purposes. The other participants in this group used English at home. Jared and Dylan were the only two in this group that also incorporated some Spanish into their languaging process in the German class, the other participants who identified as American stayed consistently with English. Garrett speaks English and he identifies as American which indicates language ideologies of the United States being an English-speaking country with Americans being English-only speakers. Excerpts three and four in the first part of the previous chapter show examples of how that worked out in the German classes. Seven participants identified as Hispanic themselves, one person from this group used the specific term of “White Hispanic” the other six people did not specify “White”. In this group

of participants there is a lot of complexity around Spanish use. Vic and Christian used Spanish every day with classmates, as excerpts number 7 and 13 show, they both use Spanish as a home language. They both also adjust their language use to English when talking to me or other classmates that spoke English. Christian who did identify as Hispanic specifically identified as “border person”, as someone born in the United States but not American enough and neither Mexican enough. He connected that directly to his perceived lack of language knowledge in both English and Spanish. According to his opinion he did not speak Spanish and English perfectly, but felt more comfortable in Spanish and more like himself. This nepantla status he assumes as a border person was also expressed through his name that he pronounced either in an English or Spanish way. During Christian's interviews he explained his preference for the Spanish pronunciation and how he feels more persuasive and competent in Spanish, particularly in professional settings. Mickey occasionally used Spanish but mostly referenced English as can be seen in excerpt number 10. He used both languages as home languages and identifies as bilingual. Troy, Adrian R., Alex, and Ivanna used English throughout the German class and their presence in a group determined that the other group members switched their language use to English only. Ivanna described that she heard Spanglish or some Spanish in her group respectively with the people around her, and it helped her to better comprehend German. While Troy and Alex spoke English at home, Adrian R. and Ivanna explained that they use Spanglish at home. The home language use of participants who identified as Hispanic varied from Spanish to English and included Spanglish.

Four of the participants identified as Chicana/o and all four used English in the German class. When explaining why they identify that way they all referenced the political aspect of it.

Mario, Rory and Jonathan spoke English at home and in the German class, Ira used Spanish and English side by side at home and in the class.

Three of the participants identified themselves as Mexican-American. Iskra, Jaqueline and Stephanie all used English exclusively in the class, an example is excerpt 2, while using Spanish played an important role at home. Iskra said that her family only speaks Spanish at home while Jaqueline and Stephanie explained they both use Spanish and English as home languages.

Two of the participants identified as German-American and used German and English in the class. Quejona used both languages at home as well, while Shawn used only English at home with his German mother. One participant had parents with Mexican and German roots and identified as Mexican-German while speaking English at home and in the German class. He indicated that he has reflected on his own previous language attitudes and now as an adult is open minded towards learning languages.

The fact that holders of dual citizenship or US citizenship self-identified as Mexican or as American illustrates that concepts such as nationality are socially constructed. As part of this research I was interested in how participants would self-identify and view their own identity because it allows to deduct how the participants interpret their social reality. As the Table 15 above shows there are connections between language use and how one identifies. In the group of participants who self-identified as Mexican all members acknowledge that they are in fact bilingual, while members of the group who identified as American emphasized that they speak English. Through their grandparents as well as parents all members of the group that identified as American had exposure to another language other than English, but they did not perceive themselves to be bilinguals. Having the strong presence of Spanish at home might have influenced those participants who did identify as Mexican. On the other hand, those who

identified as American and used only English in the class might have considered that speaking Spanish is tied with being “Mexican” so although they knew some Spanish they did not use it during the German class. When thinking about language use in the German class it is of course necessary to consider the location of the classroom in a border town. The element of the border is bringing in complexity. For those students who identified as Mexican it did not matter on which side of the border they were born, Mexico was part of their past but it is also a part of their present, this includes speaking another language in addition to English.

The country of their parents’ origin, whether that was Mexico or in Garrett’s case Germany, did not play a role in the future of those students who identified as American. Those countries are elements of the past; therefore, the associated languages were also left behind. For those students being born on the “American” side of the border has a different meaning than for those who were born in the United States but did not identify accordingly. It can be said that among the potentially Spanish speaking participants a divide in these two groups was visible. Also, in class I observed that among those students who did identify as American but spoke Spanish at home, these students did not socialize with students who identified as Mexican. These two groups remained separated because one side had to demonstrate their Mexicanness by speaking Spanish. While the other side which consisted of those who identify as Mexican-Americans occupied themselves by moving their English to the foreground thereby highlighting how American they are. Maybe assimilationist ideologies influence the view of one’s identity. As a result, one’s sense of identity and self-perception influence language use.

For me as a language teacher it is particularly interesting to find out if there are language ideologies that certain participants had exposure to that might have hindered using another language other than English in an academic setting such as the German classroom.

Students are socialized into discourses and beliefs about languages through their families, as well as through educational experiences. Those discourses, and language attitudes and ideologies can oppose each other and need to be balanced out by the individual who might have to reevaluate them on a personal level to make their own decisions regarding language use.

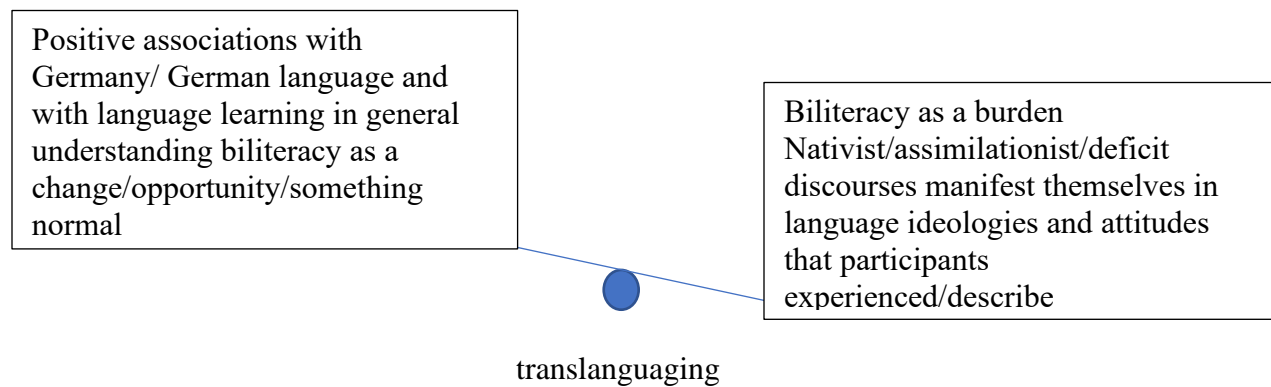


Figure 2

Balance of translinguaging

The graphic representation in Figure 2 illustrates that while the participants were exposed to a myriad of negative language ideologies towards biliteracy and potentially towards translinguaging, they were able to balance those out with their self-confidence and self-worth as bilinguals. If the negative attitudes and ideologies outweigh the positive, translinguaging is not taking place, in order to try translinguaging in a class one needs to be at least neutral about it if not open-minded, once students have positive language learning experiences through this pedagogical approach those positive attitudes overshadow negative ones. Students who participated in the educational system in Mexico were the most reassured in their language use of Spanish in the German class and translinguaged actively. According to their self-identification students who identified as Mexicans used Spanish frequently in the German class, while students

who identified as Mexican-American did not use any Spanish in the German class. Based on the interviews the following is an overview of ideologies mentioned by the participants, that center around language some can be seen as obstacles to translanguaging. A nativist discourse of English as the “native” language of the United States surfaced throughout several interviews in varying degrees. While Jarid explicitly explained that English is the native language of this country. Jared experienced the discourse in the form of teachers encouraging him to speak accent free English because he is in America, due to that he participated in speech therapy to help with his accent (Jared, Interview 1). This language ideology of the United States as a monolingual English-speaking country where Spanish is of low value and tied to an immigrant community from which one should want to emancipate oneself manifested itself in various ways in how participants either described their opinion or that of people in their life; whether that was implemented by teachers, parents or in the case of Luisa a partner. Luisa discussed during her second interview that her ex-partner would not allow her to speak Spanish with their children. She explained his reasoning in the following way: “because of my ex, my ex is white [...] he didn’t want me speaking Spanish, he said that we are in America and blablabla” (Luisa, Interview 2). In Luisa’s experience these nativist and assimilationist discourses are directly coming from a White American person, who perceived Spanish as something un-American and unnecessary. If one tries to follow the logic of these discourses Spanish is perceived as part of an immigrant community, and it has no meaning for a future in the United States. If one is successfully assimilated to the American way of life that must entail English monolingualism. Assimilating into the American way of life means becoming Americanized and speaking English. Kristin described that she noticed that happening and it made her self-conscious about using Spanish

when I start coming to school over here I started figuring out less and less people knew Spanish cause they finally wanted to Americanize them and they didn't want them to know Spanish so since I have an accent in my Spanish since it is from the South in Mexico I say words that they will never say [...] I stopped speaking Spanish here as often. I am too Mexican and I have an accent, over there I am too American. Well I am having to find a healthier balance, so I practiced enough so I lost my Spanish accent and now I have a huge English accent in my Spanish so at least I understand both (Kristin, Interview 1).

Kristin expressed a sentiment of feeling as belonging to neither place because of her accents and her Spanish dialect from the south of Mexico. Christian shared that same sentiment of not belonging to either place. Jaqueline was another participant who stated that she has been embarrassed to speak Spanish in her bilingual classes because they were transitional and the expectation was to speak English. In a similar sense Stephanie, who has participated in a transitional bilingual program as well stated that she was told: "monolingual students test better than bilingual students because they are using the language better" (Stephanie, Interview 1). Statements like these might be frequently heard in educational settings but emphasize that being monolingual would be advantageous, which devalues biliteracy. Participation in a transitional English program lead Ivan's family to transition to English as an entire family. The same happened for Shawn, who transitioned from German to speaking English only and his German mother also transitioned to English at home because that was supposed to help him learn English faster. In line with the above described discourses language use is tied to nationality and how someone identifies. For Shawn speaking English means being American and speaking German is tied to the German nationality. For other participants speaking Spanish is tied to being Mexican. The value of Spanish is perceived as low in the United States as Julio explained because it is viewed as a language of immigrants with low socio-economic status, on the other hand the value of English is high; it is a language of power in both Mexico and the United States. Particularly in the border learning English is a must as Kennya stated. Jonathan discussed that while there is no

official language in the United States English is de facto perceived as having that role. Claudia explained that her parents really wanted her to learn English and therefore she was sent to a school in El Paso with only White people, the underlying assumption is that White Americans must speak English. Both nativist and assimilationist discourses put value on performing a more American personality, and exposure to those discourses might internally persuade a student who knows and understands Spanish to focus on the advantages of speaking English through neglecting Spanish or denying knowledge of it altogether, because the performative element of wanting to be perceived as American outweighs the value of speaking Spanish in educational settings. While there is no official language in the United States there are very dominant discourses diagnosing perceived deficits that bilinguals have. Deficit discourses can take the form of statements teachers make as described by Mario who was told by his teacher that he wasn't going to amount to much because he did not speak English fluently, or they can be expressed through placement decisions in remedial classes for bilingual students, or the denial to participate in advanced placement courses. Ivonne, Adrian R., Andre, and Ivanna attested to having experienced that. A wide variety of language attitudes can be found in the interviews. For example, Evan described his own arrogance towards Spanish. Nico is convinced that the real bilinguals are people from Juarez, not the Mexican-Americans, he explained the stereotype that Mexican-Americans are mixing Spanish and English in incorrect ways thereby expressing that this particular languaging is of low value.

The belief that English is an academic language and Spanish is not was voiced by different participants, for example by Justin and Iskra. Lino said English to him is a "professional language" (Lino, Interview 1). Narda voiced a similar sentiment that while she is more

comfortable in Spanish, English is the language of school. When I asked Vic about his language use he explained the following:

I think in the university setting it is much more common to hear it, it sounds a lot more beautiful it sounds for lack of better words it sounds cultured, right? To hear two languages at once and people transition quickly and effortlessly. I do that all the time I transfer from English to Spanish and now that I am learning Italian and now that I am learning German I have conversations with my professors who also speak German and I try to address them in German. I think Spanglish perhaps outside the university life it can be a little bit more for a lack of better word broken you know whenever someone doesn't know the proper word to use they will insert something else that seems more familiar to them. (Vic, Interview 1).

Vic explains that translanguaging in an academic setting is “cultured” while Spanglish sounds broken although it is a unique part of the border culture. For Vic using Spanglish is linked to informal conversations that do not take part in a university setting. Now that he is experiencing translanguaging in academic settings his long-held attitudes about Spanglish are questioned and he begins to reevaluate that statement. In his second interview he acknowledges that after having given it some thought, that Spanglish indeed is not “broken” but is a normal part of the languaging in the border.

While English was discussed as a path to academic success and as a more “professional” language by a number of the participants, Catalina brought to light another aspect in education that of restricting, controlling and prohibiting Spanish in classes. Catalina describes this punitive approach her school in El Paso took to make sure that English was spoken:

All of the schools that I have been at have been mainly in English, we wouldn't even be able to talk in Spanish in some of them. In school when we were in the presence of teachers I would always speak English or when I had when I was talking with American friends who didn't speak Spanish I would speak English but generally for social interactions I would speak Spanish it's the one that I felt more like myself. That was mainly in high school that it was like no Spanish at all they would literally if we spoke Spanish more than three times we would get what do you call it? Detention. They would have these little notes that they would start collecting I guess they would take them to the principal and once she found three in your folder she would give you detention. They would write you up and even during classes the more lenient teachers would just give you

a warning and others would write your name on the board and write a little ball or stick that would mean after three sticks or three little balls you are getting one of the little paper slips. They wanted 100% in English I believe that even in the contract which you have to sign before entering which you as a student have to sign which I think is the only place where I have ever signed a contract except UTEP I guess it states that you can't that you will not use Spanish or else you will get detention. (Catalina, Interview 2).

Catalina is a student who uses English in the German class, although she used Spanish to socialize in the hallway and before and after class. She has experienced these methods in previous educational settings that conditioned her into thinking that English is the only language in academic settings.

After having spent time living in Germany Josh made a connection between Mexicans in the United States and the Turkish community in Germany. According to Josh members of the Turkish community are more assimilated to Germany and speak more German compared to the Mexicans in El Paso who do not speak as much English:

Die Mexikaner und die Amerikaner Verbindung ist fast wie die türkische und die deutsche Verbindung, aber türkische Leute sprechen viel Deutsch. Hier in El Paso man braucht nicht, weil Leute denken es ist Mexiko aquí (Josh, Interview 1). [The Mexican and the American connection is almost like the Turkish and German connection, but Turkish people speak a lot of German. Here in El Paso one does not need to speak English, because people think it is Mexico here.]

In this statement a couple of things are interesting. Josh used translanguaging when talking about El Paso. Furthermore, he is convinced that Mexicans in El Paso do not try to speak more English because they consider the border city as part of Mexico, it is perceived as a Spanish speaking place.

While the described language discourses and ideologies all belong to a rather negative spectrum, participants also expressed positive language attitudes. Some participants described growing up as bilingual as something normal and transferred learning techniques that they had used to learn English for learning German.

To summarize identity is not static and can of course change through a reflection process. Some of the ideologies the participants named were not their own believes but they were exposed to them and in some cases accepting of them. If students have been exposed to language ideologies that favor monolingualism there has to be a phase in which students “unlearn” previous believes and re-evaluate previous experiences. This process can be explained through lenses of heteroglossia and nepantla. Issues of translanguaging are not just connected to language they are also intertwined with issues of identity.

In the last chapter I presented excerpts from the in-class conversations and discussed participants language use in the German class. In this chapter I introduced the 46 participants of this study in a table format including an overview of their language use in the German class and their home language use. The first overview is about language ideologies and attitudes that participants explained during their interviews. I also included participants’ self-identification in the table. In the last part of the findings chapter I am going to lay out the themes that emerged based on the interviews. The participants were very open and sincere when talking about themselves. We also had a lot of fun and there was plenty of laughter. I shared a lot about myself and answered questions that participants asked me in as much detail as they answered my guiding questions. Due to that the interviews were dialogues and particularly the second and third interviews were more freely structured to allow for the participants to guide the direction and themes. All interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed and coded for themes.

Themes from the Interviews

When considering the individual’s learning in the German class this cannot be done without looking at other layers that influence the classes, such as the situatedness of the classes in a border region with its unique language practices. Furthermore, the students home language

practices and previous educational experiences will influence how they relate to classmates, therefore, this influences the learning in the class. In that sense the German classes are a microcosmos of lived realities in the border. Moreover, learning in the German class is connected to the individual's motivation to learn the language, as well as to the student-teacher relationship and the working atmosphere in the classroom. Translanguaging was a central element in all three German classes. One's background and family history with languages influenced how participants presented themselves in the class, and how languages were used to relate to each other. While each participant has their unique motivation and way of learning German their previous language learning experiences, as well as previous educational experiences influenced the participants. The border culture with its language practices is another element that influenced the German classes and learning. The graph below illustrates the layers of data that will be presented in the following pages starting from the outer layers moving to the inside of the circles.

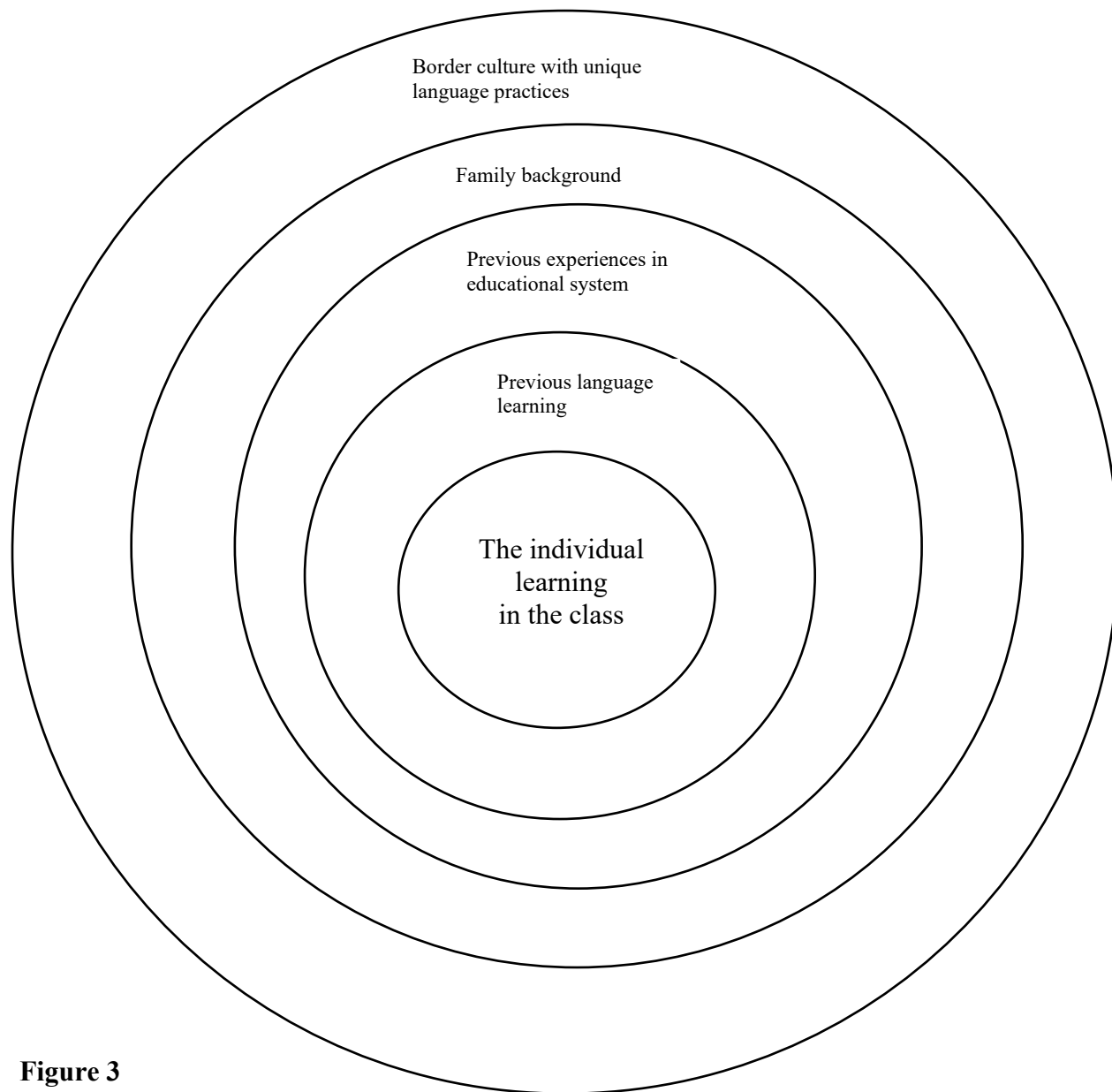


Figure 3

Layers of themes

In the following I will present the themes that emerged from the data moving from the outside layers to the inside.

Border culture with unique language practices

“I really like the culture here, it is I don’t think you can find it somewhere else in the United States [...] I don’t think there is another place like El Paso in the United States” (Christian, Interview 1).

The border culture is the outside layer of the graphic illustration of the codes, but it also literally surrounds the students and shapes their daily lives. The vignette above is highlighting El Paso's uniqueness within the United States. Bilingualism and unique language patterns are part of what makes the border culture. Language is also a key element that influences how one identifies. One of the participants identifies as a border person and shares that he really appreciates the acceptance one finds in El Paso, outside of the border he has experienced racism and discrimination:

When I worked at other places when I went to Lubbock and to Midland it is very interesting how the Latinos or the Hispanics there they call you "Beaner" they are the real Coconuts the real deal [laughing] they feel they are White, because I remember this one time I was walking to work where I used to work it was really close I could just go walking from where I had my apartment and there were a few times they called me "Beaner" the bad word and I was like what? [laughing] and even then it was strange because I remember in Midland there are a lot of Cubanos and they speak Spanish but it is different their Spanish is very, very different and their Spanish is very marcado how can I say marcado in English strong and even though I speak Spanish I was like: what, can you repeat that? Most of their Spanish is not really clear. Even though they speak Spanish [laughing] it was that and in Lubbock worse time ever, I think they were really racist. (Christian/ Interview 1).

The slurs Christian experienced can be classified as an overt kind of racism. I asked Christian about the people in Lubbock who would make racist remarks and he answered:

I mean it was mostly White because in Lubbock there is a lot I think there is like 50-50 you don't see more Hispanics it is like you can see an equal amount of Hispanics and White people and it was just like: what? I guess they grew up with that mindset they are Latinos, but they are American, or they are White. It was bad. (Christian, Interview 1).

The people that Christian experienced as making racist slurs toward him were either White or white-washed Latinos who perceived themselves as (White) Americans first, before they considered themselves to be Latinos, according to his observation. In El Paso Hispanics might have a stronger connection to their roots because of the border location with Mexico there are enough authentic cultural experiences one can make compared with other places that are further

from the border. In a sense the border is a safe space that gives room for a nepantla state. Being a border person who is at home in both countries is nothing unusual. The border is a space of duality and contradictions those opposing forces can be reconciled into something new, a kind of third space, which shows the uniqueness of the border community. This unique border culture Christian explains can be understood when one looks at the fact that both cities are not exactly typical for their respective countries. El Paso is not a typical Texan town and Juarez is unique compared to the rest of Mexico because of the distinctive bilateral influence they have on each other. Juarez is influencing El Paso and vice versa. Due to that continuous influence and many people crossing the border daily both places are different from a typical Mexican town or a typical Texas town.

The codes that emerged from the interview data reflected a spectrum of attitudes towards the border, and the language use of local people, some positive such as expressed above and some regurgitating deficit views of language. For the participants language use is tied to class, and border Spanish is marked with a low status. Several participants made the connection between coming from a poor part of town and that area being Spanish speaking. For the group of participants who identified as Mexican-American several codes emerged addressing being self-conscious or intimidated when having to speak Spanish. Although they were spoken to in Spanish they described answering in English and forgetting a lot of their Spanish. While this can be viewed as part of the assimilation process, moving to El Paso requires learning English it has consequences and can disrupt family communications and lead to feeling incompetent for not speaking Spanish, which can be a sign of an internalized deficit view. It also leads into issues of identity and performing identity. Having the opinion that it is better not to appear as Spanish speaking was a theme voiced by some participants who had been exposed to strong

assimilationist forces. Some of the participants who identified as Mexican-American were uneasy about their knowledge of Spanish or described not knowing it. They also did not want to offend anyone with a language choice. A topic discussed during the interviews was that initiating a conversation in Spanish could potentially be offensive. On the other hand, using Spanish will allow connections to be made that would not be possible by using only English, participants explained that people tend to open-up more when their language is used. Not having the flexibility to use both English and Spanish is in fact a hindrance to authentically connecting with people on the border. Participants also spoke about the unique quality of the local language such as “mixing of Spanish and English”, sometimes they called it the “made up language”. Spanglish is observed as something normal in El Paso and had positive connotations for some participants. In El Paso one does not have to worry about having an accent, in that sense it can be a form of that unique third space discussed earlier in this chapter.

The real bilinguals are from Juarez

What happens here in the border and what I have experienced my whole life is that mostly the really bilingual people that speak either English or Spanish are people from Juarez or people from Juarez that moved to El Paso because a lot of the Mexican-Americans that are born here usually speak more English and they probably mix a lot of English and Spanish a lot that is what I have seen (Nico, Interview 2).

According to Nico the real bilinguals on the border are from Juarez because they naturally speak Spanish and are learning English, and as a result can distinguish between it. While the Mexican Americans in El Paso don't really speak Spanish but a mixture of both languages, which Nico does not count as being truly bilingual. As maybe it discredits this form of biliteracy as not living up to the standard of perfect Spanish that people in Juarez speak. As far as the bulk of the study participants it can be summarized that those participants who are transfronterizos spoke Spanish in the class while a lot of the Mexican American students were very hesitant about speaking

Spanish at the university and using it in the classroom. They were both shy and embarrassed to use Spanish in the classroom because they wanted to avoid the Spanish speakers in the classes from passing judgement on them. This code shows that being bilingual could be contested and it begs the question who is considered a bilingual on the border? What are the standards that are being applied? During the interviews it became obvious that the standards being applied to consider oneself bilingual were subjective and varied between participants. Nico, a participant from Juarez is making the blanket statement that “real” bilinguals are the Mexicans coming to El Paso. In his understanding being bilingual means knowing two languages in this case English and Spanish and being able to speak it without mixing it. When one mixes both languages or speaks one more than the other it is marked as negative and ascribed as a languaging practice of Mexican-Americans who were born on the US side of the border.

The made-up language of predominantly Mexican neighborhoods in El Paso

Younger I preferred football and that was here in El Paso for the most part again I lived in the far, far eastside like Montana vista area predominantly Mexican it was a mix of both Spanglish in other words a made up language a mix out of Spanish and English words so that is I mean it didn't stick to me as much but I was exposed to it more so I guess I spoke it more but I spoke English for the most part (Adrian R/Interview 1).

El Paso as a border town is a micro cosmos not only because it is relatively isolated also because of its unique language. The combination of Spanish and English is unique for the border. Adrian is referencing Montana vista a relatively poor and Spanish speaking area of El Paso, where a made- up language is used which consists of a mixture of Spanish and English and created words that belong to neither language when looked at from a language purist perspective. The fact that the term made-up language is his word choice hints towards the artificial feeling of it or maybe his experience in the military and having lived in Nebraska because outside of El Paso that

particular language use is not found. What seems like normal ways of talking becomes unusual when looked at from an outsider perspective once one leaves this region.

Not knowing English on the border is a stigma and humiliating

“It is kind of embarrassing if you don’t know English if you live in the border, I think it is a stigma for people that live in the border” (Kenny, Interview 1).

Kenny is talking about the stigma of not speaking English on the border, she has been put in bilingual education from a young age. She judges not speaking English as something embarrassing because of being in the close proximity of English speakers. In the border there is daily exchange between English speakers and Spanish speakers because primarily English-speaking people come to the Mexican side of the border for services or health care, which is very affordable compared to the American side. Having the ongoing exposure to English should be a motivation to learn English, not learning it on the other hand seems like a conscious decision according to Kenny’s opinion.

Cultural divide following along a language divide

Social interactions were English in schools were all English, there was a difference especially in middle school, all the Spanish speaking students went to this side and all the English speaking students went to this side we didn’t really interact there was a cultural difference and that is why even now even in my classes here there is a cultural difference Spanish speakers and English speakers for me I’m trying to speak Spanish to bridge that gap because I understand the importance of being a multilingual speaker so I try to bridge that gap even here but middle school and high school you don’t speak to Spanish speakers and the Spanish speakers don’t speak to you. The thing is it’s mainly the Mexicans are ... they are different I have to say they don’t like being American because they know of the history of Mexico-America so they have a little animosity for us we don’t care since we don’t speak the language, and even today it’s like that but I’m trying to bridge that. In high school I had a friend Juan Carlos they came straight up from Mexico their family did and they spoke Spanish and English but they wanted to Americanize themselves so they hang out with us they didn’t hang out with the Mexicans so that is why it is also the attitude of the family or the individual how far they wanted to Americanize themselves (Mario, Interview 1).

Mario is in a unique position because he and his twin brother were both born in Mexico and adopted in El Paso at the age of five. Spanish being his first language Mario points out the loss of it and how learning English became the main goal as it afforded countless more opportunities. Having the background he has, being Mexican but raised in El Paso in a very much American family he has an outsider perspective to the local culture. Mario describes that Spanish and English- speaking kids do not talk to each other because they like to stay within their own cultural groups. Mario is very aware of that and is trying to bridge the cultural gaps, having experience with the Americanized Mexican-American but also his heritage of being from Mexico. Having language skills in several languages and being multilingual means being above that binary system of being either one of us or one of them that Mario experienced in school or as a day care teacher. He has noticed that being multilingual can mean building bridges to people of different cultures which is important because one does not want to take sides in that kind of situation. If he was to take side with only the English- speaking people that would mean neglecting his own heritage. Being in touch with one's roots is important and understanding the animosities that Mexicans display towards the Mexican- Americans is important. History plays a role in this as well and the fact that many Mexican-Americans are so Americanized to the point where they don't speak any Spanish anymore. This might be ridiculed by Mexicans coming to El Paso for work and study. Mexican students are proud and speak their language as Mario observed, they interact with English speaking people in order to Americanize or if they are interested in being more Americanized. If they are not interested in the English- speaking culture, they will not associate with the English-speaking classmates other than on a surface level. Mario described almost a self-segregation that was going on in his time at school when students from the respective groups would not interact with each other at all due to the cultural

differences. Mexican students would pass their judgement on Mexican Americans for their perceived language deficits.

Performing personalities along the border

Claudia is referencing that people assume that she speaks only English because she does not look like a Spanish speaker. The underlying assumption is based on her passing as a White American versus a Mexican speaker of Spanish. It implies that language abilities are associated with certain looks and appearances. At the university Claudia speaks English because she is approached in English and she prefers to speak English rather than mix Spanish and English into Spanglish. The mixing of the two is something Claudia associates with Mexican-Americans and their language which she does not approve of, for herself she would rather speak either or because the mixing of the local slang spoken on the American side of the border is not something she aspires to. It is rather a practice she associates with a lower class of Mexican-Americans. Those sentiments towards Mexican-Americans on the part of the students who identify as Mexican had an influence on language choices that were made. There is a pattern of students who have dual citizenship they were born in El Paso and lived over the border, their parents had no ties to El Paso but then later on the students moved to El Paso for school. Christian describes how he uses Spanish for social interactions since he has been used to do that and feels very confident with his Spanish, he also maintains that pattern in the German class. Other students like Claudia show the same pattern where they have strong Spanish skills from having been raised by Spanish speaking families. They maintain their Spanish despite monolingual school settings in the US which taught only in English. The language of choice for conversations remains to be Spanish it is a way to connect to others on a different more familiar level. Christian is also addressing identity issues when he is introducing himself he says his name with an

American pronunciation initially because he perceives me as a White American, after realizing that I am German and in German we say his name the same way as in Spanish he gives the Spanish pronunciation of his name. The way a student says their name reveals their identity or their attempts to blend in with an English dominant classroom but it is not necessary to have an English dominant classroom to achieve learning goals. Having the flexibility to use their languages of choice includes the openness to say their individual names as they prefer it in a way they would be addressed by family members and friends because after all, this contributes to a positive classroom setting. Why would students need to pretend their names and identities are more American than they are? Christian also raises issues of how to identify because he feels like he is not American or Mexican enough to belong to either country. He is indeed a true border person someone who can adopt both cultures and customs with ease. Having that familiarity with languaging and flexibility also surfaces in the German class and proves again that trans-languaging is not the exception but the norm and expected standard.

Vic is from the lower valley, an economically disadvantaged area of El Paso. He was born in El Paso and speaks Spanish as his first language and spoke only Spanish when he started school. It could be assumed that there is a connection between the economic status and being bilingual or not being bilingual. Other participants have also indicated that areas with lower socioeconomic status have a larger Spanish dominant population. Speaking English and learning English well is associated with trying to better oneself and leaving the lower-income areas. In those areas the school education is considered to be not as good as in other parts of the city that are more affluent.

Jonathan describes his resentment for not wanting to learn or speak Spanish and he is asking what for? Since he only stays on the American side of town. Not being able to speak Spanish

means not being part of certain family conversations. Which might lead to a certain frustration and later on resentment at not wanting to speak-learn-understand it. If I don't understand them that is good, they are the ones who should know English because I speak English. He also describes how he has lived in a poor Spanish-speaking part of El Paso. It is associated with immigrant communities and he is fourth generation American and White and proud of having moved away from the poor Spanish speaking environment. Those are his perceptions of Spanish, his family pressured him to learn Spanish when he was young. However, he asserted his agency to resist that pressure and grew up as an English-speaking student. He is successful in English and will answer family members who address him in Spanish, only in English. If you do not speak Spanish you are an outsider, an onlooker viewing the communicative practices in your family. You might feel estranged from those practices with your lack of knowledge and it is more comfortable to convince oneself that Spanish is undesirable and unnecessary than to acknowledge feeling frustrated for not being part of family interactions. He mentions that his grandparents would purposefully speak Spanish to leave him out of the loop, being talked about rather than spoken to and included left him with resentment towards Spanish learning.

Speaking in El Paso can mean that a conversation is held in English and broken into that conversation there are Spanish words due to the strong Hispanic influence on the border region. One becomes particularly aware of that when leaving the border and speaking with people from other parts of the US. This is a unique languaging phenomenon of this region. Speaking Spanish is normal or expected in the school environment so for Troy it was difficult not being able to be part of those conversations. He learned some informal Spanish from his friends and a limited amount of Spanish from his father but felt left out when other students were conversing in Spanish at school. He describes that he is not in touch with his Hispanic culture so that implies

that other people who are more in touch with their Hispanic culture speak Spanish. Troy sees himself as an American and speaks English as part of that versus other students who have a bilingual identity. This raises the question of what is normal on the border? Being monolingual might be perceived as the standard in the rest of the country but that is not the standard on the border. Using different languages brings out a different personality in the speaker. On the border there is Spanish, English and there are local dialects. The languages one chooses to use in an interaction can have a bridging function connecting people with their heritage.

I personally identify as a Chicano which is a Mexican-American who is politically active but even then in regards to the complicating matter in how in it is almost with any kind of immigrant group how Mexican-Americans we are neither due to our indigenous origins we are very American but we are not American enough to be American. As a phrase I like to put it is we are indigenous people that lost our track that is how I like to put (Jonathan/ Interview 2).

Family background

Family background entails how participants describe where they come from and how that formed their language use and identity. Amongst the study participants there are four groups: students coming from El Paso, students coming from Juarez or other places in Mexico and students coming from military families. Participants who have been raised in military families all share the unique experience of traveling a lot. Lastly, there are students that have a German parent or other family members or can trace back their ancestry to German grandparents.

Coming from El Paso

The role of Spanish for participants who identify as coming from El Paso

There is a lot of complexity when considering the role of Spanish for those participants who come from El Paso on one side of the spectrum there are participants who grew up with Mexican parents and describe Spanish as their mother tongue or first language. While on the other side there are participants from El Paso who have experienced language loss within their

family and now display a preference for English only and as a consequence there is a language barrier with family members.

Spanish use with peers

The bilingual participants describe that they use both languages English and Spanish with peers. A conversation can be initiated in one language and continued in another as Stephanie explains: “It depends cause even now with certain friends I say something in Spanish and then I say something in English it varies” (Stephanie, Interview 1).

Or one language can be reserved for certain people and if one has friends that speak English that is the language in which future conversations are held. Another factor is that one reciprocates and answers in the same language that one is approached in:

Since I’m more fluent in English but I had certain friends that I speak Spanish to the same now I have a group of friends that I speak in English to and a group of friends that I speak in Spanish to. I use both it depends some people I only speak English so if they ask me something in English I speak English but if they ask me something in Spanish I answer back to them in Spanish and then it decides whether I stick with Spanish or not (Mickey/Interview 2).

Several participants described the connection between coming from a specific area of town and the language use in that area. Adrian Z, Vic, and Ivanna describe the lower valley as having specific language patterns in part due to the visibility and proximity of the border.

I grew up in the lower valley which is right along the border my house is half a mile away from the actual border. So, you know a ton of Spanish would be spoken, it would be rare if there were a class purely taught in English, but it did happen on occasion, because some teachers just weren’t from here. (Adrian Z, Interview 1).

My first elementary school was Coulie in the lower valley, we had some issues with the educational system there, I ended up leaving my mom re-enrolled me in Ascarate Elementary which is just a few blocks away and there I finished my elementary school and then I went to Henderson I went to Riverside Middle School where I finished my Middle School and then I went to Riverside High School, but then I had a tough transition you know I was not a good student back then I was quiet a bum. I ended up

dropping out of Riverside and I graduated from Jefferson High School which is about a mile away from Riverside and from there you know I came to UTEP. (Vic, Interview 1).

Ivanna explains that from her own experience Spanglish is the language spoken in the lower valley:

So with some of the teachers I grew up in a neighborhood called the lower valley and that is basically kind of a Spanglish speaking area and some of my teachers came from the lower valley as well so that is kind of how we would always communicate it be something like: hola Mister, como estas? Bien we are good and how are you and stuff like that. (Ivanna, Interview 1).

Spanish use in the family

The family heritage can be an indicator for language use in the family. There is an ongoing process of assimilation to the US culture and English becomes the more dominant force the longer a family is present in the United States. The connection between heritage and language is evident when Justin uses the term “tia” and “tios” when describing his aunt and uncles:

I was born in the United States my nationality is American but my heritage is Hispanic and Mexican and when I was growing up I was mostly I think English but I was surrounded by Spanish my cousins and my tias and tios they would speak Spanish often. Then I was getting older and I was introduced to different languages when my dad would speak a little bit of German to me not a lot but a little bit and then I got interested in learning different languages so then I took just Spanish so I could write it more in high school and in university I took French I studied a little bit of Russian with a friend but then he stopped and there is no one to learn it with. And after that I took German here and that is as far as the languages go. Most of the Spanish is spoken around all of my family, so when it was at home my mom would speak a mix of Spanish and English and when I go to family events there is a significant amount more Spanish being spoken. (Justin, Interview 1).

In Justin’s example one could also infer that growing up with two languages had an effect on him being more open minded towards learning other languages. Stephanie is also explaining the connection between her heritage and the language use in her family. At home she hears and speaks both Spanish and English:

My parents came from Mexico actually and then when I was born they were already living here and my mom speaks more of the Spanish than English so with her I speak mostly Spanish and my dad is good with both so we take turns with it (Stephanie, Interview 1).

Kristin explains that Spanish was and is the language used in her family although the younger generation practices their English. Knowing Spanish in her family was not optional because there are family members who do not have knowledge of English:

Mostly with my siblings and my mom we would speak English but my Dad only speaks Spanish and most of my family only speaks Spanish. We would try to practice our English just because we were studying here but every time we would go back home or we would talk to someone else who would talk Spanish because we had tios and tias and we had grandparents and they never learned a word of English and we had to know Spanish for them (Kristin, Interview 1).

Kristin talks about the advantages that her parents had in mind when they decided to have all their children in El Paso, although they came from other parts in Mexico.

When I was born they made sure that we were all born here that way if we wanted to go back to Mexico we had the choice because it is easier to get the papers to go back to Mexico than to get the papers here (Kristin, Interview 1).

Ivanna explains a similar notion the necessity to know Spanish for communication purposes with family members who do not know English:

We speak two languages we speak English and Spanish cause my grandmother only speaks Spanish so we go back and forward my Spanish isn't the best but I can still make conversation with her so that is the languages that we are speaking at home. But my first language is always English (Ivanna, Interview 2).

Evan discusses a common situation, if the family language is English children forget how to speak Spanish although initially there was exposure to both languages:

When I was younger I actually learned Spanish and English because my parents were both teachers and when I was younger I went to a daycare and at the daycare they spoke a

lot of Spanish and I knew some of it but as I got older my parents only spoke English in the house I forgot how to speak Spanish (Evan, Interview 2).

Ivan gives the example of assimilation processes in his own family, his grandparents migrated to the United States and through hard work they created a better life for their children and grandchildren knowing English and transitioning to English is part of that narrative, although Ivan can still hear both languages Spanish and English in his house:

My immediate family... I was born here in El Paso prior to that my grandparents were the ones who migrated first to El Paso from Mexico and we ended up living where was it? The east side of El Paso and we ended up living there in mobile homes and eventually we transitioned to bigger and bigger houses as my dad got higher positions in his job and eventually higher positions also in the military as well (Ivan, Interview2).

When asked what languages are spoken at home Ivan describes the assimilation process towards English that is visible within his family:

That are spoken at home right now, English and Spanish. It used to be more Spanish but then as I started school they started using more and more English and eventually now it is mostly English with me and my siblings but they do sometimes use Spanish with each other and my sister who is trying to learn Spanish more. I had initially first when I went in to Pre-K and Kinder I was more Spanish and they had me transition into English and I lost my Spanish and now I speak mostly English (Ivan, Interview 1).

During the interview series I had a chance to ask Ivan about the results of this assimilation process and he explains how he transitioned from being a Spanish speaker at first to not even considering himself as bilingual: I asked Ivan if he would say that he is bilingual:

No more I normally read, write and talk in English as far as other languages I'm just struggling I'm barely trying to become fluent in them so I'm not bilingual in them yet. Technically Spanish was my first language but now I use English more. I guess English is my main language now because I don't use Spanish as much so I guess that is still in my head. Most people say that their first language is the language that they are most fluent in and in my case my first language would be actually Spanish but once I hit school all my Spanish went by the wayside and now I'm just mostly English being able to understand it Spanish spoken to me if it is really slow and if it is using certain words I'll be able to bridge the gaps for whatever I don't know (Ivan, Interview 1).

Adrian Z is using the past tense when talking about Spanish as his mother tongue or first language at home: “It was my mother tongue, lengua nativa. The only language that was spoken at home was Spanish for most of my life. As I started to get more and more in the school system I started to pick up English” (Adrian Z, Interview 1). In a similar manner Vic differentiates between home language and school language and describes Spanish as his first language at home: “At home my first language is Spanish” (Victor, Interview 1).

Adrian R also remembers Spanish as the home language and his parents would use more English with their children: “It was mostly Spanish with a mix of English it was like both but I mainly heard Spanish but they threw in English more when they would speak to their kids me and my brother and sister” (Adrian R, Interview 1). Being the oldest child in a bilingual family equaled more exposure to Spanish for Justin, Christian and Adrian R.

My mother stopped speaking Spanish as much as I started getting older my brother was born and my other brother was born and she didn't speak as much Spanish. I don't know why my brothers don't know as much Spanish as me. (Justin, Interview 1)

What Justin describes is that as the first born he had more exposure to Spanish while his younger siblings got more exposure to English. In bilingual families that seems to be a pattern that the family transitions to more English. Adrian R also mentions that the exposure to Spanish can depend on how much contact one has with family members that are dominant in Spanish. Furthermore, the level of Spanish one has in a bilingual family can be an expression of how connected one is to that part of the family:

It was mostly Spanish with a mix of English it was like both but I mainly heard Spanish but they threw in English more when they would speak to their kids me and my brother and sister. My brother he doesn't really speak that much Spanish but my sister she picked it up but she is more

around my dad and my brother doesn't really have that connection as much as my sister (Adrian R, Interview 1).

Generational language loss is noticeable within the bilingual students that grew up in the United States:

With my Dad's side of the family they also we don't speak Spanish as much as we used to it is primarily my Dad and his sisters that speak Spanish and my grandma of course but all the descendants all the cousins all the kids speak English so they are losing the Spanish language as well. (Evan, Interview 1).

Experiencing language but not cultural loss

One adapts to the location and assimilates to the language used in that location as Evan describes using the example of his family. Consequently, discriminatory practices were used in educational settings bilingualism was not always passed on to the next generation in order to afford an easier life the children and grandchildren would grow up with the dominant language in order to avoid any disadvantages:

Let me see, I can't speak for the German side of the family, but I know for a fact that my Dad and my aunts they always told me stories about when they were growing up here in El Paso in the 60s and if they spoke Spanish in schools they weren't really perceived too well so cause you had to speak English and I know that my aunts that when they tried to speak Spanish in school they would hit them with a ruler on their hand and stuff like that so I think when it comes to that I think culturally there is always going to be a culture you never lose culture I believe unless I for example was to get married and we practiced my wife's traditions maybe or something like that but most of the time culturally that always stays in your family but verbally with languages they always get lost because you don't need it or not necessarily you don't need it but it just kind of gets lost because of the environment if you don't use a certain language then you are not going to need it and if that person moves to a different area and they don't need to speak their own if they don't speak that dialect than they won't pass it on to the next generation and so on because it is not important anymore. But if I was to immediately move back to Mexico, I need to know Spanish it is the location and yeah it is primarily the location. (Evan, Interview 1).

This assimilation to English leads to language loss although the intention was to be better adapted to the life in the English-speaking location it also results in a language barrier in Spanish. Evan describes the communicative situation with his grandma:

In Spanish there is a language barrier there cause I only speak English and she speaks Spanish but like I said some things I can pick up or what not and I try to communicate with her but it is kind of rough, it is not good (Evan, Interview 1).

Answering in English when spoken to in Spanish

In close connection to the generational language loss and the resulting language barriers, a certain behavior was described by some participants who are from El Paso: answering in English when spoken to in Spanish due to a lack of language knowledge.

I can comprehend some Spanish and sometimes I understand what is being said or if they are asking me something but most of the time I just look at them I don't know entirely what you are saying but I can kind of guess and like I start to say it in English and depending on who it is or not and if it is my dad who smacks me at the back of my head: no dummy I am saying this. (Jonathan, Interview 1).

This also leads to doubting oneself as a bilingual speaker as Justin's example shows:

In a weird sense that I would hear it but I would reply in English cause I didn't know how to speak it back then. I was being told but I just didn't know how to reply so I don't know if that is bilingual or not? (Justin, Interview 1).

Related to this experience of answering back in English when spoken to in Spanish manifests itself as having a preference for English as Justin explains:

When it comes to preference there is two main things that I like, me being able to express myself and the second one the sound of it. I prefer English just because I know it well enough to say what I want to say and get my point across (Justin, Interview 1).

Within the group of students who described coming from El Paso there were also students such as Narda, Christian and Andre who although they were born in El Paso were raised in Juarez.

Within that specific subset of participants Spanish is used daily within the family and for social interactions: "Spanish, Spanish all the time all the way" (Christian, Interview 1).

Narda explains that she only uses English at school: “At home it is only Spanish I only speak English I think here at school and with people that don’t know Spanish” (Narda, Interview 1).

While these students are bilinguals and comfortable with both Spanish and English, Spanish plays an important role and using Spanish is an integral part of one’s identity. Christian is more himself when using Spanish than when using English as he describes in this excerpt:

I do sales I go business to business and I sell people if they require employees I do have employees so let me provide them to you I’m just going to charge you a little fee and when I talk to decision makers or plant managers or HR when they speak in Spanish I’m able to close the deal faster cause I am like I’m not selling an idea or a business I’m selling myself and then they buy from me and when it is in English it is more serious I mean I try to be nice and all kind of like the way I am right now but it is not the same. It is more like a true self (Christian, Interview 2).

Coming from Juarez or another place in Mexico

While English plays an important role for participants who were born in El Paso and raised in Juarez the role of English in the family is a little bit different for students that are coming from Mexico and were raised there.

Spanish use in the family

Spanish is the language used within the family as Julio explains. He also emphasizes that he learned English from an early age on:

My name is Julio I am Mexican I don’t really care much about heritage or anything like that just Mexican. Spanish is my native language throughout my whole life, parents, friends, family most of the people I know. English I’ve started learning it since I was very little like 5 or 6 years old. I have been using it a lot time I think that is one of the reason why I don’t have any struggle with it and I have used it throughout elementary, middle and high school and even college right now (Julio, Interview 1).

The students that self-identified as coming from Mexico were emphasizing that they speak Spanish not a mix with English at home when asked for their home language use during the individual interviews:

“Just Spanish, yes” (Nico, Interview 1). “At home only Spanish” (Ricardo/Interview 1). “At home only Spanish” (Andre, Interview 1). “At home Spanish only, Spanish we don’t mix language at all” (Claudia, Interview 1). “In my house it is just Spanish my mom speaks little English but she doesn’t really speak English I mean yeah we don’t speak English at home, my dad knows no English”. (Humberto, Interview 1). Well, all my live I speak Spanish it’s my first language and when I came I just started to speak English because of school and everything so I think those two languages but more Spanish (Lily, Interview 2). “At home I only spoke Spanish that is the only language I used at home with my parents and with other family members” (Julio, Interview 2).

The parents’ interest in their children learning English influences decisions of school choices as Kenya explains:

At home I just spoke Spanish but my parents always tried to put me into schools where they would speak in Spanish to me on the first half of the day and on the other half of the day they would teach me my classes in English (Kenya, Interview 2).

Lino’s mother also emphasized the need for English as he explains during the interviews:

In my house it was spoken well Spanish because it is my mother tongue but my mother since I was young since I was three years old she began to make us try to catch us have a grasp on English. So, she took classes and she sometimes talked to us in English in order for us to get used to it and we were going to classes since I was three years old our English classes since then I’ve been practicing English (Lino, Interview 2).

While learning English is very important to the families there is some resentment towards mixing Spanish and English:

I personally hate it but when they start talking like that it kind of I don’t know it sticks with you and so it’s mostly English but when you can’t find a word to describe something concretely you jump into Spanish and then you both now what you are talking about. I personally don’t like it, it is just breaking the language and then some people do it while trying to be professional and it doesn’t sound professional (Jaqueline, Interview 1).

Mixing both Spanish and English is viewed as unprofessional in the excerpt above but it is also not valued by the families of these students:

Maybe you forget some of the words because it happens to me a lot as soon as get off school I go to my house in Juarez and I talk to my parents and everything and sometimes when I try to explain my day I say “so” instead of “entonces” so and that happens a lot and my mom gets pissed: hey either one language or another don’t cross and it is things that happen to a lot of us (Andre, Interview 1).

Spanish use with peers and friends

Spanish is not only the language used with family members at home it is also used for social interactions, as Lino describes: “always Spanish with my friends it will be always Spanish” (Lino, Interview 2).

Andre describes that at home he uses English to ensure that his sister practices English and he uses it with friends in El Paso:

With my parents in Juarez in Mexico and in my house we speak Spanish most of the time. I’m going to say all the time because my sister is trying to go the same way that I did to try to learn English and we only speak English when we try to help my sister with her homework or stuff like that but other than that we don’t really speak English in my house. But I do have a lot of friends here that speak only English or friends that only speak Spanish so I kind of use both of the languages a lot (Andre, Interview 1).

Jose discloses that he uses mostly Spanish and he has a preference for Spanish when talking with friends: “most of the time Spanish most of my friends we hang out online so we speak Spanish and then basically my friends I speak Spanish with them I guess I have a preference for that” (Jose, Interview 1).

Coming from a military family

Participants that come from military families share a couple of common experiences one being that they moved around a lot, and as a consequence changed schools frequently as Garrett explains: “moving around I went to a lot of different schools” (Garrett/Interview 1).

Dylan gives another example of the same concept:

I’m American I was born and raised in America I’m from an Army family so I have lived all around America. My first language is English and that is the language I use in my household with my parents and my brother (Dylan/Interview 1).

It can be said that in this subset the same assimilation took place as in the general population the oldest siblings know the languages of bilingual parents or family members while the younger

ones are adapted to English only. Those can be described as unifying forces according to Bakhtin.

Dylan who has a bilingual grandmother from Chile describes that bilingualism was not passed on to his generation within his family:

It is like a really confusing family so my grandma is from Chile so it is obviously her first language and then one of my aunts was born in Chile the year my grandma left to come to America so they are both Chileans still. And they both speak Spanish I mean Spanish is their first language but they can speak both. But then one of my aunts she is Mexican like married into the family and she knows Spanish, too and then I have another aunt and I don't think she knows Spanish but she is Hispanic, too but I don't think she knows Spanish (Dylan, Interview 1).

Garett comes from a military family and his mother is German. In his own family he observed that his older sister was able to learn German while himself and his younger brother did not learn German: "she is the oldest she always kept German my brother was really young so he lost it" (Garett, Interview 1).

Coming from a family with German ancestry

When asked what languages he speaks Garett who has a German mother and German grandparents answered this:

Just English we always tried to learn German my mother tried for a little bit and that failed it was one of those online things but it was when I was 10 so that wasn't much fun but she was at work so we didn't actually get much time together so she gave up on that and then in high school (Garett, Interview 1).

During the interview series we discussed the reason that he did not learn more German. When his mother came to the US she assimilated and there was no need to continue teaching German to the younger children:

I think that is a big reason why my mother didn't really teach us German. I think in America you come here and you have to speak the language unless you are in a group like in the southern states where they speak Spanish they can speak Spanish cause a lot of

people speak Spanish like in the South not many people speak German so she couldn't really use it (Garett, Interview 2).

When communicating with the German grandparents Garrett relies on his mother to translate for him. Visits to Germany are very rare:

We go very rarely but every week we skype them we speak mainly German my mom translates mostly. It is like always translating seems easier to me because they always talk and then my mom is like they said this and I get context clues now (Garett, Interview 2)

On his father's side of the family Garrett has a Portuguese grandmother but Portuguese was not passed on to his father or him. The language that is spoken at home is English:

Just English my grandmother she is Portuguese but she never taught it to my father and kind of the same my mother obviously speaks German but she has never got the time to actually teach me or my brother German (Garett, Interview 2).

Although Garrett does not have an extensive knowledge of German, he does know about some of the cultural differences and he knows how life in Germany is different from life in the United States:

My grandparents they live right on the Czech border in a little town and the big thing that they have there is a butcher plant, and for breakfast we would go there and get the meat fresh. There is lots of stuff there that is different that would help people to understand like flat water if you ask for water in Germany you get sparkling water instead of regular flat which is completely different from here in America (Garett, Interview 2).

Shawn a German heritage language learner gets to be an expert in the German class:

It is a lot easier a lot of the stuff, I was one of the people who always struggled in Spanish class but now I feel I am one of the people who know it better, I mean I don't pronounce it because I have that English accent so I don't pronounce it that well but I remember a lot of the stuff you only have to say it to me once and I am like ok I get it (Shawn, Interview 1).

There has been a process of language loss. While Shawn spoke German as his first language he assimilated into the English-speaking environment quickly without maintaining German:

... the loss I was born in South Carolina but by the time I was one I was in Germany so I hadn't have much time for language so I grew up until I was 5 in Germany and I spoke nothing but German so I learned German and German would be my first

language but just not using it anymore. Because I didn't use it at all. When I came here I only knew German but then I had to learn English really fast because I was right around the age to go to school so I had to learn it really quick and then I didn't use German to help me learn and everybody only spoke English and I just forgot it and it became easier to use English because everybody else was using it and I just stopped using it and eventually now that I am when I grew up I became the age where I was under the impression of English the language and the culture I learned that more I actually became old enough to become aware of things and I just forgot the German and I know when you are young because my major is psychology you forget a lot of the stuff when you were 6, right around that age you start forgetting your memory is not completely developed until you are 5 or 6 you know so a lot of this stuff this is why you don't have memories from your first birthday because your memory isn't developed yet so I think part of that happened with the language with German, too because I didn't speak it much after that right around that time is when I learned English and the memory became with English (Shawn, Interview 1).

Shawn identifies as more American than German he explains that for him there is a connection between his knowledge of a language and how he identifies. Since English has become his dominant language, he views himself as American more than as a dual citizen:

I think of myself as American and German. If I had to say probably a little more American because I know more ... definitely know more English. I have been here most of my life and I feel like I know I am German also but I feel if I had to say if I am German or American I'd say I was American because I lived here most of my life and I know the language better. (Shawn, Interview 1).

Shawn gives his definition of what would constitute being bilingual for him. According to his standard he does not fulfil those criteria:

No, I don't because if I would know enough German to get by really easily then I would say but no I don't I really only know English and I mean I know a little bit of German but I really don't know. To say bilingual I need to know the language well I need to be able to write it, speak it and read it then I would say bilingual. I mean if you really understand it and you can read it but my main thing is speaking if I can speak it then I would say yes I am bilingual (Shawn, Interview 1).

Previous experiences in the educational system

Of the 46 study participants 27 attended the educational system in the United States, of that group 24 attended schools in El Paso prior to entering the university. A smaller group of 9 participants attended schools in both Mexico and the United States. 4 participants completed their education prior to entering the university exclusively in Mexican schools. Three participants completed their prior education in Mexico, the United States and at least one other country (Ecuador, Brasil, Italy, Switzerland). Three other participants have experienced the educational system in both Germany and the United States

Luisa is one of the participants who attended schools in both Mexico and the United States. After moving to El Paso she had a positive experience with a teacher who really pushed her to study English in a homeschooling environment. After moving to El Paso Luisa started high school:

They put me in high school I don't know how that worked but I guess I was really advanced I was the youngest in my class I was barely 14 that wasn't cool. I was an ESL student for a year and a half and then I got homeschooled because I got pregnant with my son so the teacher was that was the one that I told you she was hard on me: You really want to learn? Ok I'm going to show you how. Every day Monday through Friday she would go to the house and study with me for an hour and a half like around six in the afternoon and I was homeschooled for a month and she was like really, really strict about it and I was studying with my son on my lab, breastfeeding him and studying. She wouldn't allow for me to speak Spanish like: no you got to tell me and I would get embarrassed but she would be like: I don't care if you mispronounce it I don't care you are going to put a pencil under your tongue she would do that exercise pencil under my tongue and me talking you pronounce it like this and Spanish she would make me do this at the beginning n, a and I don't know we had like little exercises she went the extra mile with me I really appreciate what she did. Cause I didn't really want to learn I was scared and I was like ashamed of learning and I was like no I don't want to learn and she was like: no you need to learn because it is good for you and your future and your kids future. How are you going to teach your kids? You chose to be a mom so now you need to teach them cause that is the language from this country and you got to give it some respect so I was like: ok and she changed my attitude after I went back two or three months passed and I went back to school to a regular semester and I was already a sophomore but they took me out of the ESL classes and everybody was like: how did she pass the ESL? I had passed my task at the time the task was like the star test so she did really good and I passed it with really good grades the only thing I didn't pass was my Math. I did terrible I

took it like 3 times the third time barely passed it. I was really, really under pressure I had to pass it because if not I wouldn't be able to graduate so no it was a little hazzle in high school because I had already the kids (Luisa, Interview 3).

For students who live in this border region it is not unusual to move from a school on one side of the border to a school on the other side, consequently the language of instruction is typically going to change when experiencing this move. Luisa maintained a positive attitude towards learning English and incorporated the language into her social interactions, although she came to the school system in El Paso as a Spanish speaker. Her teachers would not allow her to speak Spanish at school therefore Luisa had to practice English and she kept a good attitude towards learning languages:

English, English all the time people would make fun of me so much but you know what later on I don't care. You don't have to care. That is not even a word Luisa! I don't care I just made it up (laughing) conjugate that word (Luisa, Interview 1).

Being exposed to a mix out of Spanish and English in school

Luisa describes that once she moved from the United States to Mexico the Spanglish she was exposed to in school was no longer acceptable and she has a negative perception of Spanglish although it is common:

It is a Spanglish thing and Spanglish is really bad it can become a really bad thing I mean it is a good thing somehow in our culture but it is not a thing that we should be using (laughing). You are actually responding to whatever they are saying in mixture and that is what I recall for a while until I was in 2nd grade. 2nd grade it was a little bit more Spanish-Spanish and I kinda had to get away from it fast because kids would make fun of me (Luisa, Interview 2).

A mixture of Spanish and English is very common in the border region and can be observed inside schools in El Paso as well. Justin who attended the educational system in El Paso explains that the mixture of Spanish and English is characteristic for the region:

Spanish in High School just because of the region I would say you hear it often throughout the halls and depending who you go to school with. But it wasn't a majority English it was a mixture of languages (Justin, Interview 1).

Troy a participant who also attended the school system in the United States describes the language mix that he was exposed to: "During my younger years going from High school down to Kindergarten ah it was a mix of Spanish and English" (Troy, Interview 2).

Being identified as Hispanic and put in remedial class

Adrian R. a participant who self-identified as Hispanic described his previous experiences in the educational system of the United States, attending school far from the border before moving to El Paso:

The school was in Alcorne Nebraska it was called Westridge elementary I mean I didn't think I was I slow learner but I was put in those remedial classes for some reason and this is as much as I remember. The remedial class was mostly Hispanics that really had trouble in English but I felt I didn't really struggle in English. I felt that maybe he is brown I have never been to summer school I have never flunked a grade (Adrian R., Interview 1).

After his family moved to El Paso Adrian R attended regular English classes: "I took the Pre-AP English courses in high school I was good when the Teks was around I passed them all commendatory performance in English so English was never a struggle for me" (Adrian R., Interview 1).

The process of phasing out to pure English as part of the assimilation process is described by Jonathan Z: "up till I was around 5 I was spoken to in Spanish but once I started going to elementary school and preschool they started phasing to pure English" (Interview 1).

Bilingual education in El Paso

Of the group of participants that attended schools in El Paso Jaqueline, Stephanie, Christian, Humberto, Ivanna, and Luis discussed their experience in the bilingual education system during their interviews. Jaqueline describes her bilingual classes as a 70 percent English

to a 30 percent Spanish model that she attended for three years. Once Jaqueline attended high school she was not attending a bilingual program any longer:

I just focused on working on my accent I guess by high school I was already good. With the teachers I had to speak English but I did find kids who would speak Spanish but they were ashamed or something but I would still talk in Spanish (Jaqueline, Interview 1).

At the university Jaqueline uses English with her professors and Spanish at home, with her friends it is a mix of Spanish and English:

with my closest friends I hate mixing both languages but I tend to do it. It is English and Spanish and with professors and colleagues it is all English and at home it is Spanish. I personally hate it but when they start talking like that it kind of I don't know it sticks with you and so it's mostly English but when you can't find a word to describe something concretely you jump into Spanish and then you both now what you are talking about (Jaqueline, Interview 1).

Although Jaqueline describes the language mixing as functional and useful, she does not think it is professional. In her mind using English and inserting some Spanish words is a very colloquial practice that she reserves for social interactions with close friends: "it is just breaking the language and then some people do it while trying to be professional and it doesn't sound professional" (Jaqueline, Interview 1).

Stephanie is a student who participated in bilingual education in El Paso from early childhood until 8th grade. Her parents are from Mexico and had wanted her to attend bilingual education. During her first interview Stephanie explained how her specific program worked and that the location within the city determined how much Spanish could be heard at the school:

My elementary school was located in the lower valley of El Paso so it was more they did more Spanish there and it was the same thing for my middle school it was in the lower

valley so it was more Spanish and then my high school I moved to the eastside over there it was more English: In elementary no we would speak mostly Spanish. I was in bilingual I think from Pre-K all the way until 8th grade my mom kept me in the program so I was in it and freshman year I was like no I am not going to do it anymore and I just stayed in my English. For middle school it was certain classes that were offered and they would teach it in Spanish I think for my 6th grade it was Math and 7th grade it was also a Math class and 8th grade it was like professional study like career studying. English I think I learned it a little bit when I was in first grade I learned it more with the reading and they would kind of help you to break it down but we still did a lot of Spanish I think for elementary it would be randomly from 2 to 4 we would do Spanish for those two hours it would just be Spanish and then middle school it was just that one class (Stephanie, Interview 1).

Stephanie compares her own experience in a bilingual program with the current situation as she is volunteering as a tutor and noticed that in this specific program the lack of bilingual education can be an obstacle to student learning:

It still keeps going down I don't know how they have changed it now but I know Socorro independent school district they do 90% English and 10% Spanish even if you are in the bilingual program. It is not a whole lot and there are some kids because I know my sister is a teacher so I would go volunteer with her and some of those kids that go in they don't know any English and they are completely lost. So, it is different how much it has changed. I worked as a tutor for the longest time at a high school and my boss would not let our students speak Spanish in the classroom. She would not allow it and it was just weird to me because there are some kids when you say something in Spanish, they understand it better I would do it on the side: let me explain it to you in Spanish real quick. That is how I would do it. And they would be like: Ok now I get it. Because some kids they need more of that help in Spanish than in English (Stephanie, Interview 1).

Stephanie also observed that testing for bilingual students can be harder and since the instruction is more and more prescribed by the standardized tests there have been changes:

I heard also that monolingual students test better than bilingual students because they are using the language better. As a tutor the way I learned how to do things they can't use that anymore we have to use different ways. But my way was simpler (Stephanie, Interview 1).

Despite these changes in the educational settings Stephanie is emphasizing that there is a need for Spanish in the community outside of the school environment: "I don't see what is the big deal about not teaching more Spanish still I think it is really needed once you are in the outside

world” (Stephanie, Interview 1).

Christian attended bilingual classes until 4th grade and had a tough time transitioning to monolingual English classes but it ultimately worked out for him because he learned English well. Humberto started school in Juarez and switched to El Paso in second grade. When he attended the bilingual program, his days would be sectioned off into some subjects being taught in Spanish, and then there were parts of the day dedicated to learning English. By 5th grade he had exited the bilingual program after testing out of it and mastering English:

It was bilingual up to 5th grade that is when the classes became all English but still the interactions outside of class was all in Spanish and then middle school it was the same thing all English classes with interaction in Spanish outside of class and the high school I went to Bowie high school so it was pretty much the same. In 2nd grade it was kind of bilingual mainly Spanish and then we had a section of the day dedicated to learning English but my Math and science was in Spanish. It would be divided into sections and there was a section just dedicated to learning English (Humberto, Interview 2).

Humberto reflects on the purpose of the bilingual program he attended. He detected a deficit perspective that the schools displayed towards the English learners. However, despite the pressure towards learning English fast some teachers would interact in Spanish with their students:

It was mainly to get you to learn English the way I see it now is that you were considered behind if you didn't know English so it was kind of like a catch up thing were let's say during the art block you would have to if you weren't caught up or progressing accordingly they would pull you out of PE or art classes or something like that that way you could go to tutoring or after school tutoring for English and so on cause it was kind of you had to learn it quick that way you could catch up. There was a rule I remember during the English part of the day you had to only speak English even to ask to go to the restroom and stuff like that but during the day you could pretty much interact in Spanish well it was like bilingual and afterwards it depended on the teacher (Humberto, Interview 3).

The schools Humberto attended are serving a Spanish speaking student population and are therefore adapted to the needs of the emerging bilinguals: “that certain area a lot of people would

come from Juarez so you would have a lot of kids that only spoke Spanish so I guess the school in that situation would have to adapt to that” (Humberto, Interview 3).

Ivanna who was born and raised in El Paso started in a program that was supposed to help Spanish speaking students to adjust to school life in the United States. She took a language test and tested out of this particular program and was placed in a regular English- speaking classroom as she describes:

I don't know exactly what it is called it is more to help those children who come from Mexico or just speak Spanish to adjust to school life a little bit they don't really understand English, I guess they put me in this classroom I guess by mistake or something, I don't know what happened they made us take a language test, I don't really remember and then they put us in they put me in an English speaking classroom (Ivanna, Interview 2).

Luis, a participant who was born in El Paso but lived in different places in Mexico before moving to El Paso describes that he noticed a difference in the type of program he attended in public school versus what his younger siblings attend now. He does not recall what the program he attended in a public school was called:

I guess it was bilingual they don't call it bilingual anymore. It is very different when I took it my teachers would speak Spanish to us and they would teach Spanish how to read and write and I know nowadays they only use Spanish to teach English they don't actually teach how to form sentences as I grew up every material was in Spanish, Math, Science it was all in Spanish (Luis, Interview 2).

Based on his explanations Luis attended a program in which there was a focus on learning both Spanish and English and he also learned content in both languages, while he reflects that his younger siblings are in a program which aims at exiting from bilingual components fast. In their case Spanish was no longer learned side by side with English but it was utilized to reach a certain level of English fast so that Spanish was no longer necessary:

It might be dual language because I have younger siblings that went to the same schools as I did and they would transition from the bilingual classes to the monolingual classes in

first grade. They would actually do a bilingual kinder and they wouldn't learn how to write Spanish they would use it to teach them how to write English and in first grade that is when they are like: ok now we are a monolingual class and we are just learning English and students that started off monolingual that never speak Spanish at home they were never taught Spanish their whole school life unless they take it as an elective in high school (Luis, Interview 2).

Attending a multilingual program

Iskra attended a multilingual program in El Paso that entailed Spanish and English instruction, as well as additional languages in her case she took German from Kindergarten until 8th grade.

I was at Alicia Chacon. In school we were placed by all the languages that we were learning, so all the German students would be together I guess there I started to hear the English because some friends just spoke English so they had to learn Spanish, some just spoke Spanish so they had to learn English. Because it is bilingual so you enter learning the two and then they introduce German also in Kinder. We would have four classes so we had like two classes in Spanish and two in English. At home I just speak Spanish, because my mom doesn't speak English, but my dad does so it varies and then but with my friends just English. High School I went to Del Valle I was also in the dual language program I had Spanish and English. You just had some classes in Spanish the ones that were offered for the dual language program, but most of it was mainly English just like two classes in Spanish. I had Geography in Spanish, Biology I had it in Spanish also, History I had one in Spanish just depends what they offered (Iskra, Interview 1).

Iskra explains that she is used to using both Spanish and English at the same time in school: "I would flip flop" (Iskra, Interview 1). In the university classroom she uses English only.

You cannot be bilingual to be in the AP class

Ivonne came to the El Paso school system when she was 16 years old and experienced the issue that being in bilingual education brings certain disadvantages. In her case her teacher was able to help her with the English language so Ivonne was able to do advanced placement classes. Ivonne observed certain attitudes towards her hinging on the fact that she was an English learner:

They look down upon you: oh they are not that smart. They do which was a big change for me because over there sure they taught me the numbers they taught me how to say words they taught me the basics and when I got here if I wanted to be a part of their

advanced AP classes you couldn't be bilingual so I didn't get the option they told me you can do this or we can put you in bilingual but that means you don't get honors you don't get this and you have to take an extra reading class. I had a really good teacher she was like: just do this and I'll help you with the English so I could do the AP in Math and science and stuff. The biggest issue is that the Math and science are so advanced over there that if I didn't do the AP and the other advanced classes I was going to be bored cause I had already seen it I had seen it two years ago I didn't care for it so if it wasn't more challenging I wasn't going to care for it. I was just going to be bored and not want to go to class so that is why (Ivonne, Interview 1).

“Public school: it is like people drowning in water” (Ira, Interview 1)

In addition to students who participated in bilingual or dual language programs there are participants that discussed their previous educational experience apart from engaging in a bilingual or dual language program during the interview series. The themes can be grouped around issues of motivation, teacher attitudes and assumptions in regards to language, as well as language attitudes regardless of where participants had attended schools.

Teachers and their attitudes, ideologies and perspectives have a huge influence on students in the microcosmos of a school. When teachers stereotype students as troublemakers or low-achievers that will lower student motivation. While several participants experienced deficit discourses and felt that they had to prove themselves in the educational system the following example illustrates the issues with teacher attitudes and assumptions for the student.

Teacher attitudes

Ira is a participant who struggled a lot in the educational system. Being raised in a low-income area of El Paso he experienced teachers as very punitive and he compares schools to prisons. He felt that teachers would frame him as a trouble-maker based on his language use:

For 6th, 7th, 8th I mean they would let me go but then I would get in trouble again: oh stick him back in alternative. And it was again for some dumb reason. Oh, Ira refused to go inside the classroom, write him up. You are going back to alternative. You guys I

wasn't the only one out there, the whole class was out there and out of the whole class you are picking me and a couple of other Spanish speakers (Ira, Interview 1).

Teachers would already perceive him as a student who would potentially talk out of turn in class and would want to keep him under as much control as possible: The reason I got to know teachers and got more or less kind of close to them was because of the reputation that I already had. They were like: "you up to the front" (Ira, Interview 1).

The schooling experience was described in terms of control, punishment and restrictions in this context there were no incentives to learn or develop his own positions and thoughts. The schools demanded that everyone followed orders and Ira reflects that a decolonizing curriculum would be a powerful way of education because having the capability to think for oneself can be dangerous.

The individual is just a part of something bigger so that individual is a part of something bigger when he goes to participate in life he brings those things they follow him and in order for us to not how would you say or minimize or stop the problem for a model to be successful in that in a sense of education it is not individually you have to target it I think you have to target the whole community to education for education to actually be a thing were it is not only a tool but a weapon as well now. A weapon that we can use to decolonize oneself affirm our identities through our histories and things like that as an aesthetic weapon. Maybe I am using the term weapon to loosely here but it is something you can use to fight with. You have your brain to counter the stuff that is coming at you (Ira, Interview 1).

Segregation among English-and Spanish-speaking student groups

Depending on what languages one speaks determines access to different social groups.

I first attended a public elementary school where it was very 50-50 Americans Anglo-Americans, African-Americans, well we only had a couple of African-American and the other half was mostly Hispanic Mexican-Americans, or Mexicans but within that school it was very separate very segregated amongst the kids where the kids who only spoke Spanish didn't interact with the kids who spoke English and since I was more fluent in English I was around American kids (Jonathan Z, Interview 1).

With regards to Spanish learning and speaking some participants described that teachers made assumptions about who is going to be Spanish-speaking in a class based on last names. Alex voiced his regret about taking Spanish in school because it was geared towards native speakers (Alex, Interview 2). The type of Spanish teachers reference in front of students matters because they can perpetuate deficit notions if they suggest to students that their Spanish is not proper and incorrect:

it wasn't the Spanish I knew so I was really lost and just like you said when he came in the first day he was like oh well, if you don't understand it that is your problem like that defeats the purpose of teaching (Troy, Interview 3).

Some students also have language attitudes such as not wanting to learn Spanish, only taking the language because family members pressured them, they are not being open to learning, just doing the bare minimum in class, which indicates a lack of motivation and interest towards Spanish:

It was heavily pushed upon me by my father there was a lot of resentment with wanting to learn Spanish and I just didn't open up to it. I just never really wanted to pick it up and I guess after learning nothing but English I was like: why do I need to learn Spanish if I am here in the United States? (Jonathan Z, Interview 3).

Speaking English

The language that is commonly used in schools is English as Christian explains: "in high school it was mostly English when I couldn't really express myself I would say some things in Spanish and they would more or less understand it but it was mostly English" (Christian, Interview 1). Evan also explains that when one did not attend a bilingual class it was strictly English that one would hear from the teacher: "in the schools the teachers only spoke English it wasn't a bilingual class" (Evan, Interview 2). Narda discusses the situation that one can never know what languages someone speaks and she does not want to assume someone speaks Spanish, as a result she considers it more polite to address people in English first once it is

established that all conversation partners speak Spanish switching to Spanish would be considered appropriate:

You don't really know the people that go on campus so I don't want to offend anybody using English no Spanish when I first talk to them I don't want to assume you speak Spanish and then you will be offended in some kind of way so I will approach you in English and if by any chance you happen to speak Spanish then we'll switch the conversation because now I think if you speak Spanish and I speak Spanish why would we speak English but if you don't speak Spanish it doesn't bother me I'll approach you in English because you never know even if the person looks you know Mexican you never know if they speak Spanish so I don't want to offend them (Narda, Interview 2).

The dominant language that is used at the university is: "English because some people even if they are Mexican they don't speak Spanish so they would be like: oh no I don't speak Spanish. - Ok we speak in English" (Stephanie, Interview 1).

Christian explains that if instructors and professors are White in his experience, they tend to not know Spanish and he is used to answering in whichever language he is approached in. This is how Christian explains why he addresses professors in English: most of them they were mostly White they really didn't they knew some words in Spanish and I guess they could understand it but it was mostly English, except for a few that were Hispanic but they would speak in English I guess I would just talk the way I mean if they talked to me in English I would answer in English (Christian, Interview 2).

The local form of translanguaging is the normal way of communication in the border university.

Vic describes translanguaging at the university as sounding cultured while it can sometimes be perceived less favorable outside the university environment:

I think in the university setting it is much more common to hear it, it sounds a lot more beautiful it sounds for lack of better words it sounds cultured to hear two languages at once and people transition quickly and effortlessly I do that all the time I transfer from English to Spanish and now that I am learning Italian and now that I am learning German I have conversations with my professors who also speak German and I try to address them in German. I think Spanglish perhaps outside the university life it can be a little bit more for a lack of better word broken. You would speak Spanish but then insert English words into the dialogue which you know it sounds in broken English but I think that is something very unique to this region we are in a binational community you know bilingual community (Vic, Interview 1).

Bilingual education in Juarez or other schools in Mexico

For students who came from Mexico and at a certain time started to attend schools in El Paso there are certain reoccurring themes. While in Mexico it depends more on the economical level of a student whether or not a high school can be attended as Carlos explains (Carlos, Interview 2). During their interviews ten of the participants shared their experiences with bilingual education in Mexico in both public and private settings. Nico is a student who has always attended public schools in Juarez and describes that all schools he attended did have an English program (Nico, Interview 1). However, the quality of the English program varied depending on the economic situation of the school as Christian points out while some of the “good schools” offered better English programs his school was only offering a very basic English program:

Mine was the poor one I remember it was a very low-income school. They would try to teach us some words in English but it was like: hi, restroom, water it was just words not even sentences it was very, very basic (Christian, Interview 2).

Since public school programs were not comprehensive Nico’s mom sent him to a private after school program in a language school for him to improve his English. Claudia describes a similar experience she used to attend a language school on Saturdays because her mother also strongly emphasized the need to learn English and recognized that the public school English programs alone were not going to teach an advanced level of English. The English level was “pretty low”, as Nico attests (Nico, Interview 1). Julio explains that when he started elementary school in Chihuahua it was: “half day Spanish and half day English, it was 50-50” (Julio, Interview 1). There is a power difference in how important it is to learn Spanish in the United States and how important it is to learn English in Mexico: “Over here Spanish is not that important to the Americans but in Mexico it is really important to learn English.”

Adjusting languaging in the classroom setting if it is an English-speaking class: “with my friends with most of them it is just Spanish but in the classrooms we use English since all the classes are in English” (Julio, Interview 3).

Ivonne comes from a small place in North Mexico and would attend a private school in Juarez:

Were not half the day but at least a little bit more than a quarter at least a third of the day was in English cause they started teaching me English so half the school was in Spanish the other part was in English that started in 2nd or 3rd grade (Ivonne, Interview 1).

Andre attended a bilingual education program in Juarez for Kindergarten then moved to El Paso to live with his aunt and attend school before moving back to Juarez:

I went to Kindergarten here I mean in Mexico in Juarez and the education program they had was bilingual they tried to put like a basic it was 60-70 percent in Spanish and the rest in English but it was like basic, basic. But in between those two years first and second grade I kind of gained a lot of insight into English rather than just having it as a subject in school in Mexico, because every time English not just a small part of the day. And when I went back to Mexico to third grade I went to a public school they were all Spanish I think that was the only school that was all Spanish and then when I moved to another school that I stayed 4th, 5th and 6th I studied with that English teacher from Brooklyn she was completely new like she was teaching English and the way that it went at that school was that half of the day was going to be in English and half of the day in Spanish. From 8am to 12 it is going to be Spanish courses like Math and stuff and then you have the same courses in English. I think that is the part where I learned the most English because her Spanish was super super bad and you had to learn some English in order to communicate with her and I think 6th grade was the top of my learning outcome as a whole and when I moved to middle school it was Secundaria over there in Juarez and during that time my English was falling down because I was in that normal regular English class they only had basics and grammar not like in the other school that was half and half (Andre, Interview 1).

Andre describes that his bilingual program in Juarez worked well because:

It was not like an English class that you take in elementary or in middle school that is only half an hour or hour per day and you just grab the basics like nouns, verbs, grammar, pronunciation it was basically having Spanish classes but in English we were having Math in English we were doing English courses we were doing literature, grammar, even science we were reading books for science I think it was for biology in English so we were having knowledge in Spanish and English it was cool we could see things that we had seen earlier in another language and that helped a lot. Because the school tried to have the same program at the same time when we were looking at the human body in Spanish we were looking at the human body in English, too (Andre, Interview 1).

Something else that helped Andre was that he had family members living in the United States that he would practice speaking English to. He also reflects that having enough instruction and practice time with a language that one is trying to learn is crucial, because his school also offered French as a class the way that a lot of other schools offer English. Since he did not learn French he would assume others did not learn English with that limited instruction time:

We were supposed to learn French, too at that school but I don't recall any of the French I know how to count in French and I know some of the colors but French was the extra. French was taught to us as the English of a regular school instead of having a lot of time in French we would get just an hour or an hour and a half per day and that is kind of a pretty good example of how things work if you teach if you try to get another language on a hour per day a week will not be enough (Andre, Interview 2).

Similarly, to Andre, Lino had also attended bilingual educational settings in Mexico where English was taught and also the language of instruction for content classes. French being offered as an additional language:

First I went to Kinderjardines in Chihuahua there I began with my English classes so it was bilingual and after that I went to a school called Spapi in Chihuahua also that one was trilingual but I didn't get the grasp of French that much then when I came to Juarez I learned I also practiced a lot French in my school it was also trilingual and it was called St. Patrizio. I had my entire classes in Spanish but I also had classes in English. I had Math in English I had lecture and comprehension, I also had spelling and history and other well common classes that usually we will take in Spanish in Mexico we also took in English and then I had two classes of French. We took a lot of classes in English I had like 5 or 6 classes in English. I went on and I went to secundaria tecnologico in Monterey in Juarez and there I learned only Spanish and English I didn't took the French class cause I didn't like the French a whole lot (Lino, Interview 1).

ESOL classes

While listening to the participants describing their previous educational experiences it became evident that those participants who came to El Paso from the Mexican educational system took pride in the fact that they did not need to attend ESOL classes. They appeared to

subscribe to a deficit notion that not speaking an advanced level of English is a problem that needs to be fixed.

Due to her mother's efforts Narda attended a bilingual school in Juarez and her way of framing success in her narrative is to explain that she passes the English as a foreign language test at UTEP which meant: "I didn't need any ESOL classes" (Narda, Interview 2).

Jose describes taking ESOL as different from the normal classes:

Well, I moved in and they said I am going to be in the ESOL program and I have to do the normal English classes and then this one more class. So, it was to learn English that would help us with the other classes that way we would know what things meant and I also had Spanish because I needed another language. They said you already know Spanish we will place you into Spanish. For me I think it was easy because in Mexico I learned Spanish as they have English here I already knew most of the things and they gave me credit for one class I just needed to take another one and that was it for English I needed to take the four years in high school and the one class in ESOL and then some of the classes were in ESOL I did Math class it was only for us only the ESOL people took it and the English courses were also ESOL so only the people in ESOL needed to take them (Jose, Interview 1).

Lily gives a definition of the term ESOL class: it is a class that helps the people who came from Mexico and doesn't know the English, so they learn the basic things (Lily, Interview 2). She had a positive experience with participating in the ESOL program:

I came in 7th grade my teachers were awesome everybody helped me with my English because it was like frustrating that I didn't know how to even say hi or anything so everybody was really helpful at the time and then when I went to high school which was Riverside also I have learned English so I moved to it was ESOL classes so when I have when I first started high school I begin with the regular English classes so it was kind of challenging but I liked it everybody was also very helpful and I don't have bad experiences with that. I had two periods of that class it was almost half day so after that I just have regular class like Math, history and everything all classes were in English and for that I had a teacher and he was the one who told me to hang out with people who spoke English so I can learn it better and then he always helped me because we needed to do essays and I didn't know how to write and then he just sit besides me and he helped me to read the paper that I wrote. So, it was very helpful. The ESOL is for people who doesn't speak English so when I was in 7th grade it was like 3 hours for that class. That

one was coded like English and then I had another class that was coded as reading so I can be more familiar with the language. In 8th grade we did an exam I don't remember how it was called but it was an exam I think I passed like a level and then I started the English regular classes but I had also the other ESOL class and the normal English but for example the people who talk English only have to do an exam to pass through high school but then I didn't have to take it because I was an ESOL student they just wanted to see if I was able to do the English courses (Lily, Interview 2).

There are regular English classes and then there are the classes for people who do not seem to speak the "normal" English which are the ESOL classes. Being in an ESOL class can lead to the feeling of being labeled with deficits. Andre explains that he had to prove himself in the educational system in El Paso as a student who was not behind and capable of doing work at his grade level when he started to attend school in El Paso. He gives a definition of the term ESOL:

I came here to the United States again and then during the first year I was half of the year in the ESOL program which is English as a second language because they thought that I was coming from Mexico so didn't know English and they were trying to put a label on me and I didn't like that so I proved them that I was a pretty good student in English and in general. So, they moved me out of the dual classes that were supposed to be easier quote on quote because they are supposed to be easier for a student who doesn't know English very well. I think I was half a year that I spend in those classes and after that I just been in regular classes because you have to be in a specific kind of English class not like everyone else you will be reading really easy books compared to the ones that they are reading in other classed because they are trying to incorporate you into the school system and the school environment and after that my Junior and Senior year were all regular completely normal classes and then I graduated and now I am studying here at utep and I have been having regular English classes ever since (Andre, Interview 2).

Andre explains that when entering university there are tests to determine one's level of English:

They have a special test that you take in order to see how much level of English you have and I think you are supposed to get certain points if you don't meet the certain points you get special classes to help you with the English or even remedial classes for courses that you don't seem to have a lot of knowledge on. In my case I wasn't in any of those classes because I got good points on the test and I got the normal classes (Andre, Interview 2).

While Andre did not have to take remedial classes once he entered UTEP he had to prove that he was able to learn in English when he entered the US school system. Being labeled as having deficits was an experience Andre had in El Paso:

They wouldn't let me take the normal courses that I have been taken before but they told me that because it is a Mexican system it is different from the US you are going to be slower and it is going to be hard for you. And I was like: no, I can do it. And a lot of my friends they got lowered a year, so they stayed in one year two times and a lot of my friends graduated a year after me, because I stayed in my same year (Andre, Interview 2).

In Andre's and Mario's narrative there is a commonality that both describe, of it being undesirable to be in remedial English classes. This hints at an internalized deficit discourse suggesting that there is something wrong with not being in the "regular" English classes:

I was born in Mexico I would speak in Spanish up to the age of 5 and I was getting the informal English from my parents that adopted me and so when I was going to school I was understanding English but what happened was that they saw that I was deficient in English so I was taking after school programs probably for 30 or 45 minutes to brush up on my English. I thought I was ok but the school district could see that I was deficient in English so that is why I was learning English and it didn't take that long once I hit kindergarten when I was in Kindergarten my English was improved and then first and second it has improved even more so by the time I went to another school there was no need for the after school program so I was once I hit third grade I was in regular classes (Mario, Interview 1).

Mario is a participant originally from Mexico who was adopted in El Paso. His mother put a lot of emphasis on him learning English because she had experienced negativity in the educational system for being a Spanish speaker. For Mario learning English promised more opportunities in the future this resulted in him not wanting to learn his forgotten Spanish because it was perceived as useless:

I didn't really care for Spanish because in my mind speaking English was the only way to go so I got C's and D's in both classes I just didn't care or wanted to care and coming from my father who adopted me he is White and my mother she is Hispanic but coming from now I understand why she emphasized speaking English because when she was a kid speaking Spanish was frowned upon on and she told me that she got hit on the hand by a ruler whenever she spoke Spanish so it was imperative to speak English and for me Spanish was not really a thing to do so that is why when I spoke I didn't really care in high school speaking Spanish, I didn't care to have friends to speak in Spanish to so it was English all the time (Mario, Interview 1).

When Mario was young, he subscribed to deficit discourses but since then he has undergone a reflection process that made him aware of White superiority in society:

I'm thinking here people are fighting against the White superiority and that is why so you have people that dominated the whole society for thousands of years and people like me just don't want to identify with that. My dad was White I grew up White I never understood I never saw my skin color until I joined the army. And I saw, I was working with Black people the first time and that made me more aware and then I saw the Mexicans they don't talk to me because I am White or thinking that I am White (Mario, Interview 1).

Part of that reflection process was calling out his twin brother on being White-washed and having a different attitude towards Spanish: "I have a twin brother and he is into the self-hate he looks as he thinks that he is White and I was like: Bro you are Brown" (Mario/Interview 1).

As a student in school Mario was socialized into not putting much importance into Spanish learning which is his lost mother tongue. However, now he is self-conscious about how his Spanish sounds and he does not want to use it that much: That is why it is hard to speak Spanish because I don't want to come off as speaking like a Gringo and that is why I'm like: no (Mario, Interview 1).

Mario recalls that he and his brother changed schools due to a biased teacher. The low expectations that the teacher had towards Mario and his twin brother may have been connected with their Spanish accents as Mario explains:

Elementary was Cielo Vista school I went up to the second grade and my parents didn't want me to be there because we had a prejudiced teacher against me and my brother cause our accents were still heavy so she was an older White lady and my parents didn't like that. When I was in second grade my prejudiced White teacher told my parents: well, they kind of act up but the thing is all they are going to be good for is being janitors that is what they told my parents (Mario, Interview 1).

Due to the border location the experience of crossing the border in order to attend school is part of some participants daily life. Narda explains: "the first year I was here at the university I used to cross everyday but then I decided to just move out" (Narda, Interview 1).

Claudia discusses that with the issue of having to cross a border daily come issues such as long wait times which in her case resulted in her moving to a school in Juarez because the lines at the

border were too long after 9/11. As a consequence of this she attended public schools in Juarez that did not have extensive English programs:

In Kindergarten I actually came here to the US but I didn't speak English and I don't remember it that much and it was when 9/11 happened so the lines at the bridge were super long and my parents had to change me to Juarez and I spend my whole life in Juarez and they taught us English but I was in public school so it is not good at all (Claudia, Interview 1).

Ivonne is one of the participants from Mexico who describe their experience with the school system in both countries. Here she is speaking about transitions. One transition was the change from a Spanish speaking school environment to a monolingual setting. That entailed a switch in language use and Ivonne encountered different types of teachers. One she describes as the "horrible Mexican" teacher who would not help her with Spanish, on the other hand Ivonne came across teachers who she describes as patient with her because she was an emergent bilingual when she initially came to the United States:

I was in monolingual so that was my going from teachers who spoke my language to teachers that didn't and I only had one teacher that was willing to speak English and Spanish to me I had one horrible Mexican teacher I mean she was horrible because it is always the ones who are Mexican that make it harder for you she was like I'm not going to speak anything to you in Spanish you better figure it out on your own. I had another one that was really nice and she would help me out. And then I had two American teacher they were older but they didn't speak a thing of Spanish but they were very, very patient with me they were husband and wife one taught Math the other one taught Science it was perfect for me and I would carry a dictionary and she was like: alright if I am talking to fast or you don't understand me she is like stop me I don't care if we stop the class whatever you have to do raise your hand and ask me what that word means and I will answer so they were super helpful for me and if I had questions during the test they would explain the words but even though they didn't speak a thing of Spanish they found a way to be patient with me which was great because not only did I skip a year I went from bilingual to just monolingual I didn't have a choice it was like a bucket of cold water and this is it and at home grades were the most important thing so if I got an 85 like hell would freeze over my shoes would get taken away my fancy shoes, my phone, my food, my computer everything got taken away I had to do it. It is either this or I had to do it or nothing else. Until I came here it was mostly Spanish except for the teachers that I had in English for the third then they would speak English but the hard part was that as soon as they would walk out they would start talking to you in Spanish again. It was like

now I would speak English and they would leave and now I speak Spanish to you. Like you know how we talk oh I am too tired to talk English let me just do this (laughing) that is exactly how they would do it. And when I got here I had one teacher that would speak Spanish to me the one who was really nice and talked to me and everybody else spoke English and once I got to high school everybody pretty much spoke English I didn't have a teacher that spoke Spanish except for my Mariachi class but that doesn't count (Ivonne, Interview 1).

One element that becomes visible in her narrative is that parent expectations were important in her motivation pushing her to learn. Acquiring the necessary English skills to be successful in the school system was an expectation that was held by both her parents and teachers. Due to Ivonne's attitude of not caring about being wrong when speaking and practicing English she made progress with the language and overcame feelings of shyness that she initially had:

I would use English as much as possible and that also helped me to get over the shyness of speaking it. I got to the point where I didn't care if I was getting it wrong and they were making fun of me I didn't care correct me and I move on I got to that level (Ivonne, Interview 1).

Participants from Mexico who had attended public schools in Mexico agreed that those schools only offered very limited English programs. Jose remembers that he was taught the same two verbs repeatedly every year:

Well, it was deep in Mexico so they didn't have a language program for kids in middle school they had English but they only taught us the verb to be and to do, and that is about it and every year they taught us that and really, I was like that. I learned everything when I moved over here (Jose, Interview 1).

Claudia contemplated that one is not going to learn English in Mexican schools because the programs are insufficient. She describes this as a problem because its important and necessary in the border town of Juarez to teach more English. From her experience it is only at specific private and language schools that one can learn English:

In Mexico they always teach English but it is always the same nobody knows in public schools if you don't go to a specific school to learn English you are not going to learn it. They don't even teach proper English and Juarez is right across (Claudia, Interview 3).

Carlos is summarizing the points made that the content of English instruction is very limited in Mexico and it mostly depends what kind of school one attends if one is going to learn English or not:

In elementary school they tried to teach us English, they do not teach us something different it is always the same teaching of what you already know. I think it depends on which school you are in cause some schools will have better level of English (Carlos, Interview 1).

A strong impulse for learning English came from Kenya's parents who sent her to private after school English classes before she entered a bilingual school in Mexico:

At home I just spoke Spanish but my parents always tried to put me into schools where they would speak in Spanish to me on the first half of the day and on the other half of the day they would teach me my classes in English. Bilingual so they would teach me sciences in Spanish in the morning and science in English in the afternoon. In elementary, in Kindergarten they don't start that small but you can go to the English school in the afternoons after you end that is what my parents did too. That is the main thing if you live in the border cities they have to keep in getting your English education cause then you forget it and for border cities you can't forget your English cause you get visitors from across the border every day. So for Kindergarten and half of my elementary they were in Tijuana and they taught us English and Spanish and then I came here to Juarez and finished my other half of elementary which they teach us taught us English, Spanish and French and then I crossed over here to El Paso for my middle school they only taught me English and for my high school here in El Paso they taught me English and French and in College I decided to take German (Kenya, Interview 1).

Participants from Mexico discussed that they would speak Spanish in school in Mexico and once they came to El Paso, they would continue to speak Spanish depending on the school or class-setting in which they were placed:

At my school they had a lot of Mexicans so we had a class that was only from us and in Math we would only speak Spanish and everything else was in English but most of the teachers knew Spanish so they would teach in Spanish and if we needed help they would teach us in Spanish and help us in Spanish (Jose, Interview 1).

Translanguaging is part of everyday conversations while in schools in El Paso. As Jose gives the example being bilingual opens the opportunity to use both languages:

In the classroom it is English all the time my friends I know speak Spanish some of them don't for the most part I speak Spanish but sometimes it is hard because I am trying to translate but the content is in English so we speak Spanish some things and then English from the class the terms (Jose, Interview 1).

Lino considers it very useful that he had the opportunity to learn both English and Spanish in school because it eased the transitioning process: "from a Spanish school to an English school, that helped a lot" (Lino, Interview 1). Lino looks back on the transitional time when he initially struggled with the fact that no Spanish was used at the university. He used to translate the class content to Spanish and then back to English. This proved to be a problem particularly in an exam environment with the time constraints involved. Lino touches on a crucial point when he needs an instructor who is going step by step and does not rush through the material. Having someone available who also is bilingual has proven helpful for Lino:

Instead of going back from English to Spanish to Spanish to English I preferred going straight English I began to work straight English only English so I've been grasping a lot more what I've been taught. For example, I was having a lot of stress at the beginning of this semester I had this mechanics exam, and I was terrible in that exam it was horrible I began the exam and I was like: oh my god what is this? So, I had to go and talk to the professor and ask him if he knew someone that could teach me in Spanish or he could teach me a little bit more like more detailed like I told him: if you could explain it to me for dummies. I told him like that a little bit more for dummies, a little bit more step by step or someone that can help me in that way, he passed me along with some other guy with one of his TA's and he speaks Spanish and he tries to he gives me the entire lecture or entire step through in English but he makes it a little bit more focused I find it easier to learn from him (Lino, Interview 3).

When Narda entered the university in El Paso she had been educated in bilingual schools in Mexico, although she had learned English since she was young she lacked the practice and had to adjust to speaking it every day. She worried particularly about her accent:

I spoke both of them like English I started learning it since I was like in kindergarten so I knew how to write and read really well but there it is different from here, here I started practicing it cos it is harder to speak to talk than to read and write so I was kinda nervous about my accent and pronunciation and everything but I just kind of mastered English in the last four years I feel really comfortable in both in Spanish and English (Narda,

Interview 1).

Similarly, to Narda, Claudia also describes being nervous with having to use English when coming to El Paso for classes:

When I was 13 I came to El Paso to study with a professor so it was a big shock to me because all my life I have been taking English classes, but I never really like practice it maybe in restaurants or stores but I never had a conversation in English until I came here and I didn't know how to speak I was so nervous it took me a while and I got used to it (Claudia, Interview 1).

Apart from being nervous with English Claudia would also get tired of translating everything from English to Spanish:

When my teacher used to talk to me I was like: ok give me at least 5 seconds to actually translate everything and when I first started in college here I now I do get tired but I used to go home and feel super tired because my head was just translating everything (Claudia, Interview 1).

Transitioning from Spanish to English is part of the process of moving or coming to El Paso:

I moved in and they said I am going to be in the ESOL program and I have to do the normal English classes and then this one more class. So, it was to learn English that would help us with the other classes that way we would know what things meant (Jose, Interview 1).

Lily summarizes the reason why students come to El Paso:

Wanting a better life: I came to El Paso around 8 years ago. My family is from Juarez I live all my life there and they are from there, and we just came to El Paso because we wanted a better live so we just came in 2009 (Lily, Interview 1).

Previous language learning

The Table 16 below is comparing the German class to previous language classes participants had attended. It contains the original comments that participants made during their individual, as well as focus group interviews, organized into fourteen categories:

Table 16

A comparison of German class to other language classes

Former (Spanish/French/German/Latin) language class	Current German class
<p>“The class is everything in Spanish we need to write and speak and everything in Spanish”(Lily, Interview 1)</p>	<p>“I mean when two people share each other’s language they are not just sharing a language and words and stuff they are opening up the whole world to them their alphabet their definitions their ideology their ideas and I think when languages are used as a conduit to maybe to promote bilingualism or to better understand each other’s worlds there would be a lot less stigmatization or a lot less problems.” (Ira, Interview 1)→bilingualism builds a bridge of understanding and opens perspectives on other languages</p>
<p>German in high school “grammar, conjugations a lot of those”(Iskra, Interview 1) →limited focus of teaching “for high school it was not really productive sometimes the professor would control us and go through the book and sometimes nothing happened in that class it was just a class that was there”(Julio, Interview 3)→ lack of goals “I took a couple of classes in German they were the basics I felt that the teacher she didn’t have much patience so the experience was not great she would give us this long list like 200 words you have a quiz next week memorize them you would know all this stuff but then you don’t know how to apply, that is the issue”(Narda, Interview 1)→impatient teacher, theoretical isolated knowledge of words without application “we only could speak in German and it was hard to ask some stuff but the teacher she was great she knew a little bit of Spanish and English”(Nico, Interview 1) →immersion “it was a lot of speaking and you don’t really have a lot of time to process stuff, it was going very fast, really fast so it was different we didn’t take the time to repeat stuff and that didn’t help me out that much, it is frustrating”(Nico, Interview 1)→</p>	<p>“you are more concentrating on learning the structure of the sentence and making sense of it and I feel like that is better because even make sense of it because naturally you learn the verb” (Narda, Interview 1)</p> <p>“in that way I prefer this class since it allows me to repeat cause usually I need to repeat stuff so I can memorize them” (Nico, Interview 1)</p> <p>“ when you get someone who is passionate and wants to teach you something and they don’t leave you out in the cold: oh you have to learn it yourself, which is true you have to you need to have the initiative to learn and things like that but you have to interest you have to get people interested” (Evan, Interview 2)→empathetic facilitator of learning</p> <p>“just look at the professor how they teach if it is mainly grammar you are going to get bored on it you will hate it but on this class, on your class it is more interactional more funner, more you speak it so you learn more like that” (Iskra, Interview 1)→grammar based teaching would be uninteresting</p>

<p>“German class that one was also going through the work book little by little and having us at the beginning of a new chapter write all the vocabulary in our composition books and trying to memorize it “(Ivan, Interview 1)</p>	
<p>Focus on memorization “memorizing conjugations, verbs and the meaning, memorizing nouns oh this means this and this in this class you learn that on the way and if you try to teach it mechanically I feel it doesn’t help for a language it helps for other stuff like history I don’t know but for a language you have to speak you have to exercise it you can’t just like oh this week we saw verbs now we just move along I didn’t like this because of that ... oh learn everything and you kind of hated it because of that.” (Narda, Interview 2) “they are in no way similar your class is, and I love Frau Schimm but your class is way better because our school didn’t have the funding for the German class so when we were in German two we had German one students and when we were in German three we still had German one students and she would just give us a lot of book work and we had to figure out the words on our own”(Jarid, Interview 2)→mixed levels in one class but the advanced students are not interacting with the beginners “I took 2 years, the first year we just watched movies. Only one German movie which was Run, Lola Run. We watched that about 3 times and then a Spanish movie so it was a weird class didn’t learn too much in there. We didn’t do very much. We never went over how to introduce ourselves we skipped through chapters we had one copy for all the class...Either we did paperwork, the book was just there we didn’t really use it much” (Garett, Interview 1)→lack of curriculum, teaching material “she would get very frustrated with us and correct us very harshly not necessary harshly she would get frustrated, we are just as</p>	<p>Focus on understanding the structure “you are like trying to slowly make us comprehend how do you do it instead of making us memorize nouns and here is: ok do you understand and you know learning the words will come along. This is focusing more on you need to learn the structure and how to talk properly and you learn some verbs along the way that is different” (Narda, Interview 2) “I like how we are all on the same page in your class and no one is like everybody is advanced but you are still making them do the same work instead of making the more advanced people do this and then making the people who just started the language do something completely different” (Jarid, Interview 2)→students with prior knowledge and those without work together and benefit from their interactions “you are actually doing stuff (laughing) you work with us you are very patient” (Jonathan, Interview 1) “I’d say this class is more engaged probably, because it is group work but it is also with you and it is more let’s see follow up you know, I know the classes are short, they go by extremely fast but you know and then I think the homework helps, too, like I said, me per se I don’t like homework but which student does but I don’t mind doing the homework for this class, it goes by quick and you know I learn a little while I’m doing it” (Shawn, Interview 1) “Short but throughout I like how we still talk to you and we also talk to each other that really works, I don’t know what would make a good German class, you know I like it like this. I honestly can’t think of anything that</p>

<p>frustrated as you common and she was very, very forgetful at things when she assigned homework she would forget to pick it up and I would spend the whole night doing the homework and she won't ask for. She would give kind of hard quizzes and tests she would have us memorize all the w-words like wenn, wann and all those and then she would get frustrated that we would do badly on the tests (Jonathan, Interview 1)</p>	<p>would make it easier, because I know I know a little bit I have a little bit of background so it is easier for me but it is easy to learn, easy to follow along, at least for me you don't go too fast"(Shawn, Interview 1)→ well-paced instruction</p> <p>“this semester it has been more like where you read and maybe not understand all the words but at least make sense out of the words you understand and you can kind of figure it out” (Humberto, Interview 1)→figuring out meaning through context and by relating it to previous knowledge</p>
<p>Spanish</p> <p>“we assume everybody here speaks Spanish, no one really struggled anyways maybe one or two people that aren't Hispanic but everyone around helped them out it was pretty quick. We were reading articles, it was almost like an English text book in Spanish but it wasn't really that we harped on grammar in general” (Adrian, Interview 1)</p> <p>“in Spanish class we wouldn't do that we would have our books and we would get our papers and we would do our activities and write down the words I mean I already knew what it means but I can still I think if we had practiced with each other I could have learned more and sometimes we did that but not that often it was mostly for grades. You do a paper and turn it in that is why I think Spanish classes here are very ineffective because I know people who take Spanish classes for like 3 or 4 years and then they get out of school and they can't have a conversation with people” (Jared, Interview 1)→ no outcome of the class</p> <p>“immersion so you got used to hearing the language more, and focus on reading and writing, but mostly it was just numbers and the alphabet. With native Spanish speakers who are teaching the class it is still the same format for some reason, numbers alphabet and maybe a few vocabulary words but you don't</p>	<p>“it is completely different because it is something that I don't know” (Jaqueline, Interview 1)</p> <p>“you are patient and you go through the material and explain it different ways until you get it and like you take your time and I feel like you know what you are doing and my Spanish teachers didn't know what they were doing and they rushed through everything and they were impatient and they put you on the spot and you didn't want to learn because of the fear of being wrong in front of them and they didn't make it fun or anything and that is the opposite of this class. That is why I enjoy this class so much”.(Dylan, Interview 1)</p> <p>“over here it is always relaxed and I always have fun. When we don't know how to say something or we want to know something we can just ask you and you just tell us and write it down on the board and you explain it for us” (Jay, Interview 1)</p>

learn enough where you feel you are advancing I never understood that.”(Cierra, Interview 1)→structure of curriculum
“it was really boring because we had to conjugate and break down words which is really boring and saying why some words end in e-o-or I it is really hard” (Jaqueline, Interview 1)→meaningless, repetitive tasks
“I was taught by a white lady at first, we were all confused she knew the language she could enunciate perfectly once we understood that she spoke it and that she was right on we were like: ok she knows what she is talking about. The thing is I didn’t really at that time I didn’t care to speak Spanish I was like: it is just one of those things that you have to do.”(Mario, Interview 1)→questioning teacher skills because of skin color, not being interested in learning, lack of motivation
“memorize this and your final is this day and he would correct you” (Dylan, Interview 1)
“He would say what is pollo and like we would be like we don’t know because we had never learned. Spanish one she did teach I will give that to her she did try to teach but it was like the numbers and the alphabet and it was really basic stuff and not enough to do that type of stuff and he would get mad at you things like the ll or the y oh there is no y in Spanish and he would get mad”.(Dylan, Interview 1)
“if we ever wanted to talk in class they would have us speak in Spanish and work off of workbooks we did do some fun activities when it came to holidays for Mexico” (Ivan, Interview 1)→worksheet oriented
“The Spanish class it was in high school so the class had to since it wasn’t a school that basically everyone spoke English there was maybe two African American kids and one White kid so we all spoke Spanish so it wasn’t a situation where there had to be a class for you to learn Spanish, Spanish was more like the way you would have a Spanish class in Mexico” (Humberto, Interview 1)
“it was just weird I mean we all knew Spanish

<p>it was mostly just grammar cause everyone knew Spanish we would just talk in Spanish and just it was basically grammar” (Christian, Interview 1)</p> <p>“in Spanish I remember it was a dreadful feeling like you didn’t want to answer any question”(Jay, Interview 1)→ classroom atmosphere</p>	
<p>French</p> <p>“In school in high school I took French and he was more traditional in his teaching ways so I always fell asleep the only thing I did remember is watching Ratatouille” (Kristin, Interview 1)→ traditional teaching approach</p> <p>“French teacher if you needed to go to the bathroom if you needed to go to the office I’ll let you go you can leave my class you can do whatever you want just say it in French and we would all sit down we don’t want to go out we don’t want to say anything.</p> <p>In my French class the one activity that we did have since a lot of people only spoke Spanish he brought in an English to French dictionary and the people that didn’t know English he brought an English to Spanish dictionary. After a while you would start seeing students getting them in Spanish and then in French and they would have lists of random words that all had the same root word or the same meaning so they could all start using it instead of it so instead of talking all pocho how they talk over here they start in English and then go to Spanish and then to English again they would start doing it in French so they would start in English and then go to Spanish and then they would go to French and then to Spanish again but after a while it was funny and they would jump around I would remember it so it would start today is Wednesday and it would continue and they would say the numbers in French and they would say the year in English and that is the way I would remember it. It was chopped up but even though it was chopped up with all the languages I tend to remember it a little bit more.(Kristin, Interview</p>	<p>“I took French for one semester and I think it was mainly on the computer, so this is more hands on we get to talk and write and stuff”(Catalina, Interview 2)</p> <p>“I like how you teach you stick to the structure but like try to reach out to people from the structure. You build a bridge and you try to send ropes out. Go exploring without building a structure you have nowhere to go back to once you save someone” (Adrian Z, Interview 1)</p> <p>“It comes down to teachers”(Evan, Interview 1)</p>

<p>1)→filtering French through Spanish& everyday language practice inside the classroom</p> <p>“we couldn’t go to the restroom unless we knew how to say the complete sentence...They were very repetitive and what I remember from that is whenever I wanted to speak in French I would remember the repetitions that they would make us do in class, we would repeat phrases and that is it we wouldn’t know how to structure a sentence. It is a very rigid method”(Kenny, Interview 1)→mechanical, rigid teaching method</p> <p>“we had to memorize a lot and the teacher wouldn’t make us speak that much so it was mostly written and I didn’t grasp it. The way the teacher tried to teach it to us I didn’t find it interesting I think that this was a problem, an issue”(Lino, Interview 1)→lack of interest and learning motivation because of memorization based uninteresting teaching</p> <p>“the teacher she wouldn’t commit to it a lot of times it would be like copy down this whole paragraph in French and then we read it and I’ll translate it to you in English, she really wouldn’t teach anything she would just tell us to copy something in French we really didn’t learn I mean personally maybe some other people did but I didn’t it was more an issue with her maybe she didn’t like it”(Humberto, Interview 1)→ teacher lacks motivation so students don’t feel like learning</p>	
<p>English “the thing that I liked in Colegio Tech de Monterrey is that sometimes you would do these sections and you would need to talk with your classmate or with your professor these oral exams and you would have understanding and practice. Or sometimes we have to do some videos so you would record yourself talking about things (Carlos, Interview 2)→</p> <p>“the first ones were very heavy on verb conjugations so we just went through that super hard I probably have 15 notebooks</p>	

<p>filled with verbs and sentences and stuff like that and we would practice writing them and then we say them together and then it was going to be the same sentence with another pronoun” (Nico, Interview 1)</p> <p>“in elementary I was the only one who spoke English sometimes they were like: oh the teacher didn’t come you can give a class you know how to speak English? And I was like: what? I mean school isn’t that organized as it is in here they didn’t have a good program and they never teach unless you are in private school I was in public schools and they don’t teach any other language just English. Every year it is the same it’s introducing yourself or knowing things table, computer words and the verb to be” (Claudia, Interview 1)</p> <p>There is English courses that I took when I was trying to learn it when I was in Middle school they teach English it was just super basic you fill out the sentence just it was pretty dull, it wasn’t as good as this (German class) it was just you kind of know English so finish what the book says. They thought that most of us had the sense of English so it was kind of like to perfect to kind of like to clean our English in a way but I think the class like the one that you teach it is better because you use a lot of methods for us to learn. Rather than looking at the book (Andre, Interview 1).</p>	<p>--using multimodal learning approaches: we use computer, we use books, we use your examples and you write on the board (Andre, Interview 1)</p>
<p>Latin</p> <p>“Latin it was mostly confined to reading the text or conjugating or figuring out how to write it” (Vic, Interview 1)</p>	<p>“in German it is more conversational it is more about learning how to communicate which either or is beneficial, but the main difference is how we are to apply the knowledge” (Vic, Interview 1)</p>
<p>“at the end of the day the teachers just care about getting paid and stuff and who doesn’t of course, it is all about getting paid” (Evans, Interview 2)→teacher motivation is not on student learning</p> <p>“There are so many bad professors because they think if they know about it they can teach it” (Claudia, Interview 1)</p>	
<p>Portuguese</p> <p>“you grasp it faster because you are interacting with it 24/7”(Lino, Interview</p>	

<p>1)→full immersion fast and fun learning experience</p>	
<p>Spanish as a German heritage language learner “I struggled with Spanish I don’t know why I would try to write stuff but it would come out in German, so I was like I can’t do this (laughing)”(Quejona, Interview 1) “at the school you don’t want to speak it because you know people that speak mostly Spanish you are going to be lost, so you talk to people that know English and again you’re in that cycle where you speak English all the time. I get intimidated.” (Shawn, Interview 1)</p>	<p>“don’t be intimidated by it you know taking a course in it, it definitely helps you know it really does, you might not have a ton of exposure to it because the class isn’t that long or you don’t meet every day but it is still a lot more exposure than not and it is something you need, it really helps to be taught it instead of trying to learn it on your own, when you are in a class you know this is the correct way for sure and if I do it like this I’m gonna get it right” (Shawn, Interview 1)→having confidence in one’s learning progress</p>
<p>German at the university “a little bit more chaotic in how it was taught we had our homework that we would complete I guess like a worksheet or something in the book but in class she would go ahead and try to teach us but it seemed very disoriented nothing in that class kind of stuck. she just rushed through things and she was just like: whatever, good good like rushed us through just went through it without much going on and the exams for that one were just memorize exactly the same that was in the book, so it was like a memorization type thing: oh if you memorized what the answers were you could write it down and you would be good to go. just memorized what was going to be in the quiz and she would tell us what kind of answers she would or what questions would be on it. the other teacher was like this is the exact question that is in the book and all students really did was to memorize what was the answer to that question. In the end she didn’t really scramble it it was just in the order so then it was most of us memorized the answers and went down but that isn’t really (Ivan, Interview 1)</p>	<p>Testing in this German class “one thing I did like I didn’t expect was how you do your tests, rather than say ok you don’t know it you get a failing grade you had us go back and went to it and looked at it and saw what we did wrong and explained to it why it was wrong and then go ahead and change it I feel like I was able to learn more rather than once I found out that it relieves some stress because I feel like I can make a little bit of mistakes and she is able to help us understand why we did certain things wrong and too I think it helps me kind of understand rather than taking the test and you wait until whenever you see each other again grade it and here you go and this was wrong and this was wrong and ok and you just move on and learn the new stuff” (Ivan, Interview 1)</p>
<p>German grammar focus</p>	<p>Dialogue focus</p>

<p>“a lot of grammar so that is why when I speak it, it is not as good, I will not know many things I will just know how to conjugate” (Iskra, Interview 1)</p>	<p>“dialogue emphasis” (Iskra, Interview 1)</p>
<p>“whenever you have a class that is nothing but tests you don’t learn anything you learn to get passed the test you kind of lose that interest it becomes a grades thing and grades are important but you instantly don’t want to learn it you just want to pass the test instead of actually learning it” (Evan, Interview 1)→test-based instruction</p>	<p>“I actually go because it is wow, it is cool I’m going to learn something different I’m going to further my knowledge.”(Evan, Interview 1)→learning motivation</p>
<p>Spanish as a non-native speaker “since it was in the non-native class everybody else wouldn’t know Spanish either so they would only speak English, too. After three years of taking it I can’t speak it”(Shawn, Interview 1)→students grouped by language ability in homogenous class</p>	

The individual learning in the German class

An individual students motivation is a key element to learning not just in a language class but overall it determines how much one is going to take away from the learning opportunities: “there is two ways you come to school because they sent you or you come to school because you want to and that makes the difference if you want to then you have to learn it if they sent you then you do whatever you can just to pass by” (Ricardo, Interview 1).

During their interviews the participants explained their reasons for taking the German class which pointed to the individual learner’s motivation.

Going to Germany one day whether one has a specific time frame worked out or not for that, was named as a motivation for wanting to learn German by eleven of the participants. For example, Andre describes his dream of studying abroad in Germany:

One of my goals here in my university career is to study abroad in Germany and that has been a dream since I was in middle school because one of my family members lived in Germany for like 3 years and she always comes back and that generated that dream of me going to study over there for a couple or just one semester but I knew it was going to be

pretty hard if I went over there and not know one word (Andre, Interview 1). Stephanie describes that while she generally enjoys learning languages her other reason is: I'm going to be going to Germany for three years (Stephanie, Interview 1). Jarid is a participant who as a child had been living in Germany and explained that he would like to go back to work there: I want to go back to Germany to be a teacher over there (Jarid, Interview 2).

Going to Germany for research was another motivation for learning German: "I might need to read it in the future or I need to travel to Germany and access libraries there" (Vic, Interview 1)

Other participants such as Mario had similar reasons for wanting to learn German: "I'm planning on doing it because for me I want to go to Germany to continue my education there that is my goal I want to speak German and continue with this" (Mario, Interview 1).

Lino lined up his German language learning goals with his future career goals of working in Germany:

I find it to be a very interesting language and in many ways. I find it to be completely different from other languages so since I was little I had this idea of practicing German maybe go when I was older go to Germany and work there for example or just visit there. I'd liked it because I've always thought that engineering in Germany is top of the line so I've always liked engineering in Germany. I like practicing for example, I like a lot German, Portuguese I also like it a lot so I practice it I think it is kind of a little advantage that I have because talking different languages might help me with my career in the future (Lino, Interview 1).

Lino views learning and knowing several languages as an advantage that increases his employability and increases his job market opportunities. In a similar manner Jose identified learning a language such as German as a marketable skill he can utilize for his major. In his explanation there is also the connotation of wanting to learn for the sake of learning: "I wanted to do something else not just straight up do my classes for business and study so I decided to take

something else I was looking into languages and German I thought that it was great for business” (Jose, Interview 1).

Humberto also draws the connection that German would go well with his major: “because I’m a history major so I thought it would go well” (Humberto, Interview 1).

Wanting to read historic documents in German or having an interest in German history was another motivating reason for learning German Adrian R., Christian and Mario have a particular interest in world war II: “I was curious all my time growing up I studied a lot about world war II, not study but I was infatuated with it documentaries and read book so it makes a little bit more sense” (Adrian R., Interview 1). “I remember watching a documentary about World War II and I just liked the way they spoke German I guess it just intrigued me a lot of the history what happened with Germany but it is just I don’t know the way they talk” (Christian, Interview 1).

Mario enjoys reading historic documents in the original version versus the translations.

Furthermore, he explains understanding history as important because it can serve to build a bridge of understanding others:

I like reading people understanding people that’s why, because once you get from their perspective you are able instead of building a wall you can build that bridge so you can understand that person I’m in the understanding and appreciating all types of humans so I can’t cut myself off just because history says something else that is why. We learn from history this is not the way to go, this is the way to go. I like to read history so I can understand different perspectives something else encompassing more. When something is translated it is not perfect you have to learn it in that language to understand it. It is good to learn history from another country to understand it their perspective of what went on. That is why I like reading several books to understand a full context (Mario, Interview 1).

Seven of the participants specified that their main reason for taking the German class is to continue with the language that they have previously started learning:

I kind of know already some stuff so I might as well take it and since I wasn’t super right there when I was in the intensive course I wanted to actually put my mind to it and start

relearning most of the stuff and try to grab it again and try to actually learn how to speak it (Nico, Interview 1).

I decided to take German because I had already taken it. And I thought:

Hey, this would be a good refresher course in case I forgot anything important. Like if I ever wanted to go teach biology in Germany or do something really cool in Germany just go on a trip. And it has helped. Absolutely (Adrian Z., Interview 1).

I had taken it in high school but I was never able to grasp it as a whole and so I wanted to continue to try to learn the language to be fluent in it also that way I could go out and eventually travel to Germany and go around (Ivan, Interview 1).

Similarly to the other participants Iskra has previously learned some German and points out that it would be an easy class to take in her case: “I need it for foreign language so they offered German, since I took it before it is just an introduction I’m like I’ll just take it and I already know” (Iskra, Interview 1). Having an interest to further one’s knowledge of the language was expressed by Julio: “I wanted to continue and see where I can get with German” (Julio, Interview 1) and Cierra who had self-studied German and described the class as an opportunity to inquire more and check if she has been learning correctly:

Sometimes you may be studying it wrong so I really took it just to see if you know I was doing well with my studies and I found that you know even if I found something like the *zwo* versus *zwei* I can come to you and ask you why those things that is the main reason really (Cierra, Interview 1).

Having a connection to German through one’s family and wanting to connect back with those roots was a motivating reason heritage language learners had:

That was kind of the reason I wanted to learn German because it is our lost family language and I know same thing with Spanish I don’t speak Spanish either I’m going to lose Spanish, too but I wanted to learn German, cause I thought it was really interesting (Evan, Interview 1).

Jaqueline became interested in learning German because of her German last name and her interactions with German speakers:

The first thing was my last name people would always ask me where it comes from and I would say it is from Germany and then they tend to ask: do you speak German? And then

I'd be like no. So that interested me and also at my work I get a lot of Menonitas from Chihuahua and that interested me into trying to converse with them although they speak Spanish and English it would be fun to surprise them (Jaqueline, Interview 1).

Shawn's motivation derives from trying to communicate better with his German grandparents:

I have grandparents in Germany. I talk to them a little, my grandma she knows she doesn't really know English much of anything but still the little I know of German and the little she knows of English we can get through, but I like to have it be easier (Shawn, Interview 1).

Quejona felt that she is losing a lot of German since her German-speaking grandmother passed away and is therefore refreshing her skills with the course: "my grandmother she passed away last year so since she is not here we don't speak German as much anymore cause we are all losing it I wanted to refresh my German" (Quejona, Interview 1).

The learning goals that participants named as their source of motivation for learning German range from more abstract or unspecific: "I love languages" (Justin C., Interview 1) to more detailed motivating reasons such as being able to communicate better with a broader range of people:

I work at Home Depot and we get a lot of military from around the world and especially from Germany and I love hearing them speaking and I will be the creepy guy in the corner trying to listen if I can understand and of course they talk to me in English but every now I like the idea that if I could help them in German I would love the idea to do that, and just little things like that and mostly being able to communicate with a broader range of people (Mickey, Interview 1).

Ricardo explains this goal as well: "one of my doctors she is German and when I see her I get frozen so I want to be able to talk to her" (Ricardo, Interview 1). Jonathan is interested in German because of his favorite philosopher and he also perceives German to be a little unusual compared to learning French: "one of my favorite philosopher is German and I felt that French is everyone tries to learn French and it is kind of basic and it is something out of the road" (Jonathan, Interview 1). Carlos enjoys the fact that the German language is very precise and he

shares his fascination with compound nouns: “I took a picture of a word in class, too it was very interesting to me you have really long words, it is right to the point” (Carlos, Interview 1). Other motivating reasons include having a German friend: “my best friend is German so I told her that I am going to be able to speak German and I’ve always had an interest in German in general” (Dylan, Interview 1), being curious about the culture in general: “I think I just wanted to learn more about I guess the culture” (Alex, Interview 1). “I’ve always been really fascinated with the language” (Norma, Interview 1). Liking German music was another reason for learning German discussed by Jose and Jay. Or as Justin explains: “I really like how the German language sounds” (Justin, Interview 1). While some learning goals reflect an internal motivation there are others that point more at the necessity to choose a language as part of a degree plan:

I decided to take German classes because first of all I didn’t even know it was a requirement for the liberal arts major I just really wanted to study another language and I had never really been aware of Germany but recently I’ve grown really interested in it and I started watching some shows that had that spoke in German and I just thought it was a beautiful language and I didn’t know it was going to be so tricky but I like it a lot, that’s why (Catalina, Interview 1).

Classroom work and learning strategies

Participants were discussing how they are learning in the German class. This includes how they perceive the classroom environment and also specific learning strategies that they have applied.

The classroom environment

The teacher, as well as the applied teaching methods directly affect how students feel and learn in the class. Participants were interacting with both their classmates and myself as the facilitator of learning within this community of learners. In order to create opportunities for collaborative studying I would suggest to students that they work together to quiz each other on vocabulary items that we would first study together as a class: “it is good that you put us to quiz

each other because that is repetition, I think that kind of sticks to my head” (Andre, Interview 1).

Different scaffolding methods were utilized. Rory is summarizing an approach she found useful:

I think it helps a lot when we read. Like you’ll read first and we repeat right after and then you’ll tell us what it is and later on we’ll use it to talk to our partner because when we use the same phrase but just replace it with our own words it helps me to understand better how I would use it (Rory, Interview 1).

Justin emphasizes that for him reading and hearing a language alone is not the important factor for learning, but the fact that he can interact with me in person is. Allowing him to experience how I compose sentences, how I react in a wide variety of contexts with my vocabulary choices and how I pronounce words:

Hear a person in another language, verbal senses and seeing how people are pronouncing subconsciously with their teeth and tongue is a way to pick up a language instead of just reading and hearing a language. When do you ever learn a language like that? Back in time a hundred years ago or so you would have to be by the person so you could pick it up. I think the biggest thing is having someone who is actually from the country that knows the language to come over here, cos it provides you with a foundation of how to speak (Justin C., Interview 1).

The explanations presented as part of the mini lessons in class were working effectively in conjunction with the group work phases:

Definitely the points where you are at the screen and you explain to us what the words mean and you tell us to get with a partner or with a group and speak with each other that helps a lot (Jared, Interview 1).

For Claudia her notes have been especially useful for future reference. During each class I provide examples on the whiteboard and I also deconstruct and scaffold how to make sense out of different grammatical sentence elements:

I usually try to look at my notes in other classes my notes are useless but in German my notes are precious even from last semester because a lot of things I saw on the first semester so I’m always trying to look it up and if I’m lost I always try to translate it to see if it works or I’ll wait until you explain it (Claudia, Interview 1).

Jarid summarizes that he perceives to easily learn in the class: “Yeah it is easy to learn it your

way” (Jarid, Interview 1). Jared reflects that for him the class is also a way to check and correct wrongly acquired self-studied material:

Anyone can learn how to read a sentence and all these things but when I was learning from “Living German” and I started coming to class I noticed that I was pronouncing some things wrong so definitely having someone there to help because if you don’t if you go unchecked and you go and you finish the books you could go and learn so many things and pronouncing them wrong and you have to learn them all over again(Jared, Interview 1).

Repeating has been helpful to several participants:

I’ll say when we are in groups and we have to say things to each other in German and we have to find out how to say it and then when we have to speak to them and repeating it helps me (Jose, Interview 1).

“When you show us an example I just repeat and the guys repeat and that is how we do it, too” (Stephanie, Interview 1). “I repeat it I like to repeat stuff that way I can kind of with the pronunciation it is kind of hard” (Evan, Interview 1). Correctly learning the pronunciation takes time and repetition, through the video’s that are incorporated with the etext. Students also get to experience different dialects as speakers from different German speaking countries can be heard.

Ricardo realized how universal the experience of speaking various dialects is:

I think that when we repeat the text after you that is very helpful because we get the right sound the right pronunciation in the class. And then this videos they help us well they help me to see a little bit further than just the language the language developed in this part of Germany you get an idea what it is and then when you mention these people speak dialect and these people don’t understand it is clear to me like people in Mexico mucha gente habla espanol mucha gente habla dialectos (Ricardo, Interview 1).

Another approach that was frequently used is a round-robin style whole group activity where I would model a question and help each student with their answer in German and they would answer, then they would ask the person next to them. In this way everyone got to practice their comprehension. I would ask what everyone understood after each person gave their answer. This activity helped with practicing German in a less textbook centered and more natural and

conversational way as the outcome of the interactions was not predictable, and students frequently learned new expressions and also surprised each other at times with their sense of humor: “I like when we sat in a circle, I like that” (Dylan, Interview 1). “From each person to go ahead and answer the same or similar questions I think that is very helpful that way you can hear yourself say it and try to get the pronunciations right” (Ivan, Interview 1). Participants voiced their appreciation for the particular teaching style of the German classes: I can’t really think of anything that hasn’t been helpful so far (Ivan, Interview 1). “I find the way that you expect us to do work is very simple and to the point, and I appreciate that. What’s definitely helpful is the way that you teach”(Adrian Z., Interview 1). What stands out particularly to Evan is learning about German culture and he noticed that I do bring a high energy level to the class and really do care about teaching. To Evan all teaching approaches taken are working:

it is all really helpful nothing stands out as: oh I’m not learning anything. I rather enjoyed when we talked about carnival it was really cool to see the culture and stuff of course that is always really interesting and I learned something a bit I learned a lot about German culture. I can tell that you are actually passionate about what you are teaching us (Evan, Interview 1).

“There is not really anything that I wish we didn’t do that or you know, I mean it helps anything probably helps when you are learning” (Shawn, Interview 1). “As far as activities I guess they all seem very helpful as far as having to go through the questions and trying to answer them” (Ivan, Interview 1). To conclude the comments on the teaching style Claudia points out that the interactive classroom environment is motivating and conducive to learning it helps her to get excited about learning and she describes that as the reason why it probably is engaging the other students:

I find every activity helpful because it's very interactive not just sitting there and listening to someone talk and I don't know I like the way the class goes. I'm always excited to go because I think I'm actually going to learn something. And I think that is why people actually go even when you don't take attendance and stuff like that normally classes get emptier and emptier cause people don't go but German class is always full. I think it's because people like it (Claudia, Interview 1).

Comments on the textbook

The textbook: "content is directed to certain groups of society", as I discussed with Ira during his interview series (Ira, Interview 1). The activities that are being referenced in the text for a topic such as family life include sailing, surfing, and an expensive sportscar: "a Porsche [laughing] we have seen one, there is like two in El Paso" (Ira, Interview 1). The lived reality and language practices of students in the border is not represented in the textbook. With Cierra I discussed the fact that textbooks in general in the United States are not including other languages, while in Germany it would be expected to find language learning materials in all kinds of languages if someone is studying German. This short extract of our conversation shows that Cierra has noticed the inequality speakers of other languages face particularly in the context of standardized testing:

A: Because if you were to teach German in Germany and you have Spanish speakers you give them a Spanish to German book

C: Oh really, they don't do that here at all

A: Here the textbook it is in English

C: It all is in English and that is why most people struggle that is why they started making those other classes those bilingual classes they put you in there, but I notice that too I always wonder if your primary language is you know Spanish or Greek or something how come we don't have special textbooks for them that way they understand more and that is why they say in certain communities in America their SAT scores plummet but it is mainly because the testing is in English and that is not their primary language but if it was in Chinese and you know it is a Mandarin or Cantonese speaker they would blow the charts (Cierra, Interview 1).

With Dylan I had a conversation about the fact that a lot of the activities in the textbook are very

repetitive:

What I don't like now that I am understanding grammar more and more is that it gives you the whole sentence and you just put one word in I want to be more challenged now and be able to put maybe they take out more of the sentence because I am learning how to conjugate the word but I am not learning how to put the sentence together. Does that make sense? They are putting the blank for me so I don't have to think about anything except for the word and I have already memorized that it is just new vocabulary but same activities as last semester they didn't make it harder.

A: you are right it is just different vocabulary.

D: Or if they took the er, sie's out and we actually I don't think there has been an activity maybe once where we put them. It is kind of repetitive now (Dylan, Interview 1).

Learning strategies

Luisa describes how she applies previously used language learning approaches to her German learning:

That is the way I learned English with a dictionary so I think I'm going to apply some of the things that I did with my English some of the things that I did for English I'm going to do it for German, let's see because it did work you know (Luisa, Interview 2)

When considering the language approaches that were used by the participants of this study one can see that students find comfort in defaulting to either a familiar language, language practice or language learning practice. For example, Jarid, Evan, Jonathan and Humberto describe different approaches to learning German but the commonality in their experiences is using familiar learning practices, or their language repertoire:

If let's say you are asking us to read those long sentences keywords so you know arbeiten working, if I see der Lehrer he is teaching something so I'm looking for keywords and I'm trying to figure out what the sentence is about. I have to think about what the word means to try to figure out the sentence (Jarid, Interview 1).

Jarid and Evan are both describing their strategies for using keywords to comprehend a context in a sentence:

Usually, for example today was a little bit difficult some of the things I had no ideas what they were saying but there are a few key words that I look for I look through the sentence ok are there any words in there that sound like they are English words and I try to convert are there any words in there for sure that I know in German, ok I don't know any German

words or if I do, and from there I look are there any cognates of English or words that are similar to English and then after that is it a question or so once I find out ok they are talking about a restaurant or whatever it happens to be is it a question or is it a statement and from there I really try to piece it together just from my German knowledge and an educated guess are they talking about whatever it happens to be and if I don't know at all you see me I put out my phone a couple times just for one word cause I know google translate is not that good for one word I piece it together to see what it is and the person who is behind me does the same thing and he says oh that word means this and I try to go through it and read it again just to make sure that I know what it is asking (Evan, Interview 1).

Using a combination out of translations and memorization through taking notes works for

Jonathan: Right now I am trying to resort to pure memory but when it is something I am having a hard time with I try and write it down with the translation or some sort of equivalency I can find (Jonathan Z, Interview 1). Humberto is describing his "new" way of studying German verb conjugations but he is actually reusing a learning strategy that he was already familiar with:

and the verb conjugations has been something that I am struggling with this semester but something that helped me was doing it in Spanish I figured that was something since I have the advantage that I speak both languages sometimes it makes no sense in English but sometimes when you translate it to Spanish sometimes when you translate it to English I feel like a cavemen but then you do it in Spanish and it makes more sense and same as conjugations in English I feel like there are rarely any conjugations and in Spanish there is conjugations so that has been helping me out and then what I do a lot in Mexico you call them planas which is like you write 20 pages of the same things: ich, du, er, sie, es, wir, ihr, Sie formal and informal and then write ich darf and then so fill them up and write them and try to do them once without looking at them and that is kind of how I've been working around it and actually I started doing it for this last set of conjugations.

For verbs when it turned out to work out so I think I found a new way to study them because sometimes for me reading them is not it won't stick because I know I don't have a good memory and I have to write it and read it again (Humberto, Interview 1).

Individual learning strategies

Revisiting the material after class is necessary according to Ricardo there should be 2 to 3 hours of studying for each hour of class in order to learn a language, because by mere attendance of a short class there will not be much progress with the retention of the material. Ricardo

describes that he revisits each class and types out his notes which helps him to consolidate his knowledge:

Maybe I am going to start using flashcards of my vocabulary because here in America they go to school they learn a language an hour here and hour there and that is it but for each hour you have to put in 2 or 3 hours at home and that is why it is usually every day languages. I type the whole lesson from the book because I saw that when you write that will be good. I am typing it and I am making sure that I understand (Ricardo, Interview 1).

Ricardo uses the book for his own individual studying. The etext book was also used by other participants for their studying. Jay, for example describes using it:

I just use the ebook and also my notes I write down my little side notes to help me to understand. For the ebook for the alphabet I listen to it and try to learn the letters and then I would close it and see if I could say them out again, and then I would open it again and I would do it over and over. If I have trouble pronouncing it, I listen to the recording in the etext (Jay, Interview 1).

While Jaqueline is raising the problem that some students have limited access to technology which is an obstacle to studying:

It is just that I don't have a computer and doing it on the computer is kind of tedious I don't sit down and read it on my phone I like the physical book. Unfortunately, I bought the online version and I have not been using it as I should (Jaqueline, Interview 1).

Rory expressed a similar sentiment about missing having paper versions of books: I'm just so frustrated how everything is online now (Rory, Interview 1).

Each student in a class has a different learning style and applies and utilizes different learning strategies. While the format of the class was set up in a way that is conducive to lots of communication, there were participants that worked on their own time and preferred to complete their work individually: "Normally I work I guess individually more often than not I guess that is just because I am used to working by myself" (Ivan, Interview 1). Claudia prefers to study and work alone she does work with others in the class if it is a group phase or activity:

I think I'm always better of doing it if it is writing and stuff like that, I'm always off doing it better alone I always try to say it to my sister out loud and I'm going: Did you

understand what I just said? And she is like: but wait you have to use the verb this way and stuff, but I don't know I feel that I work good by myself if I'm writing, if I'm talking obviously, I want someone there (Claudia, Interview 1).

Looking up words on an app and writing them down in several forms is a learning strategy that worked for Ivan:

I have an app on my phone that is a German dictionary German to English and I always have that on hand so that way if I see a word that I don't understand I go and look it up and write it down in a notebook and eventually write it down on an index card or study sheet that way I can try to remember it (Ivan, Interview 1).

Claudia learns by associating new words to familiar words. In her explanation it becomes clear she does not consider the languages she speaks as separate from each other. Moreover, she considers them one repertoire:

I always look to memorize it if it kind of looks like a word that I know I try to make relations so when I see it I'm like oh it's kind of like this word if not I just repeat it in my mind until I get it (Claudia, Interview 1).

Shawn also uses this strategy of association:

I'm kinda just writing it down trying to associate them in my head you know try and memorize them kind of and that is probably it just trying to go over the word again and again and make sure I remember it (Shawn, Interview 1).

Garett reflects on the material in the etext it is not challenging enough because in real life there are no closed texts with gaps to fill in: "it's kind of like the answer is right in front of you it is right there you don't have to think too much about it" (Garett, Interview 1). A more natural way of using the language is through sentence composition which is a learning approach that was incorporated in the class:

I think one of the more helpful ones is the one we did last week when we had the questions and we had to answer them ourselves in German. The hair color the writing one. It is one of the only times we actually put it in a sentence we actually had to use the language instead of just translating (Garett, Interview 1).

Writing is a strategy Ivonne uses together with visualization techniques. Furthermore, she creates stories to connect with German vocabulary and memorize new words:

I can try to make sense of it but mostly I write it down and then I try to say it out loud as I am writing it but mostly what I do is I try to translate it right away if I get a new vocabulary word I translate it right away so I can paint a picture this is how I study with a picture in my head so if I know this is airplane and I know what an airplane looks like then I can say the word in German and put them all together. I am really good at memorizing things but I do the one I don't know if you have seen it there is this guy who won the world record for memorizing the most cards and what he does is he tells a story. I always do that (Ivonne, Interview 1).

Dylan is describing his journey of finding his perfect learning strategy. Each individual learner needs to find the best approaches to interact with the material. Several participants explain their strategies here:

The duolingo app I didn't give it a chance cos I was like: it is a game I'm not going to like it, but I really like duolingo now. I've tried listening to music and I can't learn like that because it is too fast for me still and for some reason I am too anal about wanting to understand every word so like I get really frustrated why can't I understand it and then like I get kind of confused with the music, too. Music is not a good option. Movies the same thing like. I get sidetracked by what is going on [laughing]. Actually, I tried reading in German and I think I like that more. Yeah cos I like to see it and go at my own pace and be able to really if I don't if I am struggling with the pronunciation focus on that one word and say it until I got it and then go on. I think I am someone who has to be immersed into it just living in El Paso for this little bit of time my limited amount of Spanish I can tell got a little better cause I have been immersed into it so I think for me to learn German I'm gonna have to go to Germany does that make sense? (Dylan, Interview 1).

In order to immerse oneself in the language and culture visiting a German speaking country might be the best option since that cannot be accomplished inside a classroom. One way to remedy this problem is by creating authentic situations in which students get to experience actual scenarios of everyday language use. However, this is not a substitute for that one would experience learning through immersion as Jonathan explains:

I think the most useful is when you can use them in your everyday life when we are learning phrases how to say something that we can use in our everyday life, a lot of people like me that are trying to learn a new language we a lot of advice we are given is try to learn the basic stuff because they only true way of learning it is to kind of be there and live there kind of thing and once you learn the basics it is easier to build up from (Jonathan Z, Interview 1).

Cierra found her own strategy of memorizing new vocabulary:

Oh, so I found a really good technique it also works if you like play music where you take a German word right, maybe it's I'm just going to use numbers for now and then you put down zwei and then you put dash and you say two and then right under it you do two and zwei that way in your mind you have German to English and English to German so than you don't have to think about it as much that is what I normally do for vocabulary words. Pictures don't really work for me, listening doesn't really work for me I just have to look at it and write it down a couple of times (Cierra, Interview 1).

Jarid describes that he pictures the meaning of a word without referencing or comparing it to

English:

It sounds really weird but I try to disassociate English with it because obviously a lot of the words they are spelled pretty differently so if you try to associate some of those words with English words it is kind of confusing so it just has to be a completely different thing for me. Like say it is like a horse it's Pferd, none of these words are even remotely similar. So immediately I have to imagine a horse but I have to get rid of the English version of that because if I compare the way it is spelled in English and the way it is spelled in German it is way too confusing (Jarid, Interview 1).

Learning also took place in the form of games in the classroom. Mario explains that audience response games bring out a competitive side in him which benefits his focus: “for me I pay more attention to the vocabulary so that I can win I want to be number one so it forces you to really pay attention” (Mario, Interview 1).

Andre learns best when he can have visual and oral representation of the material. If the audio components are embedded within writing and we practice aural skills in the class, that helps him with his learning:

The activities that help me the most are the embedded ones let's say the little recordings that you play and then you see it in writing and then you make us pronounce it with you that helps a lot because you get an insight into what another person is trying to say in German how you say and how you pronounce it and how you read it and then you make sense of it by repetition and hearing it, seeing it and writing it, it kind of helps (Andre, Interview 1).

Shawn is a heritage language learner and his learning strategy is to connect the written form of vocabulary to its spoken form. He is familiar with spoken German due to family interactions with his German grandparents and his German mother:

Some of the stuff ein bisschen today, but a lot of it I haven't seen in writing but as soon as I say it you know if I'm with ein bisschen that looks new so I was writing it down and as I was saying it ah I know that one before with Grüss dich too, I hear my mom say that when she speaks to my parents my grandparents in German and you know she says Grüss dich but I didn't know how it is spelled so I was like, what does that mean but as soon as you said it I was like oh Grüss dich! I know that one! When I hear it I'm like I know what that means and I have heard that before (Shawn, Interview 1).

How does one make sense out of the material in class?

Pronunciation could be harder for dominant English speakers compared to Spanish speakers. Nico reflects on his experience of taking an intensive German class in Germany. And while he did not have classmates from the United States there, he does have them now and he could tell their: "heavy accent they have issues with I didn't have an American classmate when I was over there but now that I see it here yeah they have more problems than most of the people" (Nico, Interview 1). The vowel sounds a,e,i,o,u a are identical between Spanish and German and therefore reading and pronouncing German can be easier if one is familiar with Spanish. Participants such as Evan and Xavier who do not have a strong background in Spanish and relate German to English describe their struggles with vowel sounds particularly diphthongs in German: "some of the words I mean some of the longer words at the very beginning there were some things the ei I was getting those confused" (Evan, Interview 1).

To me it is a lot extra to say one word it is like da-da-da-da for one thing it is just. What is really getting to me is the enunciations a lot like how to right? When you say a word one way but then you have to kind curve it a little bit or one vowel doesn't go with another one, one is silent it is hard so I'm learning about which one is which but it is something you have to learn how to work with (Xavier, Interview 1).

Peer learning was occurring in the class. As a means to make sense out of the material students

would refer to others: “if I don’t know something I ask the people right next to me” (Evan, Interview 1). When one is lost or does not know what to do it helps to see what everyone else is doing as Jaqueline explains. Furthermore, she also looks for similarities between the languages as she describes: “I look at the other students and see what they are doing. Or I dissect the sentence until I find a similarity between the languages” (Jaqueline, Interview 1). Kristin also uses the approach to look around at classmates to see what they are doing:

Well I don’t know if you noticed I’m a little bit more shy when it comes to, I have no idea what I am doing so then I just ask around. We kind of all look at each other for help. As long as one person somewhat understands it, we all kind of build on it (Kristin, Interview 1).

Mickey explains how peer learning is working out for him:

If I am stuck well if you are not available I try to ask somebody who sound like they know a little bit more what they are doing and I ask for their opinion and go through it and a lot of it is repetition of what sounds right, again the same thing that they taught me for Spanish class a lot of it you can kind of figure out by what sounds more fluid and a lot of it you can figure out what is the correct conjugation by the way it sounds and that is something that you can’t do in English because it could sound totally skewed but be correct it is just kind of weird sometimes it is just a lot of repeating and getting other people’s opinion and for the most part I find that they agree that ok this one sounds better so let’s try this one and if we get it wrong we go back and learn why this is wrong and try to learn why this one is right over the other one (Mickey, Interview 1).

Asking for help was a natural thing and participants felt comfortable asking me for assistance at any point of the class: “you will look at others and see what they are doing if not I can ask you” (Carlos, Interview 1), “we ask you” (Humberto, Interview 1), “I usually ask for help” (Ivanna, Interview 1), “if I get stuck I ask you” (Shawn, Interview 1).

Ivonne approaches sense making of the material in a certain order:

I try to read it first if I don’t understand it after I read it then I try to make sense of it by context clues oh this is what we have gone over so I think this is what they are asking if I can’t figure it out then I’ll ask someone and if we can’t figure it out then we ask you. That is the chain of command (Ivonne, Interview 1).

Rory makes sense of German through taking notes that include a definition and her own explanations on how to pronounce the words. Her notes then become her resource for learning and understanding German:

What I do is I write the word down and underneath I write the definition of the word and the pronunciation however I could understand it. I mostly take notes to remember and then when we have a task I usually read everything to myself first and try to understand it if I have a question I ask Catalina behind me and then if she doesn't know either I ask you (Rory, Interview 1).

Cierra had been successfully studying German on her own but she decided to take the class because she values me as a resource as I can clarify or explain content for her. Evan and Ivanna explain that they are able to comprehend the meaning of some German words through their sounds because they are cognates of English: "you can really relate the English words with the German words because they sound the same but they are just spelled differently" (Ivanna, Interview 1).

A lot of it which is really crazy I understand, or it is the weirdest thing but one which is Blitz, which is lightening I just kind of instantly knew that sounds like lightening or an attribute of lightening small things like that once again I guess and that is not a good thing but if I look at a word I guess: oh what could that be? And then I try to pronounce it in German and is there a cognate of it in English and if it isn't if it doesn't sound exactly the same it is pretty close so when I look at a sentence I try to look at it that way and then I do grammar (Evan/Interview 1).

Jarid uses keywords as context clues to make sense of sentences: "I'm looking for keywords and I'm trying to figure out what the sentence is about" (Jarid, Interview 1). Humberto uses his full linguistic potential of Spanish and English to make sense of German:

I guess whatever is convenient I have seen that there is some stuff that translates better in Spanish so since I have that advantage that I know both I kinda use it to my advantage to translate to Spanish cause it is easier to remember and then like the conjugations it is easier to do it in English so it depends on what is happening. I rely on both (Humberto, Interview 1).

Catalina is making sense by it with familiar patterns, alternatively she is relying on me for help:

I always try to notice if it is similar to a word in Spanish or English and generally, I find that they are there are more similarities with the Spanish language so that's how I'll see like oh maybe it means this because it looks like this word. I generally ask you, like: oh what is this word? Or what do we have to do here? Or how do I answer this (Catalina, Interview 1).

Cierra breaks down the words into their syllables which helps her with pronunciation:

I figured with German it is just syllables so if I just break down the syllables in a word it gets easier, but then sometimes it gets blurred so then I just go, let's ask to make sure that I'm saying this correctly but normally I just focus on the syllables if the word is way too long (Cierra/Interview 1).

Learning German is not an abstract task it requires interaction with the material. Repeating examples from the electronic textbook alone is not enough. One needs to be able to analyze and use new words in context: "The ones that don't really help me are the ones that when we just repeat it and we don't look at" (Jay, Interview 1). Rory tells herself the weather to practice her German: Honestly, "I just speak it to myself as often as I can like I don't know anyone else to speak it with and I speak it out loud it will help. I tell myself the weather" (Rory, Interview 1). It is also important to realize as a learner that it takes time and diligence to learn another language and one can appreciate the process:

Without a doubt it takes time to learn a language proficiently and stuff I just like to think even if I don't really speak the language but if I can understand and listen to it is wow, I'm working my brain (Evan, Interview 1).

Group work

Group work is described as mutually benefitting all the members in the German class. Having the opportunity to play around with the language and try out different ideas by saying them out loud extends learning opportunities. Each individual student brings various strengths and weaknesses to the group work. One learner might have an easy time reading and comprehending German yet struggle with pronunciation, another person excels with aural skills yet struggles with reading comprehension. "I think the fact that you put us in groups is very

helpful I know it is not always the same, but it is very helpful that some students already know German because they help us” (Jaqueline, Interview 1). “I guess we all help each other because some people know a little bit of German, some know more, some don’t know at all but I guess just by talking we figure it out” (Iskra, Interview 1).

I think anything with a partner is very helpful just because as soon as I mess up they can tell me. Especially Mickey no you didn’t pronounce it right but then I am able to help him read it a lot better because I am able to translate it word for word and he is like: try to say it (Kristin, Interview 1).

“I think the most helpful one’s are the ones where we practice speaking it I think that is the most helpful, getting together in groups I think that is the best one without a doubt”(Alex, Interview 1). “The group whenever we do things in a group it helps a lot having just people to bounce ideas off of” (Garret, Interview 1).

Troy explains why he enjoys the methods applied within the class, as it allows to practice skills that can be applied in real life. In the class we are easing into the actual use of German and through the group work there are ample opportunities to make sense of the material and practice speaking German:

Normally it is all group work so that helps out a lot if I don’t quite understand something someone else will and we combine what we don’t know until we understand it completely so yeah cause the guy next to me might not know something so then I might not know something. And when I leave it is kind of hard cause my parents don’t speak German. I have one German friend but he doesn’t live here so I can’t really speak it to anyone so it does help a lot to speak to people in German. I like that method a lot more, cause when you are learning a language you are not speaking to yourself you are speaking to others. I like the small groups you know it is easier to communicate instead of trying to talk to the whole class (Troy, Interview 1).

Finding consensus about what something means requires convincing others of what one knows it requires that one knows the information otherwise one could lose face:

I like the group activities because it allows all of us to come to a consensus we can all agree that this means that and that this sentence as a whole means something so we know

oh if one person is off track we can kind of stir them in the right direction I think that helps everybody (Jarid, Interview 2).

In that sense the group work motivates students to stay focused. If they do have a competitive side or want to be correct often, or at least the majority of the time they will study and work hard to reach that role of the peer leader in the group.

I break it down by steps so if you say there is a dialogue work with a partner to figure it out. A lot of times my partner will want to go first on that and then you know if he needs help, I try to help him out or if I have a question, I just ask you (Cierra, Interview 1).

The group work serves students to apply knowledge and gain a deeper understanding of the material. While the process requires that one needs to explain and discuss ones understanding of the content. Providing feedback to group members created opportunities to gain a deeper understanding of the material. One also develops the capacity to receive feedback from others. While some participants specifically describe relying on their group mates help. It is important to have balanced groups where not just one person has all the answers, leaving the rest of the group to feed off that knowledge without much reflection. Adrian R., Mario and Jonathan describe their respective group dynamics in a way that would let one conclude that they are following the more experienced group member. Maybe they would have to try harder in a different group setting. It is a fine line between benefiting from the group work and just taking advantage of the more advanced persons knowledge which hinders the individual learning process: “I work with my peers left and right and I feed off of them a lot of them know more” (Adrian R., Interview 1).

I have Vic and Nico and then I have Justin and since Vic and Nico and Justin know more German than me I have them take the lead. I am like: you guys help me out! And I have them do it. When someone knows more than you then I follow them (Mario, Interview 1).

When considering the dynamics in his group Jonathan reflects: “So, I’m like an Indian and he is a chief. Ok you are saying this so I go with it you know more than I do on this” (Jonathan, Interview 1). In this example the student is displaying typical border language. He refers to his

friend as the “chief” of the group, which is neither an insult nor a reference to someone’s indigenous heritage in this context. Outside of the border region these terms will likely be considered culturally insensitive. However, in the border region they can be commonly heard and they are not critically reflected on as this example shows.

Considering all the benefits of group work it is still important to change the group composition up and monitor the dynamics within the group as an instructor because power imbalances can develop which can create an obstacle to learning. In this specific case the group work has functioned well I still decided to change the set-up of some groups throughout the study as I was reflecting on the ongoing findings. In some examples, such as the one in which Evan is describing students who decided that they wanted to learn with different partners. They did not want to use one person in the group, rather preferring people with a similar level of knowledge:

It was Shawn I was working with him but I could tell that he is really smart and I didn’t feel like, I felt like I was using him more than I was learning and he is a smart guy so I don’t want to use him per se just to learn. The other guy who is right next to me he was already working with someone else I was like oh he is the group right next to me and they are really good guys and they are kind of on the same level as me (Evan, Interview 1).

And it’s not like I have the best team in the world. I do. I have them like help me or I help you know spoon feed them some things. The other classmates are also really helpful and if we don’t ever get some things somebody has already asked it before us so it is on the board (Adrian Z., Interview 1).

Adrian Z is also explaining the importance of recognizing when one needs to ask for help: “Oh yeah it is the stupid and the prideful who don’t ask for help. I am prideful, but I am not stupid” (Adrian Z, Interview 1). Garret also speaks about his preference to accept help rather than just wasting time being lost: “I again go back to someone who can help me or work it out with a group as a whole, if I’m stuck there is no point of me trying to sit there” (Garret, Interview 1). Throughout all activities I would always walk around and made myself available to help: “and

you would walk around and see if we need help” (Jay, Interview 1).

The class activities are described as enjoyable:

I like a lot the activities whenever we have to talk about something I really enjoy them a lot whenever we have to someone asks us something and then we have to answer it or whenever we have to fill up the vocabulary and then say it out loud I also like that one because I feel like a little pressure to get it right (Lino, Interview 1).

Lino is emphasizing here that there is a bit of a push to answer correctly. He was very comfortable practicing with his group partner during the small group work phases. Lino felt that when we did whole group work in a circle, that he wanted to get the answers right. The reason being the whole class would be listening and that was an incentive for him to feel validated, by answering fluently in the context of familiar material. Dylan also discusses how much he enjoys the whole group circle activities because it is also a way for him to check his comprehension skills. Throughout whole group activities all students had to pay attention to what was being said by others, because if there was a problem with anything that was being said the group would be expected to correct the utterance. For example, if one person used the wrong verb conjugation in a sentence the group would provide feedback. Peer feedback worked out well for the classes because students could see that they were making progress and that they could provide feedback to other learners. They also learned that it is fine to make mistakes and one can learn from them. Students experienced themselves as knowledgeable and they were not nervous about practicing because they knew that if they were to get stuck on something assistance would be provided:

I like to do round-Robin style so if you see me in class I like to say you go and you go and then I go I like to do that honestly at first it was because I wanted to hear how they said it first so I didn't think I was saying it wrong but now I like to say it I guess it flipped I want to see if they are saying it wrong so that I can think me I can go like I know I can say this I know the material and I can ask these people to help me, too and I want them to feel that they can ask me and that I can ask them because overall it helps us learn. So, I am not really concerned when we do those tasks with how fast or how good you can say it but I like it when we just get through it and work it out together (Dylan, Interview 1).

The small group work was reflected on by several of the participants as beneficial. Given that they could apply their own learning strategies that worked for them individually, and as a group at a pace that was adequate for them. Each group could adjust the speed in which they wanted to work. The other component of the class was an online lab in which students worked at their own pace. Having the class oriented towards a lot of communicative skills was well received: “and that is the most important thing how you speak it and if you can get your words across and I think that is how a foreign language should be taught” (Troy, Interview 1). The group work also allowed questions to be answered quickly:

I either ask within my group but if they don't know I'll ask you probably like there are things like technicalities it shouldn't be like that but it is in German but we usually try to resolve it among ourselves and if we don't know the answers we ask you (Narda, Interview 1).

Being the peer leader and explaining something to another student or a group of peers is a way to gain a deeper understanding of the content:

I think everything is pretty helpful to be honest cause even if I still remember a lot of stuff and just repeating or just the fact that like I work it out with a different student that helps a lot, it helps to review cause like I forgot the days of the week yeah I forgot the days of the week so watching that and asking us about that helped to refresh that (Nico, Interview 1).

Languaging

“As long as you can relate it to the languages you speak it should be a little bit easier for you to pick up German” (Stephanie, Interview 1). Referencing what one is familiar with to make sense of new material is a common learning strategy. Several participants were speaking about how they use translations from English to understand German: “I'll translate it to English” (Jay, Interview 1). “However, but for pronouncing them I use Spanish because they say every letter” (Jay, Interview 1). Evan highlights that it is just English they are using in their conversations:

It is just English and whenever we do practice we converse and then if we don't know

something we always ask each other or one of us pulls out a phone to translate just for single words, only single words from English to German because full sentences don't work then we know it and we tell each other how to do it (Evan, Interview 1).

"I speak mostly English but every once in a while, I use words in German" (Jared, Interview 1).

To understand a word I try to use English to see if they are similar to the words, I try to find similarities to English words I try to connect the similar letters in a word to what they mean (Jay, Interview 1).

A reason for using English that was discussed is that it is easier to make sense of German from

English:

Since English is my strongest language, I try to relate it back there and if I can make a link there I keep it so that way it's like cookie crumbs, there is times when you forget but if you leave clues then you remember. I think German has been the easiest language that comes naturally particularly the accent (Justin, Interview 1).

For making sense of new vocabulary Iskra describes using: "just English" (Iskra, Interview 1).

Jonathan makes sense of German through English: "I have to resort to English to get the word for German" (Jonathan, Interview 1). Troy relates German to English because they are related languages and he recognizes the similarities:

I try to relate it cause a lot of German words are kind of English words are based on Germanic word. As long as it is spelled the same, I try to remember if it spelled like that in English you just change a few letters and it is German (Troy, Interview 1).

Mario draws on similarities between English and German as well: "it's kind of easier understanding that there is a lot of similarities" (Mario, Interview 1). Small German phrases were incorporated into the everyday conversation held during the class such as greetings: "we use German for very simple things, we say hi or good morning little stuff like that. How is the weather today?" (Shawn, Interview 1). Evan describes the process of making sense of unknown words in the following way:

I won't know it right away it's more like: oh, what is that word? I take a guess and then I'm like oh that can't be right and then I ask you or I look it up. And I was like I can find a fragment of a word in it so it is almost similar it is almost there, that is why I think it is so amazing it is so cool (Evan, Interview 1).

Garett has an easier time with the translations from German to English than vice versa:

I just try to figure out context between the words that I do know and a lot of German words are pretty close to the English counterpart so I can sort of get it from there. It is always easier for me to translate the words to translate to English than it is English to German or to speak it when I see the words it is easier for me to figure out what they say but I can't really respond (Garett, Interview 1).

Cierra, Justin, Alex, Catalina, Shawn, Dylan and Xavier all describe using as much German as possible during the German classes: "I try to like how do I say acclimate my mind to the German way of speaking so that way I don't have to think before I speak, I can just know it right away" (Cierra, Interview 1). "I'm at that point I feel that my thinking switches over to German and then I just incorporate it in my German space" (Justin, Interview 1). "I try to speak German when I can" (Alex, Interview 1). "I try to use as much German as I can but sometimes, I use English if I need to speak with one of my classmates" (Catalina, Interview 1). "In this class with you I use German" (Shawn, Interview 1). "We use German" (Dylan, Interview 2). "I try to speak as much German as possible if talking to anybody" (Xavier, Interview 1). Quejona, who is a heritage learner of German describes using: "English mostly I mean I understand the German" (Interview, 1). Xavier describes that his group uses English to assess mistakes in German:

I'll try first to say in German but then I butcher it we assess it in English and then we go back to German just to make sure if I am saying it right I'll be like: oh well I'm I saying it right, or whatever the case might be ah then we fix it and we start speaking in German again (Xavier, Interview 1).

Translation was an approach that all participants discussed. Jose asks his classmates first before using translation: "I ask my group first if they can't tell me I'll google it" (Jose, Interview 1). Participants also reflected critically on using google translate. Jaqueline uses google translate from English to German: "I know it is bad but I use a lot of google translate it isn't always exact" (Interview 1). Alex used the same strategy to ask classmates first before using google translate

and noticed that: “I think google translate also you can’t really use it to learn” (Alex, Interview 1). Ivanna noticed that using google translate to understand the meaning of a word is not reliable: “they say it out loud I don’t think it is always reliable cause they don’t include certain translations” (Ivanna, Interview 1). When students try to understand the meaning of a word google translate might not be the resource to use as Shawn realized: “I don’t trust google translate with it” (Shawn, Interview 1). Participants determined that google translate by itself is not a learning resource. Ivan describes his approach in the following way:

I use the dictionary or if I am not understanding what I need to do I translate the whole sentence that is in German in order to get a better grasp of what it is asking as well that way I can start making a connection to the different words and stuff like that try to go from there and I always have the textbook on hand to see if they have examples or to see if it has a similar problem there that is easier for me to go do and translate it to the work. I have a physical dictionary I have index cards to go ahead and write German words and memorize what they mean I also try to go to youtube channels I have people either speaking it or teaching how different things go to help me try to understand it (Ivan, Interview 1).

The participants above used translations from German to English, other participants used translations to Spanish, particularly when working with other Spanish speakers. And then depending on who they were working with they translated from German to Spanish and to English. Vic who is used to speaking Spanish with other Spanish speakers in his class will adapt his language use: “we use translation a lot we translate to Spanish whenever I’m working with Nico, ahm otherwise, if I’m working with other people I translate to Spanish and then to English” (Vic, Interview 1). As Narda observed: “most of your class is bilingual” (Interview 1). Which means that there is cross language referencing, indicating that languages are not separate for a bilingual speaker:

When it comes to learning a language you realize they all start with that same foundation, you start with the specific way, and you learn a bit of a verb and the I’s, and the way it has been presented to me it has been the same model, it has been the same with French and Spanish the same German, and then they give you the little bracket, Ich bin, Yo soy.

As far as differences go not so much but I think the differences as far as picking up the language of all the languages I have spoken German is really quick. And easier to pick up (Justin, Interview 1).

Stephanie is connecting German with French and she approaches languaging using methods she has used previously for language learning:

I think Spanish has helped me with French and with German it kind of connects because even English I feel like something connects it with German and it just sounds the same so it is I use either or to help me (Stephanie, Interview 1).

The concept of gender exists in Spanish and French referencing his experience with those languages helped Xavier to understand that aspect of the German language: “The French it helped a lot because of the fact that German and Spanish and French all have masculine and feminine that the concept of it was really hard when I first started learning other languages because we don’t have that in English” (Xavier, Interview 1).

This excerpt shows that I am discussing the concept of gender with Claudia:

A: in English we don’t think about it, right?

C: and it is hard to explain how things have gender

C and A (laughing)

C: if you don’t understand it

A: because that is always one of the things that is challenging for people that only speak English

C: yes, but German is even harder because they have like another one (Claudia, Interview 1).

Vic is incorporating German into his existing language repertoire:

I took a year of Latin and even the sounds when you here v it sounds like an f, that is the same thing as in Latin or you see the v and it sounds like a w it is the same thing as that. Latin really does help me a lot especially with how sometimes the words in German are condensed you know a few words in a word. So, using Latin just to get the root of the word it helps me identify the entire thing. The compound word it helped me to identify the entire thing. So, Latin, Spanish for organization and a little bit of English to translate

English does help me but it is mostly Spanish. Spanish is my go-to when dealing with German (Interview 1).

Participants from Mexico describe making sense of German through Spanish:

L: whenever I don't understand a word I first try to see if I can get the answer from looking at the rest of the sentence and for example I get an entire sentence and I don't understand only one word from it I try to make sense out of it and try to see what would fit better on it and if that doesn't work I usually go and search for it for the word. I translate it and I see the translation and it makes sense (laughing)

A: very good, and you translate to what language?

L: ah Spanish

A: if you are making sense of a task in German what is the process for that?

L: first thing I read the sentence and if I don't get the sentence in the first try I begin to read word by word and like separate the words I understand and the words that I don't understand and then try to make sense out of it or try to translate them or even I have asked asking to a cousin who lives in German and speaks German so I sometimes ask him if he can lend me a hand. Whenever I get stuck I try going back to what I already did I try to see whether it looks like or if I can pick something from the last activity and try to answer it again if that doesn't work I try to translate it and try to make it in Spanish and then I try to make it back to German (Lino, Interview 1).

With Ricardo I had the following conversation about languaging in the German class, which also includes translanguaging in French and Spanish:

R: I use the German that I am learning and English or if there is someone that speaks Spanish if I have to ask a question quickly in Spanish, I say como se dice? I read it first try to read it correctly and then I try to see if there is any similarity with any Spanish or some Spanish Latin root or some American root or French or Italian like super or ciao I try to identify with some language and if I can't then I just memorize it the way it is. I am now stuck with my activity that activity that I am stuck with is about the demonstrative die, der, das in English the, the, the but masculine, neutral and feminine so my problem is that I don't know how to identify if the word that I am trying to use is masculine, neutral or feminine like in Spanish si terminan in a par ejemplo bonita es feminine bella, encantadora y luego si termina in r cantor, el major hay ciertos rules either I missed the rules because I was sick or I didn't pay attention I don't know if you gave us a clue.

A: I know a lot of things are the opposite in Spanish

R: la luna

A: la luna is feminine so I memorize the gender because for us everything has a gender

R: si todo la botella, la mesa, la luz, la bufanda, el abrigo

A: der Schal is masculine

R: and we say Schal

A: we say der Schal it is masculine

R: oh, it is masculine it is supposed to be kind of feminine

A: or der Rock skirt it is masculine

R: la jupe es feminine

R: And one of the things that I like about German is that the diphthong eu when I see it eu heute and the other diphthong ei then and now I am more excited because you said that all the vowels are like Spanish (Ricardo, Interview 2).

Humberto compares the way a word is written in German with Spanish and English: “I look at the way that the word is written and then compare it to the way how it is written in Spanish and English depending and that is how I make a connection” (Humberto, Interview 1). For Humberto group work is a valued strategy to make sense of German, as well as seeing examples of how a new word is going to be used in a sentence:

Definitely when we learn a new word and we use it in a sentence, and we all participate that really helps even with getting what it means. When we use it in a sentence as a class that is something that really helps me at least to get the hang of what we are really doing. I don't know if it is true but from my opinion German it kind of has the formality of the Spanish but it is written like English but it makes more sense when you translate it to Spanish for example today there is some stuff that we translate to English very weird and if you were to translate it to Spanish it would read more fluently (Humberto, Interview 1).

The element of humor is important in learning, we were having a lot of fun during the German class.

I make sense with most of the words by making a relationship with English or at least having a fun way because some of the words make no sense if you were to translate them to English or Spanish so I try to make up something to learn the word (Andre, Interview 1).

I'm the type of person I'm very competitive if I'm making it a game, I want to beat everybody even though no one else is playing. It pushes me a little bit just saying little jokes, that is why I'm happy Micky is there, I say little jokes and he says yes that is how you pronounce it but try to remember it a little better. But I'm like: No this is how I am

going to be able to remember it to keep it anything that is a joke, anything that is a question or a game those are the things that are going to stay a little bit more with me. Even though it is interactive then I have to think about it a little bit more so that is why when we are going around and everyone is saying something different, I want to pick something really different that no one else is going to say. So, I start laughing when we are doing the assignments yesterday. What do you eat on the weekends? I was like I hope I get that one. He was like: why? I want to say Nutella and bacon. Why? Well chocolate and bacon tastes good so I am assuming it is going to taste great. Just for me just to make little jokes I am able to understand it a little bit more (Kristin, Interview 1).

One characteristic of the German classes is that participants make sense of German in whichever way makes the most sense to them:

I know like when it is a w in German you switch it to a v sound Winter that assists me sometimes it spells like English but in German it has a different sound, I reference it to English a little bit of Spanish sometimes also so the way you pronounce it (Adrian R., Interview 1).

The regular language choices participants make when they are in a university setting will influence their languaging patterns in the German class. Nico makes adjustments, to accommodate his communicative partners:

In the university it is either English or Spanish I keep switching actually just like English and Spanish switching most of the time it is Spanish cause most people speak Spanish but there is still a few people that don't really speak Spanish or that I just started speaking like they speak a little bit of Spanish but we like started speaking English right away (Nico, Interview 1).

Andre noticed that in classes there is a lot of judgement on language use, which is something he does not experience while working. He also talks about his perceived weakness in English since he had to learn English as a second language. He is critical of his competences in English:

Sometimes I mix the English and Spanish and that is kind of I get confused let's say with the r when I say stuff in English the r is kind of my weak point. There is people in my job I'm pretty sure that everyone understands Spanish except for my boss he doesn't speak it just a little bit but when we talk fast he just but I'm pretty sure that everyone who works with me in the little office when we are having a conversation we usually start speaking Spanish y como estas y no and then I went to my class y estuve aborida we do these mixes of Spanish and English and we really don't care because we know that we both

know the languages pretty well so we don't have this zone of judgement that we create in classes (Andre, Interview 1).

Kristin is experiencing what is essential in the translanguaging framework, although languages are constructed to be perceived as separate entities by our society, they are actually part of one language system:

I kind of try to put it with any words that I know so if it is spelled similar I remember it a lot better if it is trink cause it is kind of the same way as drink in English, but then the same thing with Spanish and with French sometimes I will be counting in German and then I'll be counting in English and then I start counting in French and Micky is like: you are not counting in German you went to French. And I'm like I know I don't know it just got in my mind. And he starts out that is not what we are doing. And I say I know. They just all start to melt together to the point that I'll be able to understand it and I just don't know why I understand it. It just seems familiar in one way or another. And when it comes to pronouncing it sometimes it will be something that reminds me I remember by really silly stuff, so if it reminds me then I'll start saying a joke about it and that is how I remember. Micky says: I don't remember how to say that word and in Spanish it is kind of like to carry *traer* I would just remember it because it was like *lo vas a traer* just bring it on. And he starts talking this is how I remember it and he starts laughing he is like: that is perfect. I just start mixing everything (Kristin, Interview 1).

Similarly, Kristin explains other participants were also applying their complete language repertoire to understand German: "I keep forgetting stuff and I have to pull back into my Spanish and my English, too" (Ira, Interview 1). During his interviews Ira explained how it helps him to hear German explained in Spanish:

And I kind of like to hear that people explain the German wording in Spanish sometimes because I am like: yes dude, that ok this is how you say it I understand it because I know English and Spanish so they are saying it in this way and it is kind of this way and it is the same thing. Me knowing Spanish I think has made it a lot easier to understand German the wording and how German works it is just a lot easier for me to get the point: ok. It is easier for me to understand more stuff when I use my Spanish and my English (Ira, Interview 1).

Jose describes his approach to sense making in the German class the following way:

I translate it or look at the definition of the word and see what it is if I don't get it I translate it. It depends if it is in German I first translate it to English if I know what it is in English I just keep going if not I translate it to Spanish if I know what it is in Spanish then that is it. Sometimes with Spanish it helps because it looks similar and it sounds like

we are saying it in Spanish from an English perspective so some words like when we first started learning English we would say it one way but it was wrong but now when you are saying it wrong in English like you are saying it in Spanish and it is German (Jose, Interview 1).

When asked what languages she used in the German class Claudia refers to Spanish which agrees with her languaging pattern, this is documented in Table number eight:

I think German is more complicated than English it has more words or for example the subjects in English it is just they in Spanish we have 2 sometimes it is easier to say in Spanish. I usually translate it to English because I mean the class is in English and translators are always better at English I don't remember the other day I translated a word into Spanish and I was like I don't think it means what I did in English and it meant something else so I always try to do it in English because I know translators focus more on English (Claudia, Interview 1).

This is how Claudia explains her languaging in the class:

Spanish and if I am talking to other people that I know speak only English I speak English to them but sometimes it is easier to translate it to Spanish but some things are easier to English so I think it depends. Some things are exactly there are words that exist in German that in Spanish exist and in English there are like two words for that and sometimes English seems easier because a lot of words are alike. So, even in my mind some things I translate in English and sometimes in Spanish because they kind of look alike it is better (Claudia, Interview 1).

Dylan is an example that one does not have to consider oneself to be fluent in Spanish to benefit from translanguaging in class. Here Dylan explains his process for making sense of German:

I look at the vocab that I know in the sentence and then I am trying to use the context if I know I know certain vocab words and I know those are the ones and I try to piece it together and in English this part says I like to read books but I don't know what the first part says oh in the morning I like to read books and that is how so if I get stuck I break it down and I go piece by piece. I am definitely not fluent but like when you will say for instance the es gibt, hay in Spanish that makes sense to me or when we were first learning the Sie and sie and you said it is just like usted I get it now vosotros and ihr I get it now I was like oh ok there is some stuff when it makes more sense in Spanish then I can understand it. But if it doesn't make sense in English than I am having a hard time until you say just think about in Spanish this would be this. Now I get it it makes sense. The only way I could understand ihr is with the ya'll informally English that is the only way that I could understand the ihr that was probably the hardest one for me to learn the ihr to memorize the ihr. Cause I know in English you can say it in different ways you guys or you all basically or in context it can be you but when you finally said vosotros now I get it (Dylan, Interview 1).

Adrian Z. relates German to both English and Spanish: “I just kind of hybridize the two of them” (Adrian Z, Interview 1). The term translanguaging was not used by participants during their interviews.

Sometimes the word it is just you assume something because it looks like a word in Spanish or in English drink trinkt those are really easy, some of them have nothing to do so I first try to make sense if it looks like another word or it depends how it is being used in a sentence you can assume what it is that’s the way to do it but read the sentence and try to make sense of it and look for the meaning (Narda, Interview 1).

Kennya connects German with both English and Spanish and noticed that both are useful for different aspects. She uses Spanish mostly for pronunciation and understanding German and references English for the word order, although in terms of formality English is too informal when compared to German:

Mainly for the positions of the sentence English but for the pronunciations and the meanings Spanish. For example, in today’s class the kann, the will, and muss that is very similar to how you use those three words in English. For Spanish I use them to pronounce them and sometimes for the conjugations you know how there is wir, ihr, Sie that is a common thing for Spanish, too to have different formal things. By looking it up and first I translate it to English and if it doesn’t make sense then I translate it to Spanish with a dictionary and online dictionary. For example, tragen I translated it to Spanish first because I thought it meant like in Spanish tragar is eating but faster but it wasn’t so I translated to English and it made a little bit more sense (Kennya, Interview 1).

In her other classes she is used to speaking English because of the very diverse group of students in her field of engineering: “I feel that the meaning gets lost in between translations” (Kennya, Interview 1). When asked about their language patterns at the university it made a difference who the participants were interacting with. Jonathan and Justin, for example use English in the classroom and perceive Spanish as a language to socialize in “not as much academic” (Justin, Interview 1). Christian differentiates in his language use between teachers and friends: “friends here on campus it is Spanish because a lot of them I know them from high school but with teachers it is in English” (Christian, Interview 1). Lily uses both English and Spanish in the

university setting “because of people came from Juarez sometimes it is better for me to express in Spanish I don’t know it is easier I think and obviously English because sometimes people doesn’t know Spanish so English” (Lily, Interview 1). The language of instruction in all other classes that students are taking is English. Andre expressed that there is a zone of judgement in university classes. It can be assumed that this is why he uses Spanish mostly in his head without saying it out loud: “I do have that feeling that some words have similarities but I just think that in my head and I don’t say it” (Andre, Interview 1). Jared has an easy time using both Spanish and English when making sense of German, which is another example that supports the translanguaging framework for language learning:

I see the word and I try my best to memorize it so in my head when I see the word again I know what it means in English and if I want to say it in Spanish I can translate it right away to Spanish. I try to memorize for some reason it is very easy for me I see the words and then after you talk about them it is easy for me to use them in a sentence (Jared, Interview 1).

For Julio German looks more related to English but is pronounced more like Spanish, because the vowel sounds are the same in German and Spanish:

I actually use both Spanish and English so for example for making sense of the activity I try to translate them to English because I see German and English very similar. Speaking to the neighbors I guess I speak to them in Spanish sometimes, some of them speak English some of them speak Spanish so depending on who I am talking about the activity with. I try to find the meaning I google it or I try to understand it in English first. I use more English to make sense I use Spanish when I translate the English word, when I have the English word and someone asks me what does it mean I tell them in Spanish, translating directly I can do it but I prefer English. For pronunciation I use a lot of the Spanish that I have a,e,i,o,u is the same thing (Julio, Interview 1).

Ivanna explains that according to her Spanglish makes the most sense when learning German.

This is her way of explaining her languaging practices:

With the group that I do sit with when they speak it to me in Span well like Spanglish a little bit it makes it a little bit easier because I can kind of relate it a little bit more than I can with English between the two languages (Ivanna, Interview 1).

Ivonne is applying her own language learning strategies that previously worked when learning English, to learning German. Her way of referencing her familiar language repertoire to learn German numbers illustrate that English and Spanish are coming together as one resource for learning German:

When I read it that is the interesting part about learning German, I feel like I am learning it twice or like I am learning two different languages. I am learning the written one and then I am learning the spoken one I know at some point I am going to have to find a way to put them together but right now I learn it like that and memorize it like that and I can't find a way to put them together, I memorize the way like *sprechen* or *lesen* or *fahren* I memorize how to say it and then I memorize the spelling differently. Because it sounds different but you write it this way I need to put it together but I don't know how like same with the way I learned English beautiful whenever I say it out loud it is beautiful [American pronunciation], it is that when I write it in my head it is beau-ti-ful because I didn't want to misspell it [pronouncing it Spanish]. That is what I do with German. Whenever we do the speaking exercises I have to think of how to make it sound so that helps me with how to make it sound and then when we went to the German restaurant I knew how to say *can you help me* but I couldn't pronounce it I couldn't put the sound to it so I knew how to write it but I was like: I can't be writing him notes so I would spell it out for him there was one that I spelled out for him and then he was like: oh and he told me what it was and there was like a gap for me there between the speaking and the thing. It depends if the word sounds if the word is rooted closer to Spanish I would memorize it through Spanish if the word is closer to English then I will memorize it through English, like *sieben* sounds like seven not *siete* but *sechs* sounds closer to *seis* than six so I use that one for six and that one for seven (Ivonne, Interview 1).

Participants reflected on the language practices used at the university in general, as well as specifically in their German class. Narda, a participant who self-identifies as Mexican explains how she feels about the way people from El Paso speak. She makes the distinction between people born in El Paso and people that are like her, maybe born in El Paso but raised on the Mexican side of the border. The languaging practices the people from El Paso engage in "talking Pocho" are a sign of destroying proper English and Spanish and reveal laziness of the speaker in Narda's opinion. She makes assumptions about those speakers' situations and what might cause that particular dialect. Narda has strong sentiments towards that "dialect" she uses drastic terms

such as “hate” and that it is “destroying” each of the languages. As part of this “dialect” English verbs are turned into more Spanish sounding verbs and English and Spanish words are joined in one sentence creating a language practice that is typical but will not uphold to ideologies of language purism. Narda reflects that a reason for this “mixture” is the clash of cultures on the border. As a Mexican student one feels that pressure to learn English to perfection and to prove that one can speak it accent free and without mixing it with any Spanish, while American Hispanics have the privilege to mix and butcher Spanish. This reflects a power hierarchy among English and Spanish and in a sense some Spanish speakers might see it as disrespectful to be approached with this “mix” because they would like to be acknowledged by others as speaking both languages correctly. This explains why Narda finds those who do not take the time to learn proper Spanish the way that she learned proper English lazy:

If they are speaking Spanish they will talk Pocho and I hate that just like using words you are not either speaking one or the other you are mixing them I feel like it is just laziness cuz you know the first word in either language that gets to you and you say it and then again it is not like you are really thinking about what you are saying I think it is really laziness if you understand me why would I make the effort maybe. I feel it is people here the El Pasoeans that are born here they have probably oh my mom is Mexican I mean that and I get I learned Spanish from them and probably I went to high school here and all my friends speak English or maybe Spanish but they do like a dialect they just take and I feel like they are just lazy I feel like if I speak this like I don't know I just hate it so much, because I feel it is just laziness they will take the first word if I am going to say a sentence I feel like oh the first word that I am going to think about and it doesn't matter if it is in English or Spanish and then so and so and so and the sentence it is. Or they turn verbs in English into Spanish like they will be like: mopear por favor mopear aqui and mopping is English but it is like trapear or like parqueate it is estacionarte all that stuff what else? Maybe they speak in Spanish but they use so que vas a hacer hoy? Why do you do that? That is how they think and I don't like it because I feel like you are like not degrading but you are destroying each language and just make it one that is not very good but they feel like as long as you get me you understand what I'm saying so but all those verbs I don't understand. Or they join verbs when you say when you drop a class oh vas a hacer el drop why? All the stuff I don't get it and I see a lot of people doing it here they live here not people from Mexico at all that is something from here from El Paso. If you understand whatever but it is just here I have only seen it here and it is probably because of the strong clash of cultures like here I think the majority of us has at least one they

have their family being Mexican and it is that here in El Paso there is a lot and they really clash and I don't know if it happens in other places with different languages (Narda, Interview 1).

When reflecting on the language practices used in his group Humberto explains that while using Spanglish is normal to him, it is a real pet-peeve for his group partner, who has a very secure sense of identity as Mexican and does not approve of Spanglish. Regarding it as a marker of American Hispanics who talk this way.

H: where I work everyone speaks Spanglish to the customers English but in between them it is Spanglish they call it Spanglish

A: I think I heard Claudia only one time doing that

H: yeah she doesn't like to mix it at all. It is one of her pet-peeves if people mix it (Humberto, Interview 1).

During my interviews with Claudia I asked her specifically what she thinks about the mixing of English and Spanish:

A: in the hallway I hear people mixing English and Spanish all the time.

C: yeah but I feel that is more people from here from El Paso because I have never done that I feel weird doing that. Last semester was it German one I heard a lot of people everybody was doing that (Claudia, Interview 1).

Although Claudia has strong opinions on not mixing both languages, she references both her knowledge of Spanish and English while learning German. Nico is also a participant who does not mind using both English and Spanish. He focuses on the advantages it brings to know both, for example he noticed that those who only speak English in the class struggle more with the German vowel sounds, as those are identical with the Spanish vowel sounds:

I'm trying to use both, sometimes I think the English is useful for German, but someone who only speaks English what I noticed is that sometimes they struggle with pronouncing German, someone who speaks both things they know the vowels a, e, i, o, u (Nico,

Interview 1).

Languaging is of course connected with learning and as Mickey explains it has a lot to do with the openness towards learning from others. Mickey made the same observation as Nico and he is willing to learn pronunciation from other Spanish speakers, as he is not that secure in his Spanish skills:

I listen to other people I repeat it to myself try to get myself the correct pronunciation a lot of it comes from listening to other speakers as well, I noticed that a lot of the Spanish speakers in your class have a much better pronunciation, because the pronunciation is a little bit more similar. What I try to do is I try to listen to them and their pronunciation and if I need to I fix the way I was doing it beforehand when it comes to that I like to learn off of other people and if I get it wrong I like to go through it again and I hope that helps other people as well like they saw that I got it wrong and maybe they were thinking the same thing and they are able to get it right the second time around being able to listen to other people this comes again from being able to talk to a whole bunch of different people I like that so being able to learn from other people is a big part as well (Mickey, Interview 1).

Bilinguals have an advantage when learning another language: “it definitely helps in those cases where we can make sense of a sentence” (Humberto, Interview 1). Andre another bilingual participant from Mexico had used mostly English when speaking in the German class and when discussing German due to the fact that his group partner was a German heritage language learner and did not speak Spanish. Another reason Andre gives for using English when speaking in the class is this: “I heard that to learn German it is better to know how to speak English than Spanish” (Andre, Interview 1). Which is an assumption that he brought to the class from the outside acquired outside of the class. Furthermore, Andre explains that as a Spanish speaker he feels that he must adjust to the English-speaking university setting needs to accommodate the non-Spanish speaking students:

I think it is more because of the culture or maybe the way that you feel as a Spanish speaker because you said earlier that when at least one in the group doesn't speak Spanish you try to not use it as much or try to speak as much English as possible because you think that they are going to be left out in a way but I think it is more of a culture

thing you come here to UTEP to America you are not in Mexico where you are going to speak Spanish all the time, you speak Spanish with your friends and everything but once you are in a class you try or at least either you try or you are 100% in English, but once you are in a group where people don't really speak the language that you mostly use it is really hard (Andre, Interview 1).

A lot of the language attitudes that were visible can be looked at through decolonizing lenses, and it would make sense to approach the attitudes expressed through that perspective.

Considering American exceptionalism and assimilationist discourses it makes sense that Spanish is reserved for friends and not the teachers of the classes. Spanish speakers struggle to perfect their accents in English and blend in to perfection with the US-American population as the goal seems to be the desire to be as Americanized as possible. Andre discusses what it means to have an accent when speaking English. In his opinion it is not something negative, but it is an accomplishment to work hard and perfect one's English, which is something that he did. He worked hard and still seems to be self-conscious about potentially having a Spanish accent.

You shouldn't be ashamed of the accent because you are taking the time to learn another language but I mean if you have the opportunity to get rid of the accent in order to perfection to give a more perfect way to speak a certain language I think it is a good thing. I am also saying that it is not a bad thing that you have an accent. Either works. I don't think that I have an accent in English myself. The way that I learned to get rid of the little Spanish the Mexican accent is the way that I was taught English in 4th and 5th and 6th grade with the English teacher from Brooklyn, because most of the English teacher in Mexico have the accents (Andre, Interview 1).

Kristin also talks about what it means to have an accent inside and outside of El Paso. In her school accents were regarded as something valuable. Her sister who works outside of El Paso has experienced that having a Spanish sounding accent is not always held in high regards. Kristin reflects that she spent a long time getting rid of a perceived deficit the Spanish accent, and losing an accent is related to losing cultural roots. Some people although they can understand accents chose not wanting to understand a bilingual speaker:

So, you understand me you just don't want to. I think it has a lot to do especially with the world we have right now. For example, my sister is in politics and a lot of the times it is like: oh you are a representative for El Paso and you don't have the best Spanish. And she starts laughing, I do speak Spanish the only thing is that when you go into DC or when you want to be a representor they are going to look down on you for speaking Spanish and I was like or having an accent and I remember growing up in Papi Guierlermo and they would be like no if you have an accent even better for you cuz it shows that you know more than one language and when she told me that I thought: man I spend so many years trying to get rid of mine why did I do that? And when I went to Canada as soon as I started talking one old lady stopped: Do you speak Spanish? I was like: yes how do you know? Cause you have an accent in your English. I was like: I have an accent in my English? Oh you should go to El Paso you are going to love it. (laughing). Just the world we live in people just want to be politically right in a way and they lose themselves and their culture which is really sad, because whenever I go back to Veracruz with my grandmother and I start speaking to her in Spanish she looks at me and she is like: You know you are my granddaughter and I love you but you are an idiot for losing so much of your Spanish accent. And I start laughing well maybe I come live over here for a couple of years and get my accent back. And that way since I am still going to be practicing my English I'm just going to have a better accent in Spanish. My mom is like: well you should do that with all languages travel everywhere and I am like. I don't have money. You got to remember that I am a student (Kristin, Interview 1).

Homework

All three participating German classes used an electronical homework lab in which they were requested to complete different types of activities that were aimed at reinforcing the concepts seen during the classes. The listening comprehension part of the lab work is particularly challenging for some participants as they explain: "The lab is a little confusing and sometimes when you play the audio it is not clear so it is like: what are they saying?" (Stephanie, Interview 1).

The homework the one that threw me off maybe it was the way it was structured where you have to hear it and click it and sometimes it sounds I don't know I feel like the answer choice and what it sounds like is very different (Adrian R., Interview 1).

To listen to I can't make it out and I had to leave it blank because every time that I put something in it is wrong, I mean I understand like most of them I can but I think it is just the computer cause it's an electronic voice it is not like someone is actually speaking it. So, it's hard to understand and I can't figure it out sometimes (Troy, Interview 1).

When using the slowing down option on the audio-recordings Troy experienced that it would sound distorted: “But I’ve only had a handful of times that that had happened but that is the only thing that I think I don’t understand and that is a problem but everything else works really good” (Troy, Interview 1).

Garett also describes that listening comprehension tasks in the lab are frustrating:

The homework when it is just listening and they don’t give you anything else I have real trouble with that. They are not very clear. Some words get jumbled up what is that word and it is something completely different. I have just been mashing my head against it. That is hard to understand if they are saying 18 or 80 (Garett, Interview 1).

Garett finds hearing and differentiating between word endings challenging, when listening to German numbers the difference between fourteen and forty is in hearing the ending sounds.

Furthermore, the lack of hints is a problem for him:

No hints at all it just tells you to check your spelling. It would normally give us partial credit if you put the Umlaut in the wrong place it is mainly just the numbers like hearing them it is vierzehn, fünfzehn. I hear it and I’m guessing it wrong sometimes it blends together in how I’m hearing it (Garett, Interview 1).

“Something that not that it is not helpful but something that frustrates me is grammar, for instance the assignment for this week the online assignment I had such a hard time with it”

(Jonathan/Interview 1). While there was some frustration expressed from these five participants

Shawn and Iskra are focusing on the advantages of the lab:

It still helps you recap what we have learned during the class. I like how it is formatted and it doesn’t take too much time so I still have time to do homework from other classes so it doesn’t take up the entire night (Shawn, Interview 1).

I think everything we are doing is pretty helpful the lab does come in handy, because I do have some classes that have labs but they are not useful, but these are really useful, and then you have a lot of trials to get it right until you get it right. You have the book, so I think everything we do is helpful (Iskra, Interview 1).

Resources that one utilizes inside and outside the classroom

Resources that participants describe as being used outside of the classroom are mostly

free-online resources. These sources include educational youtube videos, learning apps that allow self-guided learning and or German movies that are watched with subtitles. German music, radio and books were also utilized:

My grandpa is giving me a few of his books of course they are 1980's books pretty old but it is interesting to look through it and say: oh I learned that and other stuff that I don't know what it means and I read through it real quick, just little things like that subtitles to movies definitely they are good if I watch a movie I see if they have subtitles in different languages (Mickey, Interview 1).

Lino explains that for him reading bilingually is helpful:

I also one time tried to translate I got a book and it gave me different options for different languages and I tried it in German and then I read one or two pages and go to the Spanish version and was like: oh this one meant that and this one meant this or I also use a lot I translate a lot the words I think the translation would be one of the things and the book I also usually go to the book (Lino, Interview 1).

Jared worked with another book series to learn German before he started the class, he also uses youtube videos as a resource. When he wants to learn about a specific topic, he will research a video:

In the summer before I knew I was going to take a German class I bought this German learning set from Barnes and Nobles called living language German I used that in the beginning to help me and then I also watch youtube videos how to count in German and those things. I would search how to count in German, or colors or how to have a conversation (Jared, Interview 1).

Christian has been working with a German to Spanish book:

I remember my Dad would take us to Juarez to get haircuts next to this Barber shop was a public library and I just went in there because I was waiting for my Dad to finish his haircut and I saw all these books from German to Spanish, English to Spanish French to Spanish and I was like: oh, I got super excited, I just read it and memorize and make sense out of it because nobody knew German I didn't know anyone who knew German so I didn't know how to pronounce it. I more or less used it to have a starting point or like some basics of what some words mean I remember the first word I learned is Ambulanz Krankenwagen. It has phrases so I remember it says like introduction my name mein Name or ich heiÙe, how much wie viel I remember some things. You know what this is the strange thing because sometimes some things make more sense in English and some things make more sense in Spanish so which one is more helpful for me, I wouldn't be

able to tell (Christian, Interview 1).

The electronical textbook is a resource as well, as Iskra explains: “in our German lab, the book and the dialogue when they talk I hear new words” (Iskra, Interview 1). “I like my book a lot I do youtube videos there is a lady that does youtube videos there is one that is called hola soy aleman that one is in Spanish that one goes from Spanish to German” (Ivonne, Interview 1).

I have a little book that contains like lessons but I started to do it when I was in middle school but I lost track of the lessons and stuff but I think the most I use the duolingo app. And every now and then I put like the tv in German try to get sense of the words it is super fast but sometimes I kind of understand or I try to read an article and have a dictionary or a translator aside just to make sense of the words (Andre, Interview 1).

It is common to use a combination of different resources as the participants describe: right now to study I’m using the book, the dictionary and sometimes youtube videos for pronunciation but I don’t use them to study I just use them to pronounce things for example when we were studying the Umlauts and I didn’t know how to pronounce them so I looked up how to pronounce the Umlaut with the oe, a that is how I got the catch of it (Kennya, Interview 1).

Similarly, to Kennya Dylan also uses several resources, in his case he has a German friend available who can practice with him:

I like to go home in the online textbook and I like to copy everything that we learned that day into my notebook and then I like to read over it and my German friend she makes me speak on the whatsapp to her in German and she criticizes how I talk and stuff so she helps me too if she wants to hear me speak it, too (Dylan, Interview 1).

Carlos also listed his friend as a resource followed by videos of people talking in German and the textbook: “Monika, videos, too also the book is helpful. I also watch video’s with expressions and I try to figure out what could be the context out of this” (Carlos, Interview 1).

Having German speakers available was a useful resource for learning as well:

I work at Target in the loss prevention and there is this lady her name is Marita and she is from Germany she is an army spouse so she liked to help me with my homework she has that heavy, heavy accent and I joke around with her she helps me to pronounce things (Adrian R., Interview 1).

Some participants have family members which represent a resource to one's learning as Quejona describes: "we have German tv so I would reference to that or my mom" (Quejona, Interview 1). "I just ask my mom if I need help somehow outside the class" (Shawn, Interview 1). Garret also describes his German mother as a resource she is helping him particularly with homework: "My mother when I have trouble with homework, I can ask her questions about it" (Garett, Interview 1). For those heritage language learners the mothers are a useful resource but if another family member happened to have learned German that person could also function as a resource for learning:

I have a cousin there he now speaks really fluent German and he sometimes helps me out, he the last time I saw him in person was in December and he tried speaking only German to me in order for me to grasp it (Lino, Interview 1).

Claudia has German friends whom she has been visiting and who helped her to develop some listening comprehension skills:

I actually went on summer but only for 2 months but it was basically only visiting them I went to Hannover and Cologne, Berlin and stuff and then we went to other countries but my friend always tells me that the German from Hannover is like the high German and it actually makes sense I heard a lot of German before and when our friends were speaking I knew what they were talking about I knew kind of what they were saying I mean if I'm just listening then I don't understand anything but if I pay attention I kind of understand (Claudia, Interview 1).

German movies with subtitles as well as youtube videos were a commonly used resource for language learning outside of the classroom. As Evan puts it: "a great way to learn a language is to watch like movies or things in German" (Evan, Interview 1). As Stephanie explains googling utube videos for specific topics is helping her with comprehension and pronunciation: "I usually just replay the video multiple times until I am able to understand it and say it" (Stephanie, Interview 1). For Adrian Z. being able to see German's do everyday type activities has made the

language more relatable and humanized the content:

I go on the news a lot and you are right Germans love their weather I also go on popculture and I starting to humanize the Germans in my mind and not just work machines or people and they hate stuff and they love stuff and they think stuff is stupid and it is just a wonderful learning experience. It is just turning on the German news on youtube and you say these people are having a tough time too or they are having a good time right now they are in a festival or they are about to eat a ton of food I'm jealous why can't I get some of that (Adrian Z., Interview 1).

Listening to German in a video or movie teaches more than just the language in a certain context as cultural elements are also conveyed. Catalina gives the example that Germans count differently to Americans and that is a key element in the movie *Inglorious Bastards*:

I watched for the first time *Inglorious bastards* and there is a lot of German and I was able to understand a lot of it, because they use very simple German like numbers and little things and was so proud of myself (Catalina, Interview 1).

It is challenging to comprehend the spoken German as Christian describes:

what I have been doing on Netflix I watch Anime and sometimes they let you put German as the language they talk in and then I put Spanish subtitles and it is hard because they talk fast (Christian, Interview 1).

Jonathan watches movies in German with the German audio as it helps his pronunciation skills:

“I try and do I guess this is more to help me with my pronunciation and stuff where I put subtitles in English but German audio or if I can switch to the other” (Jonathan, Interview 1).

Having the opportunity to watch videos provides a visual context for learning: “I need for me to learn I need a visual context to see what is going on” (Mario, Interview 1).

Other learning apps and online resources participants used include google translate: “I mean I don't think google translate really counts but for little words here and there just to make sure that you say it correctly google translate” (Ivanna, Interview 1). Duolingo: “normally just to increase my vocabulary I do duolingo” (Mario, Interview 1), babble, mango, hnative:

There is an app called Hi native and I tend to use that it is kind of like you can learn any language you want so it is kind of like an all around the world type of thing so if you ask a question let's say what is my name in German usually you get native German speakers

to answer it for you they show you everything and I found that randomly on a youtube video and it has actually really helped me (Ivanna, Interview 1).

Kids games one is familiar with in their German version and the news are also considered as a resource. Another type of learning system that was additionally used by one participant is:

“Rosetta Stone, they will speak a word to you and a sentence and you have to type it back and you have to know how it is spelled and in what position things go in” (Jarid, Interview 1). Kristin explains how she learns from children’s game which are formatted especially for pronunciation.

Games that are designed for children are non-threatening for a beginning learner:

I love playing little games so sometimes when people are trying to learn a new language, they change the setting on their phone or their computer all in German or all in French whatever they try to learn. I just go and find little kid games I have no shame Dora the explorer or Elmo and change it to German just so I could, because I am learning from a kid’s age might as well learn from a kid’s show because you kind of have to think about the responses cause even though it seems very easy there is a lot of things that I don’t know like circle it may seem easy but it is a good thing to know. Oh yeah, I don’t know how to say circle. There is little things that you don’t think about because I know a lot of teachers when I would see them trying to teach kids to learn English, they would just give them a book: Here read this. Well that is dumb I was like I know you need to read but it is dumb because you didn’t even try to tell them how to pronounce it. I’m like it is very different from understanding it and memorizing it and actually speaking it. So sometimes when I am having to speak German, I am going to butcher the language and I am going to butcher it so bad and I am so sorry, but I am going to try my best. I really like kids’ games or games in general for that. It will say the pronunciation and when you click the answer when you click anything it will give you the answer that you put and it will translate the answer back into English is this what you meant, no. Let me go back and go slower let me cheat myself. That is why I like stuff like Duolingo that are going really slow, if you look at it exactly what a kid would be doing but they are putting it in a different format so it doesn’t make them feel dumb, which I feel like that is why a lot of people don’t like learning new languages because they are like: well a kid in France is going to learn a lot more French than I do but you have to understand the circumstances on that they may know a lot more French but you know a lot more English but that is something that scares a lot of people from actually learning it. I’m really bad at it which is something that bothers a lot of people anyways because you are going to be bad at anything that you do for the first time (Kristin, Interview 1).

German radio and songs were also used by a few of the participants as an additional learning resource: “I listen to German radio shows the talk shows” (Justin C., Interview 1), “I’ve tried

listening to the radio in German” (Lino, Interview 1). As Claudia experiences being able to understand even just a couple of words in a German song can be rewarding:

My friend sometimes sends me songs but yeah songs are too hard it was always my goal make me sing a song in German and it is a rap song but it is too hard, but now it makes sense before I was just imitating songs but I actually learned a lot of things because now I actually listen to words and I’m like: oh wait I know that word I don’t know what it says but I know that word that is what is important (Claudia, Interview 1).

Nico values German hip hop: “what I found the rap German is pretty good the hip hop, it is really easy to make rhymes and stuff like that because of the nature that is combining two words to make another word” (Nico, Interview 1).

In this chapter the findings from the interview data were organized in three parts. In the first part the in-vivo codes that participants used frequently were explained in the participants own words. The second part of this chapter focused on participants background, their language use in the German classes and language ideologies that transpired during the interviews. Those elements are connected and where someone comes from and what language ideologies one had been exposed to ultimately influences language use in the German class. The third and last part of this chapter focuses on themes that emerged during the interviews. Those themes are organized from themes that discuss the broader environment to the individual learner. The topics the bilingual participants discussed gave insight into why not everyone used their full linguistic repertoire observably in the German class.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This study was conducted in three different German classes, one class was a German beginner's course the other two classes were advanced beginners in level two German. Informed consent was collected from all participants and 46 students gave consent to take part in this study. The participants recorded group conversations throughout the spring 2018 semester at a border university located on the Mexican border. Furthermore, focus group interviews, as well as a series of three phenomenological individual interviews were conducted with every participant. All data collected was transcribed and analyzed for emerging themes using NVivo a software for qualitative data analysis. Throughout the data collection process, I logged observations and memos that were used in the analysis process. The theoretical framework involved Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia and Anzaldúa's concept of *Nepantla*. Participants self-identified for this study and then through their language use in the German classes communicated an identity that they wanted to project to others. Which was either that of a bilingual speaker learning an additional language, in this case German; or that of being an assimilated speaker of English and projecting one's "Americanness". Through the collaborative group work undertaken as part of their German classes they made decisions on how to approach their German learning. Some participants tapped into their full linguistic repertoire in their interactions with their peers, others thought about how German compared to Spanish but did not use Spanish for interactions with classmates. Applying the lenses of heteroglossia and *nepantla* is useful in understanding that conflicting language ideologies occurred in the three German classes which participated in this study. Through their participation in the study the students were able to reflect and verbalize their ideas about language use at the university. Verbalizing their thoughts on language use and languaging in the classroom opened up the space for reflection. Participants' previous exposure

to language ideologies might have influenced them not to engage their full linguistic capacities in an academic setting. Being exposed to a translanguaging pedagogy in an academic setting that is affirmative of border language use, which according to deficit ideologies is not a unitary academic language is introducing a conflict. However, through experiencing something that contradicts internalized beliefs about language one enters an in-between state of *nepantla*, where not only existing ideologies are named but also questioned. Throughout the process of this semester long study it became evident that participants began to question ideologies that up to that point had formed their way of perceiving their own reality. Anzaldúa's perception of a person in a state of *nepantla* is useful when trying to gain a holistic awareness of "the ways you construct knowledge, identity, and reality, and explore how some of your/others' constructions violate other people's ways of knowing" (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 544). In 1987 Anzaldúa wrote about how "Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity- I am my language" (p. 81) and that concept was evident in the way participants self-identified. The self-identification matches how students present themselves linguistically in the German class. The German classes are a place where students experience heteroglossia, it is a place where unifying and stratifying forces meet, as they are represented through different ideologies with regards to language. Such as nativist and assimilationist language ideologies and on the other end heteroglossic ideas of multilingualism. The local way of languaging on the border is "a variation of two languages" and is not recognized from a language purist perspective that values only English in the United States (Anzaldúa, 1987, p.76). The participants' stories are full of struggles, strength and resilience. Their stories and their families' experiences have formed who they are. Applying a translanguaging pedagogy gives students the confidence that they are capable and have the knowledge to learn German because of their unique linguistic resources and their unique stories

can be empowering. The group work interactions in the German class can be regarded as a dialogized heteroglossia. It becomes visible that there are unifying forces represented with the use of English as the “national” language and stratifying forces represented through the social language students use. As Bakhtin explains: language is heteroglossic from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth, all given a bodily form. These “languages” of heteroglossia intersect each other in a variety of ways forming new socially typifying “languages” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 291).

The following four questions guided this participatory action research:

The first research question sought to understand how Spanish-English bilingual students learned German?

To summarize, bilingual learners benefit from utilizing their full linguistic repertoire in the class, regardless of if they used it in conversations with others or for individual work. The key elements for learning are the classroom atmosphere and a positive student-instructor relationship. If students feel cared for and they see their instructor motivated to teach with high expectations for their learning they will feel motivated to work hard. Even when we applied translanguaging there were still concepts that students struggled with but they learned to make sense of concepts together as a group and they trusted each other’s insights and were willing to listen to each other’s feedback and recognized when it was time to ask a question of someone outside their group. Students felt comfortable and able to approach me for feedback. The majority of testing I conduct in any given semester is formative, which also includes homework. Students have unlimited attempts to submit their homework, when it comes to presentations, they

know that I am always willing to check their slides beforehand. Even during tests, I point out errors in reasoning and give students a chance to self-correct, which makes them feel knowledgeable and puts the emphasis on learning from mistakes and authentic understanding. Not all students are going to understand a German grammar concept explained in English but through the collaborative group work students can explain the concepts to each other with examples that make sense to them including their lived realities and their funds of knowledge. Students co-create their own more authentic individual understanding of the material. As an instructor one needs to realize that there are multiple ways to look at a concept and one must step away from monopolizing classroom time for explanations that only make sense in the teacher's mind. When students are explaining content to each other they not only gain a more authentic and deeper understanding of the concepts, but they also realize that their previous linguistic knowledge is beneficial when learning German. In conclusion the students learn through a communicative approach, with lots of dialogues between peers and myself as the facilitator of learning.

The second research question sought to understand what students' language ideologies are, and if those language ideologies and identities are related?

Based on the data there is a connection between language ideologies and how someone self-identifies. Participants with a positive attitude towards bilingualism were also identifying as bilingual, while those that displayed strong nativist, as well as assimilationist ideologies did not use another language besides English in the classroom. If one has experienced the struggle with learning English and encountered deficit discourses from previous teachers', it is not a surprise that using English served to prove one's capabilities and agency in the classroom for students from Mexico. For students who self-identified as Chicana or Mexican American deficit

discourses also took the form of judgement on one's Spanish language capabilities. Those participants described having deficits in the standard Spanish they used because they were only familiar with the local border way of languaging.

When it came to the heritage learners of German they were more used to oral communication in German and if we worked on making sense of a written dialogue, for example it benefited them to be able to say it out loud as they were more used to the sound than to the way German appears in the written form. There were participants that described using French to make sense out of German and they might say something in French during the German class and mix French, German and English. In their interviews no students reflected negatively on this aspect of languaging. However, when it came to "mixing" English and Spanish students' comments were mostly negative, which leads me to believe that it is a highly marked behavior. What one could describe as translanguaging is not so well received by some of the participants, even if translanguaging benefits everyone in the classroom. Their attitudes towards it are reflecting a complex picture of language use on the border, in which language use is tied to power and assimilationist discourses. It can be summarized that through their educational journey participants have been socialized into language ideologies and for some speaking only English is normal and the way it should be. Speaking or not speaking Spanish in a classroom then becomes a statement of one's positionality. As for the participants it can be said that if grandparents and parents have struggled in the US educational system because of their perceived language deficits younger members of the family will be speaking English dominantly or exclusively. While transfronterizos as well as more recent immigrant students and those with very strong ties to their families in Mexico speak both Spanish and English but in different ways than they used Spanish with their group members and English with me. In her interview series Claudia had predicted the

students that will be mixing both are the students born in the United States to Mexican immigrants and that seems to be the case. Therefore, the mixing of both Spanish and English has a low status and is considered as “incorrect” use of either or language because it is associated with an immigrant community, while Spanish is used by students with a strong sense of their Mexican identity and English is used by students who identify as American. My findings show that participants who self-identify as Mexican-American were using both English and Spanish in utterances. While that was marked and not particularly well-regarded amongst the participants from Mexico it can be considered as a normal language practice in a bilingual community. Where one situates oneself in the border has a direct influence on the way one languages. People who see themselves permanently on the US side of the border with no desire or need to cross into Mexico are the ones who do not speak Spanish and have less interest in learning it because that language for them belongs to their families past and not to their own future. If I perceive myself as a transfronterizo who travels between two countries I would have to know both languages. If there was some struggle involved in learning English in the US educational system the two languages would be kept separate. Using either Spanish or English depending on to whom one is talking. People who are American but identify strongly with their Mexican roots often are more open minded towards using translanguaging as a learning strategy in the German class.

The third research question aimed to understand how student’s used translanguaging practices in the classroom and what their beliefs about these practices are?

When considering translanguaging practices in the classroom one has to consider that a lot of the participants have experienced an educational system in which the superiority of English over Spanish has not been contested. Participants, regardless of how they self-identified voiced bias towards “mixing” English and Spanish even while engaging in translanguaging. By using

translanguaging strategies and reflecting on the positive experiences in the classroom those biases can be made more visible and participants started to question why only English was considered to be a legitimate academic language in their previous experiences in the educational system. Using translanguaging practices allowed students to gain an authentic understanding of German and it proved to be useful particularly for pronouncing German words, as participants realized that the vowel sounds are exactly the same between Spanish and German. Furthermore, the grammatical complexity for example the concept of formality, gender or accusative prepositions were easier to understand for bilingual learners tapping into their knowledge of Spanish. The English language was useful to understand cognates. Using translanguaging kept students engaged with the material and motivated throughout the semester, none of the study participants dropped out of the class and attendance was maintained the whole semester. Feeling intrigued to learn and excited to go to class was a feeling participants describe in the interviews. It can be assumed that the teaching approach of incorporating authentic care together with translanguaging practices have helped to reach the goal of creating trust and installing confidence in the students' abilities as capable language learners. And that the strategies they have previously used to learn English can be applied to learning German. The German classes functioned as a space where students could position themselves as multilingual speakers and through the research process that went on for a whole semester participants were able to make adjustments to the way they wanted to be perceived. When viewed through a nepantla lens it can be said that the participants entered an in-between state where their language practices did not match their language ideologies. However, in that liminal space or third space they are able to experiment with language practices and develop new perspectives. Those practices and the semester long reflection process can lead to epistemological change.

The fourth research question sought to understand how epistemological change happens among these students?

Having the opportunity to experience languaging practices that might contradict long held beliefs about what is “correct” language and reflecting on those practices is a way to verbalize and create awareness about the ideas one holds. Through participation in this study the students reflected on their own experiences and since we did a series of three individual interviews in addition to the focus group interviews with the larger group of participants were students shared their thoughts with others that led to challenge some of their beliefs. An example of this is Vic, who describes translanguaging between English, German or Italian as sounding “cultured” or sophisticated because he uses those languages to speak with professors at the university. Yet, introducing Spanish in that same context sounds “uncultured”, particularly the local dialect form of it with the slang that is associated with a low socio-economic status and a working-class population. Throughout the interview series he began to retrace his wording and started to reflect that he is valuing languages differently. It can be said that he has been transmitting certain language ideologies he has been socialized into in previous educational settings. Now that Vic has been able to experience Spanish, and even the local vernacular form of border Spanish as a resource for learning in an academic setting, he has started to question those long-held beliefs. There is no reason to exclude one language or local dialect because it is marked as belonging to a socio-economically disadvantaged group. Border Spanish or Spanglish is a valid way of describing the world and shouldn’t lead speakers to feel inferior. However, several participants spoke specifically about how they felt as Spanish speakers in the academic setting of the United States. Verbalizing thoughts and experiencing a safe and supportive classroom atmosphere where dominant discourses were questioned and all linguistic resources were valued equally

contributed to a potential epistemological change. Being open towards reflection is the first step towards a critical evaluation of dominant discourse, that process did not necessarily end with the conclusion of the data collection from this study of only one semester but continued. I have ongoing communication with most of the study participants and some of them continued taking German classes with me so I was able to informally observe their language choices. For example, one of the participants who exclusively used English during the study period was very confident in using Spanish the following semester he would volunteer his answers in Spanish during whole group conversations which is something he did not do during the study period, but it shows that with time he built that trust and realized that it was perfectly fine to tap into his full linguistic repertoire, and that being bilingual is not something that needs to be covered up. Demonstrating confidence as bilinguals and multilinguals was one indicator that epistemological change is possible through classroom experiences.

How do the findings connect with existing research?

This study applied action research methods. Participatory action research can be understood “as an epistemological stand rather than a mere set of research methods and techniques” (Filipovic, 2019). Filipovic used participatory action research in an applied linguistic study on a minority language her methods included emancipatory focus groups which is similar to this current study. This particular approach allows that “experiences, identities, perspectives, cultures, politics, and languages of all relevant interested parties and stakeholders are accounted for” (Filipovic, 2019, p. 493). Participatory action research is a valuable element to empower teachers as Kayaoglu describes, as she used action research in a study on English language teachers (Kayaoglu, 2015). According to Calvert and Sheen (2015) action research does not only serve teachers to document their practices, it also allows language teachers “to improve their

pedagogical practices by deepening their understanding of students' learning processes" (p. 227). It can be stated that through applying participatory action research methods I was able to gain new insights into my student's languaging practices and their unique ways of making sense of German.

This study focuses on how bilingual students learn German in the borderland, through its focus on language learning and including the interview series. I asked specifically about their family history and previous experiences in the educational system. It became evident here that some participants have experienced language purism and assimilationist ideologies together with a marginalization of bilingual identities either through their family background or their individual experiences in the educational system. When it comes to assimilation the example of the way names are pronounced comes to mind. During the current study participants felt comfortable with their identity in an in-between state when both the English and Spanish pronunciation were used. Hybrid language use and identity are connected and Anzaldúa's work on *nepantla* can shed light on that. In the field of critical education Anzaldúa's conceptualization of *nepantla* has been adopted in a number of studies (Abraham, 2014; Antuna, 2018; Chavez, 2015; Lizarraga & Gutierrez, 2018; Prieto & Villenas, 2012; Venegas-Weber, 2018). Prieto and Villenas (2012) highlight that in the field of bilingual education pedagogy is as important as content knowledge. Venegas-Weber (2018) studied bilingual teachers who applied *nepantla* pedagogy specifically in the field of bilingual education. She uses life history interviews and thematic analysis of the transcribed data of her application of *nepantla* as a theoretical framework which helps to explain the agency Chicana and Latina bilingual teachers assert when they apply pedagogical practices "with a level of *mestiza* consciousness" (Venegas-Weber, 2018, p.168). Chavez (2015) connects *nepantla* with Thirdspace following Anzaldúa's conceptualization of it.

“Thirdspace as a theoretical location to understand conflicting cultural intersectionalities and to offer a perspective from the margins in order to humanize Nepantla” (Chavez, 2015, p. 343). Inside the German classes students are able to project their identities in any way that they want. Lizarraga and Gutierrez (2018) are describing the use of nepantla pedagogies as useful for teachers who want to challenge the characterization of their students as “inept or deficient” (p.38). According to Lizarraga and Gutierrez (2018) it is important for teachers to identify ways in which hierarchies can be flattened “and expertise redistributed in a way that decenters teacher practice and counters teacher-directedness not just about finding ways to leverage the multimodal, heteroglossic, and hybrid language practices of youth in the classroom, but to identify instances where learners may playfully deploy identities that can be mobilized by youth to organize new learning in-between identities as emergent polylinguist” (p.45). These ideas describe the processes in the German class, where students utilize hybrid language practices and sometimes experience those fluid boundaries; for example, between being a mainstream English-speaker, a Spanish speaker, a Spanglish speaker, and an emergent German speaker, while maintaining one identity as a polylingual or multilingual person. Abraham (2014) has applied the connection of nepantla with Bakhtin’s ideas for pedagogical and social change. Bakhtin’s concept of heteroglossia is also taken up in a number of recent research studies (Barwell, 2016; Cru, 2015; Kiramba, 2019; Kiramba, 2017). Barwell investigated the socio-political dimensions of language use in a bilingual 5th grade Canadian mathematics classroom. The concept of heteroglossia helps to understand the dialogic nature and the situatedness of language. Heteroglossia “represents the idea that humans shape language (Barwell, 2016, p. 38). Cru (2015) applied Bakhtin’s concept of heteroglossia in a study on reviving Yucatan Mayan in informal social media posts. This allows a focus on the voice of the language users, as

heteroglossia is not only referring to “the simultaneous use of various linguistic systems but to the social and political nature of speech, which entails tensions, conflict and struggle” (Cru, 2015, p. 293). In the field of heteroglossia and language learning Kiramba is specifically looking at the connection with heteroglossia and translanguaging in two studies in elementary classrooms in Kenya. The earlier study focuses on translanguaging in the writing of emergent multilinguals. According to Kiramba (2017) translanguaging “acknowledges the complex relationship among language, identity, and sociopolitical power” (p.117). Kiramba (2017) focuses on the multivoicedness of her study participants, the use of their home language improved learner motivation, self-esteem, and pride in their own culture (p. 128). In another study in Kenya Kiramba focused on heteroglossic practices in a multilingual science classroom, where translanguaging is the norm for the students who are accessing their full linguistic repertoire to communicate which included “language code-switching, translating, borrowing, and lending of languages” (2019, p. 445). Similarly to this current study, in her study Kiramba describes the use of heteroglossic strategies, which create “a space for pedagogy of integration and dialogue” (2019, p. 445).

What are limitations of the study?

By design this study focused on the learning of multilingual students. It did not focus on the learning of monolingual students who study German as a first foreign language. There are unique challenges monolingual students might encounter when learning German while being surrounded with classmates who translanguage and use their full linguistic repertoire that a monolingual person does not have access to. Such as, the monolingual students feel left out of conversations, or that they have a harder time following the discussions in the classroom. However, in order to remedy this problem, I make sure to summarize comments that are made in

other languages into English for students who are monolingual. Sometimes they need to remain patient while conversations are occurring but I do make it a point to include everyone into the classroom discussions regardless of their linguistic repertoire.

What are practical implications of this study?

Students need to interact and make their own experiences and mistakes with the language, it is not possible to hear about a language abstractly, in theory, or just to repeat examples. Language needs to be practiced, and the more interactional the classroom is the more time the individual student can interact with the material. A recommendation for curriculum developing is to plan enough time for translinguaging activities, students will need enough time to actively use multilingual dialogues. An important element for educators is for them to check their own attitudes to make sure that they are not perpetuating deficit or nativist discourses of English as the only valid academic language. Keeping an open communication about language ideologies in the classroom can contribute to students building trust and confidence. Establishing a student-instructor relationship based on trust and care is going to give students the confidence that they are safe to try out something new, which is key to learning any subject but particularly when learning another language as it is easy to feel uncomfortable, intimidated or afraid of mistakes. Therefore, teacher student relationships need to be forged that express mutual respect. Where teachers would encompass the instructor student relationship and do their best to meet their students' needs, as well as learning goals, and students would want to do their best because they want to meet and exceed their teachers' expectations.

For a newcomer from an immigrant community the value of speaking Spanish or the value of biliteracy might not be that important during the initial stages of trying to establish a livelihood within the United States. One focuses mainly on English, particularly if one has to

struggle when learning English fast and is experiencing adjustment to an English-speaking environment and finding it challenging. Then one might be more eager to subscribe to assimilationist language ideologies. Although those sentiments can be an obstacle to learning with translanguaging pedagogies, when students experience desired learning results, they might be gaining more optimism and confidence as multilingual learners.

This practitioner research was conducted using a participatory approach. Many participants began a reflection process on their language ideologies during the research process. While the individual reflection process varied from person to person a common understanding that all forms of a language are whole, complete and valuable in their own right emerged. It can be summarized that participants understood that their own way of passing judgement on languaging practices could hinder other classmates in their learning, as well as their own learning. Becoming aware of one's own language ideologies was an outcome many participants had. We worked a lot with different forms of the German language including regional dialects during the semester. While the textbook would only entail the standard language, I would bring in dialects and figure of speeches, or second and third meanings of a word in colloquial use. Through that exposure students understood that the German language is not static but any language is dynamic and as learners and speakers of German we have the capacity to stay flexible also when it comes to pronunciation. The students learned to understand that regardless of how someone pronounces the "I" which is "ich" in high German we can comprehend it and any variation in pronunciation is simply a reflection of a local dialect which is to be expected and normal in the German speaking countries. The learning curve on this concept entailed that at first students would ask about the "correct" way to pronounce the "I", because particularly heritage language learners would notice that although I strive to pronounce everything as one would in

standard German they can hear my pronunciation being softer than that of someone of the center of Germany I do have a slight coloration in my pronunciation that is due to the fact that I speak dialect in addition to standard German. As part of this learning journey students understood that it is normal that German speakers are not all going to sound the same, some might roll their “r”, some might not, for example. The more participants understood the variety within German as normal the more they started to reflect on their language ideologies regarding what is standard English or standard Spanish. Over the course of the semester participants learned to accept that no one way to pronounce German was going to be better than another between the standard and dialect forms. Language ideologies that students had been socialized into or former ways of thinking about local languaging forms were topics as part of our conversations during the study. Participants understood that the local form of using Spanish for example can be a valuable source for learning, as they got to experience that we would use it to understand German. Furthermore, students got to reflect on their own biases towards Spanish, which was twofold, some participants who had never used it in an academic setting now saw it as more valuable and as a resource for learning even if they did not consider to speak the “academic Spanish”, on the other side participants who had previously used Spanish in academic settings and were convinced of the deficits of the borderland Spanish began to reflect their own bias and how it might hinder someone else’s learning in a class. As part of an informal observation I was able to follow many of the participants through their full German program at the university and due to that I could see how their languaging changed as a result of their reflection process that had started with this participatory study. One example that stood out to me was a participant who had never used any Spanish in the German class while the study was going on but later on started to proudly use Spanish and moreover also answered that indeed he spoke Spanish whenever a

classmate would ask, while during the study that confidence was not visible. Another example is that a student who previously did not value Spanish at all now has regrets towards his previous ignorance and is now trying to improve his Spanish language skills because he does understand the value of being multilingual now and lost his “ignorance” towards Spanish as he worded it himself. Another outcome of this participatory research was that participants realized and reflected on the fact that the German textbook targets a monolingual audience and considers being monolingual with English as the norm. Moreover, not only was a monolingual audience addressed by the way the textbook would explain content but the assumption was also that students had experience with topics such as sailing, expensive sport cars and conversing about traveling during spring break. The reality for the majority of students in the border land is a very different one; however, as a class we were able to identify and address those assumptions because I was able to tell the students that even for Germans those topics are elitist. The curriculum that would be implied with a German learning program as such would not address the unique strengths and needs of a bilingual community. Being able to deconstruct the underlying bias that is present in the German textbook material that is produced in the United States together with the students was a first step. A second step was giving students the opportunity to create their own authentic examples which served the purpose to relate to the German language in a meaningful way. A common purpose of practitioner research is to reflect and improve one’s own practices. Among the things that I take away from this study is the importance of creating an authentic and respectful rapport with students early on in the semester. It is something I have strived for also prior to this study but through conducting this research learned why it is important because it improves learning outcomes for students. Every individual student has their own way of learning and the more I can find out about what my student’s strengths and

weaknesses are the more I can individualize the instruction to address diverse needs. As an instructor and as a person I genuinely care about all of my students, regardless of their age, or what kind of attitudes they might bring to the classroom, participants did notice that authentic care and having a trustful environment created momentum to strive harder and push themselves to achieve higher goals. For example, participants would describe to study and work hard in the class because they did not want to disappoint my high expectations for them. For other students being part of this study was the first time that someone was interested in hearing their opinions outside of their circle of friends or family. It was a unique opportunity to highlight the strength and resilience these students in the borderland have. Something I learned is that with the daily adversity students face they are used to viewing themselves through the lens of deficit discourses with a focus on perceived shortcomings, while overlooking how resilient, adaptable, and capable of learning they are. Throughout our conversations as part of this research we were able to detect these deficit discourses and understand their functioning with the outcome that students are now able to create a new narrative for themselves, one in which being bilingual/multilingual is valuable and their knowledge and experience is considered important. A practical outcome of this study for me was to pay very close attention to dynamics in student groups, because I do not want students to form groups based on their social class or perceived status or their languaging patterns. I have to be very proactive in creating groups. Something I changed in my teaching practice after this study is using a randomized system to compose student groups, for example I have all students in a classroom sign in to an interactive game and it randomly assigns each student to an animal I then have all lions, or all tigers et cetera sit together which takes the pressure of me to select group members. As another practical outcome of this study I learned how student's perception of me changed throughout the study and the more that students would

know about me the more comfortable they were with presenting themselves as their authentic selves in the classroom. For example, for one participant the way he would pronounce his own name would evolve over the course of the study. The pronunciation went from an American to a Spanish way and was tied to how he perceived me initially as an American teacher who would probably not know any Spanish and then he was positively surprised that I was German and did speak and understand some Spanish. This example taught me that the way students perceive me will influence how they participate during activities in class.

Implications for future research

Future research could focus more on practical implications of translanguaging pedagogy when teaching and learning German, including the development of a curriculum. Moreover, different qualitative data analysis methods such as discourse analysis or a perspective of LatCrit might prove fruitful in this field. It may also be useful to look at long term data for changes in languaging that occurs long after being in contact with translanguaging in a class. Consequently, many of the study participants continued to learn German with me in following semesters and I was able to informally observe their patterns. Conceivably there may be long term effects that do not immediately become visible during one semester. Additionally, it would be interesting for me to see long term effects of translanguaging practices and pedagogy on academic success for students at a border university, considering the low rate of on-time graduation for Latinx students.

References

- Abraham, S. (2014). A nepantla pedagogy: comparing Anzaldúa's and Bakhtin's ideas for pedagogical and social change. *Critical Education*, pp. 1-20.
- Abrams, Z. (2016). Exploring collaboratively written L2 texts among first-year learners of German in Google Docs. *Computer assisted language learning*, Vol. 29 No.8, pp. 1259-1270.
- Antuna, M. (2018). What we talk about when we talk about Nepantla: Gloria Anzaldua and the queer fruit of Aztec philosophy. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 17(2), 159-163.
- Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderlands/ La frontera: The new mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.
- Anzaldua, G. (2002). now let us shift...the path of conocimiento inner work, public arts. In G. Anzaldua, & A. (. Keating, *This bridge we call home: radical visions for transformation* (pp. 540-579). New York: Routledge.
- Anzaldua, G. (2009). *The Gloria Anzaldua reader*. (A. Keating, Ed.) Duke University Press.
- Aranson, E., & Calsmith, J. (1990). *Methods of research in social psychology*. New York: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Barwell, R. (2016). Investigating stratification, language diversity and mathematics classroom interaction. *PNA*, 11(1), 34-52.
- Belz, J. A., & Reinhardt, J. (2004). Aspects of advanced foreign language proficiency: Internet-mediated German language play. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 14(3), pp. 324-362.
- Blackledge, A., Creese, A., & Takhi, K. (2014). Voice, register and social position. *Multilingua*, 33(5-6), pp. 485-504.
- Bono, M., & Stratilaki, S. (2009). The M-factor, a bilingual asset for plurilinguals? Learners' representations, discourse strategies and third language acquisition in institutional contexts. *International journal of multilingualism*, 6(2), pp. 207-227.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Busch, B. (2010). School language profiles: valorizing linguistic resources in heteroglossic situations in South Africa. *Language and Education*, 24(4), pp. 283-294.
- Butler, J. (1997). Performative acts and gender constitution. In K. Conboy, N. Medina, & S. Stanbury, *Writing on the body: female embodiment and feminist theory*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing gender*. New York: Routledge.

- Cahill, C. (2016). Doing research with young people: participatory research and the rituals of collective work. In P. H. Hinchey, *A critical action research reader* (pp. 157-171). Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Calvert, M., & Sheen, Y. (2015). Task-based language learning and teaching: An action-research study. *Language Teaching Research*, 19 (2), 226-244.
- Carrillo, J. (2013, 4 11). I always knew I was gifted: Latino males and the Mesitz@ theory of intelligences (MTI). *Berkely Review of Education*, pp. 70-95.
- Cashman, T. G. (2015). *Developing a critical border dialogism: Learning from fellow educators in Malaysia, Mexico, and Canada*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age.
- Cashman, T. G. (2016). Critical border praxis: Choosing the path of critical border dialogism. *Critical Education*, 1-15.
- Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (95 2011). A holistic approach to multilingual education: introduction. *The modern language journal*, S. 339-343.
- Cervantes-Soon, C. G., & Carillo, J. F. (2016, Summer). Toward a pedagogy of border thinking: Building on Latin@ students' subaltern knowledge. *The High School Journal*, pp. 282-301.
- Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Chavez, M. S. (2015). Let's meet in Nepantla: the possibility of Thirdspace as a place "others" call home. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 14, 336-344.
- Collins, B. A., & Cioe-Pena, M. (2016). Translanguaging in the social studies classroom to understand complex texts. In O. García, & T. Kleyn, *Translanguaging with multilingual students: Learning from classroom moments*. London: GB: Routledge.
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010, 94). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: a pedagogy for learning and teaching. *The Modern Language Journal*, pp. 103-115.
- Cru, J. (2015). Language revitalisation from the ground up: promoting Yucatec Maya on Facebook. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 36(3), 284-296.
- Dahlberg, G. (2017). A multivocal approach in the analysis of online dialogue in the language-focused classroom in higher education. *Educational technology & society*, 20(2), pp. 238-250.
- De Angelis, G. (2007). *Third or additional language acquisition*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

- De Angelis, G. (2011, 8 3). Teachers' beliefs about the role of prior language knowledge in learning and how these influence teaching practices. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, pp. 216-234.
- Di Donato, R. C. (2004). *Deutsch: Na klar!: An introductory German course*. McGraw-Hill.
- Dixon, E., & Hondo, J. (2013). Re-purposing an OER for the online language course: a case study of Deutsch interaktiv by the Deutsche Welle. *Computer assisted language learning*, 27(2), pp. 109-121.
- Education, U. D. (2017, March). *National center for education statistics*. Retrieved from The condition of education: English language learners in public schools: https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator_cgf.asp
- Emerson, R., Fretz, R., & Shaw, L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Engel, J. (2008, 19). The democratic language of American imperialism: race, order, and Theodore Roosevelt's personifications of foreign policy evil. *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, pp. 671-689.
- Esquinca, A. (2013). A transfronteriza pre-service teacher managing, resisiting, and coping with the demands of mathematical discourse. *International journal of qualitative studies in Education*, 3.
- Esquinca, A., Araujo, B., & de la Piedra, M. (2014). Meaning making and translanguaging in a two-way dual language program on the U.S.-Mexico Border. *Bilingual Research Journal*, pp. 164-181.
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. van Dijk, *Discourse studies. A multidisciplinary introduction. Vol. 2 Discourse as social interaction* (pp. 258-84). London: Sage.
- Falk, Y., & Bardel, C. (2010). The study of the role of the background languages in third language acquisition. *IRAL*, 48, pp. 185-219.
- Fichtman Dana, N. (2013). *Digging deeper a teacher inquirer's field guide into action research*. Thousand Oaks: Corwin.
- Filipovic, J. (2019). Transdisciplinary qualitative paradigm in applied linguistics: autoethnography, participatory action research and minority language teaching and learning. *International journal of qualitative studies in education*, 32(5), 493-509.
- Francis, B. (2012). Gender monoglossia, gender heteroglossia: the potential of Bakhtin's work for re-conceptualising gender. *Journal of gender studies*, 21(1), pp. 1-15.
- Frank, C. (1999). *Ethnographic eyes: a teacher's guide to classroom observation*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.

- Freeman, D. (1998). *Doing teacher research: From inquiry to understanding*. Boston: Heinle and Heinle.
- García, O. (2009). Bilingualism and translanguaging. In O. García, *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective* (pp. 42-72). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- García, O., & Sylvan, C. (2011). Pedagogies and practices in multilingual classrooms: Singularities in pluralities. *The modern language journal*, pp. 385-400.
- García, O., Homonoff Woodley, H., Flores, N., & Chu. (2012). Latino emergent bilingual youth in high schools: transcaring strategies for academic success. *Urban education*, pp. 798-827.
- García, O. (2014). Theorizing and enacting translanguaging for social justice. In A. & Blackledge, *Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy* (pp. 199-216). Netherlands: Springer.
- García, O., & Wei, L. (2014). *Translanguaging*. New York: Palgrave macmillan.
- Glaser, B. (1992). *Basics of grounded theory analysis*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Gonglewski, M. M. (2013). *Treffpunkt Deutsch Grundstufe*. Pearson.
- Grenfell, M., & Harris, V. (2015). Learning a third language: What learner strategies do bilingual students bring? *J. Curriculum studies*, 47(4), pp. 553-576.
- Grosjean, F. (2010). *Bilingual: Life and reality*. Cambridge, MA: Havard University Press.
- Hansen-Thomas, H. (2007). Language ideology, citizenship, and identity . *Journal of Language and Politics*, 249-264.
- Hilgendorf, S. (2005, 24 1). "Brain gain statt [instead of] brain drain": the role of English in German education. *World Englishes*, pp. 53-67.
- Holly, M. L., Arhar, J. M., & Kasten, W. C. (2005). *Action research for teachers: traveling the yellow brick road*. Upper Saddle River: Pearson.
- Hornberger, N. (2002). Multilingual language policies and the continua of biliteracy: An ecological approach . *Language policy*, 27-51.
- Jaensch, C. (2011). L3 acquisition of German adjectival inflection: A generative account. *Second language research*, pp. 83-106.
- Jessner, U. (2008, 41 1). Teaching third languages: Findings, trends and challenges. *Language Teaching*, pp. 15-56.
- Kayaoglu, M. N. (2015). Teacher researchers in action research in a heavily centralized education system. *Education Action Research*, 23(2), 140-161.

- Kiramba, L. K. (2017). Translanguaging in the writing of emergent multilinguals. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, 11(2), 115-130.
- Kiramba, L. K. (2019). Heteroglossic practices in a multilingual science classroom. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 22(4), 445-458.
- Lewis, G., Jones, B., & Baker, C. (2012). Translanguaging: origins and development from school to street and beyond. *Educational research and evaluation*, pp. 641-654.
- Lichtman, M. (2013). *Qualitative research in education: A user's guide (3rd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lizarraga, J. R., & Gutierrez, K. D. (2018). Centering Nepantla literacies from the Borderlands: Leveraging "in-betweenness" toward learning in the everyday. *Theory into Practice*, 57, 38-47.
- Lopez, M. H. (2013, September 5). *What is the future of Spanish in the United States?* Retrieved from Pew Research Center: <http://pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/09/05/what-is-the-future-of-spanish-in-the-united-states/>
- Mariou, E. (2017). "My language, my mother tongue": competing language ideologies and linguistic diversity among speakers of standard and non-standard varieties. *International journal of bilingual education and bilingualism*, 20(1), pp. 20-33.
- Mazak, C. M., & Herbas-Donoso, C. (2015, 18 6). Translanguaging practices at a bilingual university: a case study of a science classroom. *International journal of bilingual education and bilingualism*, pp. 698-714.
- Meerzon, Y. (2015). Between je and moi: staging the heteroglossia of immigrant autobiography. *Theatre research in Canada*, 36(2), pp. 290-311.
- Melo-Pfeifer, S. (2015, 15 1). Translanguaging. Language, bilingualism and education. *Language and intercultural communication*, pp. 179-181.
- Munn-Giddings, C. (2012). Action research. In J. Arthur, M. Waring, R. Coe, & L. Hedges, *Research methods & methodologies in education* (pp. 71-75). Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Pakkar-Hull, D. (2014). Mosaic: re-imagining the monolingual classroom through theatre-in-education. *Research in Drama Education: The journal of applied theatre and performance*, 19(3), pp. 243-254.
- Preece, S. (2010, 24 1). Multilingual identities in higher education: negotiating the 'mother tongue', 'posh' and 'slang'. *Language and Education*, pp. 21-39.
- Prieto, L., & Villenas, S. A. (2012). Pedagogies from Nepantla: Testimonio. *Chicana/Latina*.

- Ramirez, P. C., Ross, L., & Jimenez-Silva, M. (2016). The intersectionality of border pedagogy and Latina/o youth: Enacting border pedagogy in multiple spaces. *The High School Journal*, 302-321.
- Razfar, A., & Rumenapp, J. (2012). Language ideologies in English learner classrooms: critical reflection and the role of explicit awareness. *Language Awareness*, 4, pp. 347-368.
- Reyes, R. (2016). In a world of disposable students: The humanizing elements of border pedagogy in teacher education. *The High School Journal*, 337-350.
- Rios, C. (2013). A curriculum of the borderland: High school Chicano/a Latina studies as sitios y lengua. *The Urban Review*, 58-73.
- Rothman, J., Iverson, M., & Jurdy, T. (2010). Introduction: some notes on the generative study of L3 acquisition. *Second language research*, 27(1), pp. 5-19.
- Salinas, C., Vuckery, A., & Franquiz, M. (2016). Advancing border pedagogies: Understanding of citizenship through comparisons of home to school contexts. *The High School Journal*, 322-336.
- Schieffelin, B., Woolard, K. A., & Kroskrity, P. (. (1998). *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schwalbach, E. M. (2003). *Value and validity in action research: a guidebook for reflective practitioners*. Lanham: ScarecrowEducation.
- Seidman, I. (2013). *Interviewing as qualitative research: a guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. NY: Teachers College Press.
- Sembiante, S. (2016, 46:1). Translanguaging and the multilingual turn: epistemological reconceptualization in the fields of language and implications for reframing language in curriculum studies. *Curriculum inquiry*, pp. 45-61.
- Statistics, N. C. (2017). *The condition of education: English language learners in public schools*. U.S. Department of Education.
- Stringer, E. (1996). *Action research: A handbook for practioners* . London: Sage.
- Tschirner, E. N. (2017). *Kontakte*. McGraw-Hill.
- Turkan, S., & DaSilva Iddings, A. C. (2012). That child is a yellow: New immigrant children's conceptions of English language, literacy, and learners' identities in the NCLB era. *Theory into practice*, pp. 273-280.
- U.S. Department of Education. (2015). *Digest of education statistics*. National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved from <https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d15>
- Ullman, C. (2012). 'Before I didn't understand anything about white people, but now, I speak English': negotiating globally mediated discourses of race, language, and nation. *Discourse: Studies in the cultural politics of education*, 2, pp. 251-266.

- UTEP. (2017, November 28). *About UTEP*. Retrieved from <https://www.utep.edu/about/about-utep.html>
- Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: U.S. Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- van Dijk, T. (2001). Critical Discourse Analysis. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. Hamilton, *The handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 352-372). Malden: Blackwell.
- Velasco, P., & García, O. (2014, 37:1). Translanguaging and the writing of bilingual learners. *Bilingual Research Journal*, pp. 6-23.
- Veltkamp, G., Recio, G., Jacobs, A. M., & Conrad, M. (2012). Is personality modulated by language? *Bilingualism*, 17(4), pp. 496-504.
- Venegas-Weber, P. (2018). Teaching and knowing in Nepantla: "I wanted them to realize that, that is being bilingual". *International Multilingual Research Journal*, 12(3), 160-172.
- Wilson, C., Ek, L., Ty, M., & Douglas, M. (2014). Recasting border crossing politics and pedagogies to combat educational inequality. *The Urban Review*, 1-24.
- Woolard, K. (1992, 2 3). Language ideology: Issues and approaches. *Pragmatics*, pp. 235-249.
- Yosso, T. J. (2005, 8 (1)). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, pp. 69-91.

Appendix

Shawn=S
 Jared=J
 Ricardo= R
 Annabell=A (instructor)
 Evan= E

Table A4

Excerpt 4 In-class conversation

Utterance	English translation	Explanation
1 S: <i>Regnet es am Südpol?</i>	<i>Does it rain at the south pole?</i>	
2 J: <i>Nein, am Südpol regnet es nicht.</i>	<i>No, at the south pole it does not rain.</i>	
3 S: Mmh [nodding]		Shawn is approving of the sentence Jared just told him
4 J: <i>Schneit es oft in Houston?</i>	<i>Does it often snow in Houston?</i>	
5 R: <i>Nein, scheint es nicht oft in Houston.</i>	<i>No, it does not shine often in Houston.</i>	<i>Schneit [to snow]</i> and <i>scheint [to shine]</i> are often confused by German learners
6 S: <i>schneit</i>	<i>snow</i>	Shawn did notice the mistake and is correcting Ricardo
7 R: <i>Nein, es schneit</i>	<i>No, it snows</i>	Ricardo is using the correct verb but hesitates completing the sentence
8 S: <i>nicht oft</i>	<i>not often</i>	Shawn is helping him with the placement of the negation
9 R: <i>nicht oft in Houston. Regnet es in Israel viel?</i>	<i>Not often in Houston. Does it rain much in Israel?</i>	Ricardo is completing the sentence with the help provided
10 J: <i>Nein, in Israel...</i>	<i>No, in Israel</i>	Jared gets stuck with his sentence
11 S: <i>...regnet es nicht viel</i>	<i>It doesn't rain much</i>	Shawn is helping to complete the sentence the focus of the activity was on the negation
12 J: <i>nicht viel</i>	<i>not much</i>	Jared is repeating the negation part but without the verb

13 S: I think it is <i>regnet es nicht viel</i>	<i>I think it is does it not rain much.</i>	Shawn provides feedback
14 J: <i>In Israel regnet es nicht viel.</i>	<i>In Israel it does not rain much.</i>	Jared repeats what Shawn had told him
15 S: <i>Ist der Winter in Italien sehr kalt?</i>	<i>Is the winter in Italy very cold?</i>	
16 J: <i>nicht Winter ist kalt</i>	<i>not winter is very cold</i>	Jared answers with this sentence fragment
17 S: <i>Nein, in Italien der Winter ist nicht sehr kalt.</i>	<i>No, in Italy the winter is not very cold.</i>	Shawn gives the complete negation as a sentence
18 J: <i>Nein, in Italien der Winter ist sehr kalt, ist nicht sehr kalt. Beginnt der Sommer im Julei Juli?</i>	<i>No, in Italy the winter is very cold, not very cold. Does the summer begin in July?</i>	Jared repeats the sentence, he has trouble pronouncing Juli
19 R: <i>Nein, der Sommer beginnt nicht im Julei.</i>	<i>No, the summer does not begin in July.</i>	
20 J: Is it <i>Julei</i> or <i>Juli</i> ?		Jared is confused as to how to pronounce Juli
21 S: <i>Juli</i>		Shawn models how to correctly pronounce the word
22 R: July [saying it in English laughing]		The group is having fun with pronouncing the month July. Ricardo is translating it back to English.
23 J: Is it <i>beginnt nicht</i> or <i>nicht beginnt</i> ?	Is it <i>begins</i> or <i>begins not</i> ?	The placement of the negation differs between English and German.
24 R: No, <i>nein der Sommer beginnt nicht</i> no <i>nein der Sommer beginnt nicht im Juli.</i>	<i>No, the summer begins not, no the summer does not begin in July.</i>	
25 S: I'm not sure honestly.		
26 J: Is it...?		
27 R: number four is it <i>Nein, der Sommer ...</i>	<i>...No, the summer...</i>	
28 R: <i>Nein, der Sommer beginnt nicht</i>	<i>No, the summer does not begin</i>	I am listening to this group and because I notice that Ricardo is hesitating with his sentence I repeat and complete the segment.
29 S: Is it <i>beginnt nicht</i> ? Or <i>nicht beginnt</i> ...	Is it <i>begins not</i> ? Or <i>not begins</i> ...	
30 R: <i>nicht in Julei</i>	<i>not in July</i>	
31 J: <i>in Julei</i>		

32 S: So it is <i>beginnt nicht</i> ?	<i>...begins not</i>	
33 A: Yeah, so we are just gonna say no the summer literally we are saying begins not		the group is working out the problem where to position the “not” in the German sentence, after Shawn has addressed me directly I make an affirmative comment because he is saying it correctly
34 S: Yeah, I was wondering <i>beginnt nicht</i> or <i>nicht beginnt</i>	<i>...begins not</i> or <i>not begins</i>	
35 A: <i>Der Sommer beginnt nicht.</i> Ahm.	<i>The summer does not begin.</i>	I am affirming that the group has found the correct placement.
36 Alex and Jared: <i>Im Juli</i> [laughing]	<i>In July</i>	
37 A: That it is a good question [to Shawn] <i>beginnt nicht im Juli</i> [to Ricardo and Jared] it’s because you are trying to put the verb before...	<i>...begins not in July</i>	
38 S: I wasn’t sure		
39 A: Yeah, but that is a good question. So, you guys went through the whole list?		
40 S: Yeah		
41 A: Excellent that is excellent		
42 R: No, we do the other one. <i>Donnert und blitzt es am Nordpol?</i>	<i>Is there thunder and lightning at the north pole?</i>	
43 J: <i>Nein, am Nordpol ...</i> [pause]	<i>No, at the north pole...</i>	
44 E: <i>Nein, am Nordpol nicht donnert und blitzt es</i>	<i>No, at the north pole there is no thunder and lightning</i>	
45 S: I think you can put anything at the end of the sentence too.		
46 A: Yeah.		
47 J: <i>Donnert und blitzt es nicht?</i>	<i>There is no thunder and lightning?</i>	
48 S: For number five, could you put <i>nicht</i> at the end of the sentence?	<i>...not...</i>	As I am walking around the room I overhear Shawn’s question
49 E: <i>Ja</i> that is the deal.	<i>Yes...</i>	Evan is using the German yes in his English sentence, up to this point he has worked with a different group because he is sitting

		in between two groups he would alternate who he would work with, for the second part of the exercise he is working with this group
50 A: Yes, you put it there. How would you say it?		I answer the question and ask Shawn to say the sentence
51 S: <i>Nein, am Nordpol donnert und blitzt nicht.</i>	<i>No, at the north pole there is no thunder and lightning.</i>	Shawn is saying this sentence with the correct word order; however, he is missing the “it” which is necessary in the sentence.
52 A: <i>..es nicht</i>	<i>..it not</i>	
53 S: <i>es nicht</i>		
54 A: The <i>es</i> we have to put it.	<i>...it...</i>	
55 R: But you can also say: <i>Nein, am Nordpol nicht donnert und blitzt</i>	<i>No, at the north pole does not thunder and lightning</i>	Ricardo is also asking about the “it” he is saying the German sentence without it which is not correct
56 A: <i>blitzt und donnert es nicht?</i>	<i>Lightning and thunders it not?</i>	
57 R: <i>Nein, nicht donnert und blitzt</i>	<i>No, not thunder and lightning.</i>	
58 A: You can say it, I mean I would understand what you are saying it’s not I mean people will understand. It would be better to put it at the end.		I am explaining that although I can understand the meaning of this sentence it is grammatically correct to use the “it”
59 R: Mmh		
60 A: <i>Nein, am Nordpol donnert und blitzt es nicht.</i>	<i>No, at the north pole it does not thunder and there is no lightning.</i>	
61 R: <i>es nicht</i>	<i>it not</i>	
62 A: Because you are negating if you are trying to negate the whole statement sometimes it is better to just put it at the end.		
63 R: Okay.		
64 A: So, for example Nummer eins: <i>Regnet es in Israel viel? Nein, in Israel regnet es nicht viel.</i> That one you put it in front of <i>viel</i> because you are saying not much.	<i>Does it rain a lot in Israel? No, it does not rain a lot in Israel. ...much...</i>	I am explaining the two different ways to negate that students are practicing with this exercise, they can either negate a part of the statement or the whole

		statement depending on where they place the equivalent of not in the German sentence.
65 R: But in six you put it at the end, too.		
66 A: <i>Nein, am Südpol regnet es nicht.</i> Yes because in those sentences you don't have an adjective, if you have an adjective like this one often, or much you would put it in front of that, but if you don't have the adjective you just have your verbs in this one you can put it on the end.	<i>No, at the south pole it does not rain.</i>	
67 R: So in this one it is: <i>Regnet es am Südpol?</i>	<i>Does it rain at the south pole?</i>	
68 S: <i>Nein, am Südpol regnet es nicht.</i>	<i>No, it doesn't rain at the south pole.</i>	
69 A: Aha (nodding)		
70 R: <i>Schneit es oft in Houston?</i>	<i>Does it snow a lot in Houston?</i>	
71 E: How do you say it? <i>Nein, es schneit nicht oft in Houston.</i>	<i>No, it doesn't snow a lot in Houston.</i>	
72 S: <i>Nein, es schneit nicht oft in Houston.</i>	<i>No, it doesn't snow a lot in Houston.</i>	

Ricardo=R, Vic=V, Nico=N, Jared=J
 Annabell=A (instructor)
 Students=S
Spanish
 German

Table A7

Full German class session

Utterance	English translation	Explanation
1 A: <i>Guten Morgen, wie geht es euch?</i>	<i>Good morning, how are you all doing?</i>	I start the class with a greeting and the daily routine of asking short questions that students answer
2 S: <i>Sehr gut.</i>	<i>Very well.</i>	
3 A: <i>Prima. Welcher Tag ist heute?</i>	<i>Great. Which day is today?</i>	
4 S: <i>Freitag</i>	<i>Friday</i>	
5 A: <i>Freitag der?</i>	<i>Friday the?</i>	I am using a scaffolding approach for students to expand their knowledge at that point in the semester they had learned days of the week, the numbers and months
6 S: <i>zwanzigste</i>	<i>20th</i>	
7 A: what is the month?		
8 Students: <i>April</i>		
9 A: <i>April der zwanzigste April 2018.</i> We are going to talk about possessive adjectives. I know this table is a bit confusing because we know a different order for the personal pronoun. [pointing at the projected screen with a table of the personal pronouns and the possessive adjectives]. Let's read them!	<i>April the 20th 2018.</i>	I model how a German speaker would say the date including the month, day and year
10 A & S: <i>ich, du, er, sie, es, wir, ihr, Sie</i>	<i>I, you, he, she, it, we, you all, they</i>	we are going over the list as a class
11 A: now when we talk about something that belongs to you, you are going to say <i>mein</i> for example something	<i>....my...my book</i>	I am giving examples for the concept we are studying

that belongs to us. <i>Mein Buch...</i>		
12 R: <i>Mein Buch ist klein.</i>	<i>My book is small.</i>	One of the students completes the example
13 A: <i>Mein Buch ist groß.</i> Or you can say: <i>Das ist mein Buch.</i> So <i>mein</i> is used for neuter or masculine nouns if it is feminine it will take the e-ending. We will get to see that. Now if you want to tell somebody this is your book: <i>das ist dein Buch.</i> Let's say that	<i>My book is big. ... This is my book. ...my...this is your book</i>	I give more explanations
14 S: <i>dein Buch</i>	<i>Your book</i>	
15 A: the informal you, now if we are talking about someone in third person singular if you want to tell somebody this is his book. <i>Das ist sein book.</i> This is his book. Let's say: <i>sein Buch</i>		
16 S: <i>sein Buch</i>	<i>His book</i>	
17 A: if you want to tell someone this is her book		
18 R: <i>seine Buch</i>	<i>His book</i>	Ricardo is overgeneralizing the information that feminine takes the e-ending by putting it on the masculine, neuter possessive adjective. But the combination he uses would not be used to say her book, it would be used for masculine plural.
19 A: <i>Sie ist "ihr" Buch. Das ist ihr Buch.</i> Let's say that!	<i>She is "her" book. This is her book.</i>	I take up the example Ricardo raised as a "teachable" moment and give the correct possessive adjective
20 S: <i>ihr Buch</i>	<i>Her book</i>	
21 A: this is like saying this is her book. <i>Sein</i> is his book versus <i>ihr</i> her book. I know "es" is a little bit harder but if you are talking about a dog or an inanimate object you can use this: <i>Das ist sein</i>	<i>That is his bone.</i>	I write the example down to visualize a concept we are learning and I encourage students to read the example

<p><i>Knochen</i>. Because a dog wouldn't be reading a book so we are going to be talking about a bone. [writing the sentence on the board] <i>Das ist sein Knochen</i>. Now let's say it!</p>		
<p>22 S: <i>Das ist sein Knochen</i>.</p>	<p><i>That is his bone.</i></p>	
<p>23 A: <i>Wir</i> is when you include yourself in the group so <i>unser Buch</i> our book. This one what we have right here is our book, <i>unser Buch</i>. The <i>ihr</i> right here is for a group and it is not capitalized this has a lower case "i". Let's do <i>euer Haus</i> when you are talking to someone but you are not included. <i>Euer Haus</i>.</p>	<p><i>Your house</i></p>	
<p>24 S: <i>Euer</i></p>	<p><i>your</i></p>	
<p>25 A: lower case "s" in <i>sie</i> indicates they. So <i>ihr Haus</i></p>	<p><i>Their house</i></p>	
<p>26 S: <i>ihr Haus</i></p>	<p><i>Their house</i></p>	
<p>27 A: the difference is that <i>ihr Buch</i> is her book and <i>ihr Haus</i> is their house the only difference is from the context that is how you will know how to translate it. <i>Sie</i> with an upper case "S" is indicating the formal you</p>		
<p>28 R: <u>usted</u></p>	<p><u>you</u></p>	<p>Ricardo is referencing the formal you in Spanish because in English there is no formal you</p>
<p>29 A: yes this is the <u>usted</u> form, now what we do we also capitalize the possessive adjective form, alright? So this is your house, your book you are talking to someone formally and the way that we are showing that we are talking formally is through the upper case letters so when you see it capitalized you</p>	<p><u>you</u></p>	<p>I include the Spanish reference into my explanation</p>

know that it is used formally. Alright, let's read it one more time. <i>Mein</i>		
30 S: <i>mein, dein, sein, unser, euer, Ihr, ihr</i>	<i>My, your, his, our, your, your, their</i>	we are reading the possessive adjectives again
31 J: Can you repeat what they mean?		Jared is asking me to repeat their translations
32 A: Yes, so this <i>mein</i> book my book, your book is <i>dein</i> book you are talking to one person informally, <i>sein Buch</i>		I pause in my translations so students respond with their translations without me having to ask for it the class knows that they can speak at any time
33 S: his		students provide the translation
34 A: if you are talking about a female person you are going to say...		students are actively listening and completing my sentence
35 S: her		
36 A: <i>ihr Buch</i> , es normally does not refer to a person so that is why I gave you the example of the dog: <i>Das ist sein Knochen</i> . I know that in English the dog has a gender but for us no. The <i>wir</i> is used when you are part of the group, <i>unser Buch</i> , let's all say: <i>unser Buch</i>	<i>That is his bone.</i> <i>we</i> <i>Our book</i>	
37 S: <i>unser Buch</i>	<i>Our book</i>	
38 A: <i>euer</i> is referring to a group but you are not part of the group, in Spanish this is the <u>vosotros</u> I know it is not used, when you are not part of the group but you are talking to a group this is you guys' house <i>euer Haus</i> , let's say it	<i>Yours</i> <u>your</u>	I reference Spanish in my explanation
39 S: <i>euer Haus</i>	<i>You all's house</i>	
40 A: <i>sie</i> with a lower case s means they, and their house means <i>ihr Haus</i>		
41 S: <i>ihr Haus</i>	<i>Their house</i>	

<p>42 A: <i>Sie</i> uppercase is again the formal you and <i>Ihr</i> is capitalized, <i>Ihr Buch</i> is formal your book. We will get to use it right now in an actual sentence. And the order here makes more sense. [pointing to the table written on the board versus the table in the book that is projected to the front of the classroom] Now I was telling you the endings are going to change for feminine or plural. If it is feminine or plural there is an e-ending. So the example is: <i>Wo leben deine besten Freundinnen jetzt, Kirsten?</i> Let's read it together!</p>	<p><i>Where do your best friends live now, Kirsten?</i></p>	
<p>43 S and A: <i>Wo leben deine besten Freundinnen jetzt, Kirsten? Meine Freundin Maria lebt in Hamburg, und meine Freundin Anna und ihr Mann leben in Düsseldorf.</i></p>	<p><i>Where do your best friends live now, Kirsten? My friend Maria lives in Hamburg, and my friend Anna and her husband live in Düsseldorf.</i></p>	
<p>44 A: <i>Meine</i> has an e-ending because it refers to female plural</p>	<p><i>My....</i></p>	
<p>45 R: Excuse me, so the e-ending is for female only or for plural?</p>		<p>Ricardo is asking for clarification</p>
<p>46 A: it is for female and for plural.</p>		
<p>47 R: If it is not plural then it is female.</p>		
<p>48 A: yes, and it looks the same. It is an indicator for female, or plural but in the example they are giving us the female plural together <i>Freundinnen</i> is the plural of the feminine version of friend. The e-ending is for anything feminine or plural. <i>Meine Freundin lebt in Hamburg und meine</i></p>	<p><i>My friend lives in Hamburg and my friend Anna</i></p>	<p>After I answer the questions I probe the class for comprehension</p>

<p><i>Freundin Anna</i>, again a feminine and her husband und <i>ihr Mann</i> leben in ... so then you have to think for female the possessive pronoun is <i>ihr</i> so therefore it says <i>ihr Mann</i>. Now, <i>wie alt sind Ihre Kinder, Frau Ziegler</i>. What do we see over here?</p>	<p><i>How old are your children, Ms. Ziegler?</i></p>	
<p>49 R: it is plural</p>		Ricardo volunteers the correct response
<p>50 A: it is used in the plural yes and it is capitalized so this is a formal situation. We can see that they are using the last name.</p>		
<p>51 S: <i>Frau Ziegler</i>.</p>	<p><i>Ms. Ziegler</i></p>	students are answering chorally
<p>52 A: mmh from that you can see this is a formal situation and then <i>Ihre</i> is capitalized it takes the e-ending because <i>Kinder</i> is children in the plural. <i>Unsere Tochter ist sechzehn und unser Sohn ist vierzehn</i>. Now you tell me why this one has an e and this one doesn't? [pointing to the projected screen and the specific line]</p>	<p><i>Our daughter is sixteen and our son is fourteen.</i></p>	I'm probing further to check if the class understood the concept I had presented to them
<p>53 S: one is female</p>		students are actively participating and give the expected answers
<p>54 A: <i>unsere Tochter</i> so <i>Tochter</i> means what?</p>	<p><i>Our daughter so daughter ...</i></p>	
<p>55 S: daughter</p>		
<p>56 A: daughter is feminine, it needs to have an e. Our daughter I know in English you don't have to differentiate but we do, <i>unsere Tochter</i> but then if you talk about the son <i>unser Sohn</i> is masculine. This is the summary of what we saw.</p>	<p><i>Our daughterour son</i></p>	I compare the feminine and masculine endings and summarize what students will have to focus on when using the possessive adjectives

<p>[pointing to the table projected at the screen in the front of the classroom] <i>der Knochen, das Buch</i>, if we are referring to masculine or neuter there is no ending so <i>mein Vater, mein Auto</i> but in the feminine it takes the e, <i>meine Jacke</i>. Don't use the e-ending if you are referring to a masculine or to a neuter object, because for us as German speakers an e-ending always indicates you are talking about a female or plural. So, don't mix it up.</p>	<p><i>The bone, the book...</i></p> <p><i>My father, my car</i></p> <p><i>my jacket</i></p>	
<p>57 R: but if you have a masculine plural</p>		<p>Due to my probing questions Ricardo realized he had a couple of questions that I answer for the whole class</p>
<p>58 A: that is fine <i>meine Autos</i> this is plural neuter the e can indicate feminine or plural</p>	<p><i>...my car...</i></p>	
<p>59 R: my sons</p>		
<p>60 A: yes you can use it for <i>meine Söhne</i>, ok</p>	<p><i>...my sons</i></p>	
<p>61 R: plural</p>		
<p>62 A: yes, if you use the e it can be plural that you are talking about. I let you guys work on this here, try to work out with your group what is the meaning of <i>mein</i> in the sentence and complete the sentences again. It is summarized right here if you are looking at a masculine noun there is no ending, if you are looking at a neuter noun there is no ending only for feminine or if you are using any type of plural.</p>	<p><i>my</i></p>	<p>I finish answering the questions and since there are no new questions I remain quiet at the end of my answer so students know they are starting their group work now. The task is projected to the front of the classroom students are asked to read a German cloze text and to complete it while using the correct form of the possessive adjective. The whole class phase of the class ends. And the following language change indicates that the group phase is starting.</p>
<p>63 R: <u>Ahorita vamos a hacer</u> <i>Ich heiÙe Günter</i></p>	<p><u>Now we do</u> <i>I am called</i> <i>Günter</i></p>	<p>the group members address each other in Spanish because</p>

		at this point in the semester they know that they are all comfortable speaking in Spanish and I understand it as well
64 V: <u>estudio aquí en Leipzig, yo vivo aquí</u>	<u>I study here in Leipzig I live here</u>	
65 R: <u>él vive, ¿no?</u>	<u>He lives, no?</u>	
66 N: <u>sí</u>	<u>yes</u>	
67 R: <i>er sein</i>	<i>he his</i>	
68 N: <u>no, no, lo que ésta, o sea éstas, tienes que completarla, nomás tienes que usar mein</u>	<u>No, no, what this, or these, you have to complete it, you just have to use my</u>	Spanish is used throughout the group to discuss the German words
69 R: <u>oh, ¿nomás mein?</u>	<u>just my?</u>	
70 N: <u>ajá, tienes que usar el modo correcto, sí es como</u>	<u>Aha, you have to use the correct mode, it is like</u>	
71 R: <i>meine Eltern? ¿Qué es Eltern?</i>	<i>My parents? What is parents?</i>	Here Spanish is used to ask for the meaning of a German word
72 N: <u>papás, eso sería, ahí es plural, entonces sería meine Eltern</u>	<u>Parents, that would be, there it is plural, then it would be meine Eltern</u>	
73 R: <i>meine Eltern</i> [whispering]	<i>My parents</i>	
74 N: <u>¿porque se acuerda que cuando es plural entonces sería meine Eltern?</u>	<u>Because remember that when it is plural then it would be meine Eltern?</u>	Nico here is referencing back to the explanation I gave at the beginning of the class
75 R: <i>meine Eltern leben in Leipzig. Meine Vater</i>	<i>My parents live in Leipzig. My father</i>	Ricardo is using the e-ending on mein which is not correct because father is masculine and does not take the e-ending
76 N: <u>no mein Vater</u>	<u>No my father</u>	Nico is correcting him
77 R: <i>mein Vater ist Polizist und meine Mutter</i>	<i>My father is a police officer and my mom</i>	Ricardo is now using the correct forms
78 N: <u>ajá entonces sería mein Vater ist Polizist und meine Mutter ist Lehrerin</u>	<u>Aha it is supposed to be my father is a police officer and my mom is a teacher</u>	Nico recognizes that he is using the correct forms and repeats them
79 R: <i>meine Bruder</i>	<i>My brother</i>	Ricardo is again putting the e-ending on a masculine noun
80 N: <u>mein Bruder</u>	<u>My brother</u>	Nico immediately corrects the mistake
81 R: <i>mein Bruder</i>	<i>My brother</i>	Ricardo repeats the correct answer

82 N: <u>sí</u>	<u>yes</u>	Nico provides feedback
83 R: <u>er ist siebzehn es diecisiete und geht noch in die Schule ¿y no va al escuela?</u>	<u>He is seventeen he is seventeen and still goes to school and does not go to school</u>	Ricardo is reading a German sentence and translating it to Spanish and asking if he understood it correctly
84 N: <u>no, va a la escuela</u>	<u>No, he goes to school</u>	Nico is giving feedback
85 R: <u>¿y qué es noch?</u>	<u>And what is still?</u>	Ricardo is asking for another translation
86 N: <u>noch es como una palabra así de relleno er geht noch in die Schule</u>	<u>Still is like a repetitive phrase he still goes to school</u>	Nico is explaining the meaning of the flavoring particle “noch” that does not have a direct translation in English
87 R: <u>Schwester sie Schwester</u>	<u>Sister she sister</u>	Ricardo is trying to use “sie” which is used for feminine nouns but in this context it does not fit the task
88 N: <u>no, porque todavía estamos hablando del meine</u>	<u>No, because we are still talking about my</u>	Nico is explaining that a form of the possessive adjective has to be used
89 V: <u>el meine</u>	<u>the my</u>	Vic is participating in the discussion now after having listened to the conversation and emphasizes that “meine” will be used
90 R: ok, so, <u>es meine con e</u>	<u>Ok, so it is my with e</u>	English, German and Spanish are combined in this utterance
91 N: <u>ajá, porque es femenino</u>	<u>Aha, because it is feminine</u>	
92 R: <u>meine Schwester ist zwei..., es veintidós y estudia en Hamburgo, bioquímica. Meine</u>	<u>My sister is two..., is twenty-two and studies biochemistry in Hamburg. My...</u>	
93 N: <u>ajá</u>	<u>aha</u>	
94 R: <u>porque es plural y femenino heißen Helga and Tina sie studieren estudian auch</u>	<u>Because it is plural and feminine are called Helga and Tina and they study study also</u>	repeating the verb “to study” that was said in German in Spanish right after the German
95 N: <u>auch hier</u>	<u>Also here</u>	
96 R: <u>También aquí en la universidad</u>	<u>Also here at the university</u>	Ricardo completes the translation of the phrase he started in line 94
97 N: <u>sí</u>	<u>yes</u>	
98 R: <u>guau</u>	<u>wow</u>	
99 V: <u>Schwester?</u>	<u>Sister?</u>	
100 N: <u>¿cuándo?</u>	<u>When?</u>	
101 V: <u>meine Schwester?</u>	<u>My sister?</u>	

102 N: <u>es hermana</u>	<u>it is sister</u>	
103 V: <u>entonces sería meine Schwester y luego meine</u>	<u>It is supposed to be my sister and then my</u>	
104 N: mhm		
105 N: <u>vamos a hacer el de abajo</u>	<u>We are going to do the one from down here</u>	
106 R: <u>¿Tochter es meine?</u>	<u>Daughter is mine?</u>	
107 N: <u>Tochter no, Tochter es, este..., está haciendo el de abajo, ¿verdad?</u>	<u>Daughter no daughter it is you are doing the one from down here, right?</u>	Looking at the
108 R: <u>sí</u>	<u>yes</u>	
109 N: okay, <u>¿la T dónde está?</u>	Ok <u>where is the T</u>	Looking for the T of <i>Tochter</i> in the text they are working on
110 R: <u>es ihr unsere und ...</u>	<u>it is her our and</u>	
111 N: <u>ihre</u>	<u>her</u>	
112 R: <u>nuestra hija</u>	<u>our daughter</u>	
113 N: <u>sí</u>	<u>yes</u>	
114 R: <u>unsere Tochter</u>	<u>our daughter</u>	
115 N: <u>unsere es estoy pensando, porque es wir sind</u>	<u>our it is because I was thinking why it is we are</u>	
116 V: <u>¿dónde está la maestra?</u>	<u>Where is the teacher?</u>	I was talking to a different group of students at the time and Vic wanted to know what his group was working on
117 R: <u>no sé</u>	<u>I don't know</u>	
118 N: <u>su hija</u>	<u>his daughter</u>	
119 R: <u>unsere...</u>	<u>our</u>	
120 V: <u>no sé si es unsere</u>	<u>I don't know if it is our</u>	
121 R: <u>no, le estoy preguntando a él... [pointing at Nico] unsere Tochter, ¿no?</u>	<u>No, I was asking him our daughter, no?</u>	
122 N: <u>no, espérame; es que es como...</u>	<u>No wait because it is like...</u>	
123 R: <u>porque es femenina</u>	<u>Because it is feminine</u>	
124 N: <u>ajá, pero no sé si es unsere, porque puede ser wie alt, o sea, Frau Benn está preguntando a Herr Haag: Wie alt sind your, entonces sería: wie alt sind Ihre Kinder jetzt Herr Haag? Y luego él dice: unsere Tochter ist sechsunzwanzig und unsere Söhne (porque es plural</u>	<u>Aha but I don't know if it is our because it could also be how old or it is like Ms. Benn is asking Mr. Haag: How old are your it is supposed to be how old are your kids now Mr. Haag? And then he says our daughter is twenty-six and our sons (because it is plural, too) are twenty-one and seventeen.</u>	

también) <i>sind einundzwanzig und siebzehn.</i>		
125 R: <u>¿los dos llevan E al final?</u>	<u>They both have the e-ending?</u>	
126 N: <u>sí</u>	<u>yes</u>	
127 R: <i>Und wo lebtTochter?</i>	<i>And where does your daughter live?</i>	
128 V: [sneezing]		
129 R: <u>Salud</u>	<u>Bless you</u>	
130 V: <u>gracias</u>	<u>Thank you</u>	
131 R: <u>¿qué es lebt?</u>	<u>What is to live?</u>	
132 N: <i>lebt</i> I'll translate it, let me check[looking it up in the dictionary] <i>lebt es vivir; lebt, ¿con quién vive tu hija? O sea wo lebt Ihre Tochter</i>	<i>To live....to live is to live; with whom lives your daughter? In other words: where lives your daughter?</i>	in Nico's mind it is with whom does your daughter live when it is really where does your daughter live
133 R: <u>tu</u>	<u>your</u>	
134 N: <i>unsere Tochter</i>	<u>Our daughter</u>	
135 R: <i>deine?</i>	<u>Your?</u>	
136 N: <u>no, estamos usando esas tres formas de ihr, Ihr, unsere; entonces es: und wo lebt Ihre...?</u>	<u>No, we are using these three forms of you, your, our; so it is: and where does your... live?</u>	
137 R: <u>¿Ihre con i chica? la minúscula, ¿no?</u>	<u>Your with the lower case letter?</u>	
138 N: <u>no, es unsere, ihre; ihre ja: ihre Tochter</u>	<u>No, it is our, your; your yes: your daughter</u>	
139 R: <i>ihre Tochter Laura und</i>	<i>Your daughter Laura and</i>	
140 V: <u>es que, ¿qué forma está tomando?</u>	<u>It is which form we are using?</u>	
141 N: <u>es que está tomando el posesivo</u>	<u>It is he has used the possessive</u>	
142 V: <u>sí, sí, sí, sí</u>	<u>Yes, yes, yes, yes</u>	
143 N: <u>porque es meine, deine, seine; entonces ahí estás haciendo...</u>	<u>Because it is mine, yours, his so here you are doing...</u>	
144 V: <u>pero el suyo sería posesivo, ¿éstas no?</u>	<u>But his is possessive, aren't these?</u>	
145 R: <i>und wo lebt Ihre Tochter? ¿Con quién vive tu hija?</i>	<i>And where does your daughter live? With whom lives your daughter?</i>	
146 N: <u>ajá, entonces sí</u>	<u>Aha yes</u>	
147 R: <u>es ihr y luego con e porque es femenino ihre Tochter</u>	<u>It is her and it is with e because it is feminine her daughter</u>	

148 N: <u>ajá</u>	<u>aha</u>	
149 R: <u>Laura y</u>	<u>Laura and</u>	
150 N: <i>ihre Mann</i>	<i>her husband</i>	
151 R: <i>ihre Mann leben in Hannover und ihre...</i>	<i>her husband live in Hannover and her...</i>	
152 V: <u>¿qué es esto?</u>	<u>What is this?</u>	
153 N: <u>Söhne son hijos</u>	<u>sons are sons</u>	
154 V: <u>sí</u>	<u>yes</u>	
155 R: <u>und ihre Söhne</u>	<u>and her sons</u>	
156 N: <u>entonces se puso: ihre Söhne</u>	<u>Then it was written: their sons</u>	
157 R: <i>ihre</i>	<i>her</i>	
158 N: <i>Lukas <u>estudiert</u> in Münster und</i>	<i>Lukas <u>studies</u> in Münster and</i>	
159 R: <u>und Ihre Söhne</u>	<u>and your sons</u>	
160 N: <i>ihr Sohn ist noch hier bei uns.</i>	<i>her son is still with us</i>	
161 R: <i>Und ihr Sohn Daniel ist noch hier bei uns.</i>	<i>And her son Daniel is still here with us</i>	
162 N: <u>ajá, porque es unsere: we, our; and then <u>si es: ihre, their son, ok</u></u>	<u>Aha because is it our: we, our; and then <u>when it is: their, their son, ok</u></u>	
163 R: <u>ahora la que sigue</u>	<u>Now the following</u>	
164 R: <u>unser es cuando tú eres parte de grupo y euer es cuando no eres parte de grupo</u>	<u>Our is when you are a part of the group and yours is when you are not part of the group</u>	
165 V: <u>¿cómo, cómo, cómo?</u>	<u>How, how, how?</u>	
166 N: <u>es como our, ¿sabes? Y luego...</u>	<u>It is like our, you know? And then...</u>	
167 V: mmh		
168 R: <u>y eurer es cuando estás hablando del grupo y no eres parte del grupo; es cómo diciendo: <i>ihre euer Haus es su casa, no es nuestra casa, es su casa</i></u>	<u>And yours is when you are talking about the group and you are not a part of the group and when you say <i>your house is your house, it is not our house, it is their house</i></u>	
169 N: <u>sie es ellos; ihr, es que en español no hay mucha diferencia entre el <i>ihre</i> y el <i>sie</i></u>	<u>They is they; their, it is that is Spanish there is not much difference between the <i>their</i> and <i>they</i></u>	
170 A: Let's compare for <i>mein</i> . Let's all read it.		After I have circulated around the classroom and listened to different small groups and answered their questions I start this dialogue with the

		whole class in which we are analyzing the text together and comparing answers because I use English the students respond in English and German
171 S and A reading together: <i>Ich heiÙe Günter, bin zwanzig Jahre alt und studiere hier in Leipzig Genetik.</i>	<i>I am called Günter am 20 years old and study here in Leipzig genetics.</i>	
172 N: Leipzig		
173 A: Leipzig because you have “e” and “i” and that is one syllabus that is like the “i” in mine Leipzig		
174 S: Leipzig		
175 A: <i>Genetik</i> . So what is missing here? [pointing to the next sentence and the missing word in it]	<i>Genetics</i>	
176 S: <i>meine</i>	<i>my</i>	
177 A: aha		
178 A and S reading: <i>Meine Eltern leben auch hier in Leipzig. Mein Vater ist Polizist und meine Mutter ist Lehrerin.</i>	<i>My parents also live here in Leipzig. My father is a police officer and my mom is a teacher.</i>	
179 A: aha now this refers to <i>Bruder</i> what is missing here? [pointing to the gap in the sentence]	<i>...brother...</i>	
180 S: <i>mein Bruder ist siebzehn und geht noch in die Schule</i>	<i>My brother is seventeen and still goes to school</i>	
181 A: this is <i>Schwester</i> ok	<i>...sister...</i>	
182 A and S: <i>meine Schwester Melanie ist zweiundzwanzig und studiert in Hamburg Biochemie.</i>	<i>My sister Melanie is twenty-two and studies biochemistry in Hamburg</i>	
183 A: good! Now, this is a plural feminine plural but plural		
184 A and students: <i>Meine Freundinnen heißen Helga und Tina und sie studieren auch hier in Leipzig</i>	<i>My girlfriends are called Helga and Tina and they also study here in Leipzig</i>	

185 A: Now let's look at the meaning when you say <i>ich heiße Günter, ich bin 20 Jahre alt und studiere hier in Leipzig Genetik</i> . What are we saying?	<i>I am called Günter I am twenty years old and I study genetics here in Leipzig.</i>	
186 N and R: My name is Gunter I am twenty years old and I study genetics in Leipzig.		
187 A: very good. <i>Meine Eltern leben auch hier in Leipzig.</i>	<i>My parents also live here in Leipzig.</i>	
188 N: my parents live here in Leipzig.		
189 A: <i>Mein Vater ist Polizist und meine Mutter ist Lehrerin.</i>	<i>My father is a police officer and my mother a teacher.</i>	
190 R: my father is police and what is <i>Lehrerin</i> ?		
191 One Student: that is sexist [to himself]		Justin made this comment to himself I heard it on the recording device while transcribing if I had heard it during the class I would have addressed his comment and used it for a discussion about the textbook's bias, the textbook is problematic and students know that I am very open for criticism
192 A: police officer and teacher. The "in" indicating female, <i>Lehrerin</i> is the female teacher, we know that it is talking about a female because it says <i>Mutter</i> , too. <i>Mein Bruder Stefan ist 17 und geht noch in die Schule.</i>	<i>My brother Stefan is 17 and still goes to school.</i>	
193 R: My brother Stefan is 17 and		
194 S: still goes to school.		
195 A: <i>Sehr gut. Meine Schwester Melanie ist</i>	<i>Very good. My sister Melanie is twenty-two and studies biochemistry in Hamburg.</i>	

<i>zweiundzwanzig und studiert in Hamburg Biochemie</i>		
196 S: My sister Melanie is twenty-two and studies biochemistry in Hamburg.		
197 A: <i>Meine Freudinnen heißen Helga und Tina und sie studieren auch hier in Leipzig.</i>	<i>My friends are called Helga and Tina and they also study here in Leipzig.</i>	
198 S: My friends are called Helga and Tina and they also study here in Leipzig.		
199 A: <i>Frau Benn und Herr Haag. Frau Benn sagt:</i>	<i>Mrs. Benn and Mr. Haag. Mrs. Benn is saying:</i>	
200 S: <i>Wie alt sind Ihre</i>		
201 A: We are going to put <i>Ihre wie alt sind Ihre Kinder.</i> What is that going to look like?	<i>How old are your children?</i>	
202 Evan: capital I and e-ending		
203 A: Why do we have to use formal with an e-ending?		
204 Jarid: he is talking to a different person		
205 A: We are talking on a last name basis		
206 R: <i>Ja Herr Haag</i>	<i>Yes Mr. Haag</i>	
207 A: <i>Herr Haag</i> is on a last name basis. When you are using Mr or Mrs that means you are talking formally. How old are your kids. Kids is plural now so we have to use that with the e-ending. Now what is the response that <i>Herr Haag</i> is giving?		
208 Jarid: <i>unsere</i>	<i>our</i>	
209 A: <i>ja, unsere</i> with an e <i>Tochter ist sechsundzwanzig und ...</i>	<i>Yes, our</i> with an e-ending <i>daughter is twenty-six and...</i>	
210 S: <i>unsere</i>	<i>our</i>	
211 A: <i>unsere</i> , with an e-ending, <i>Söhne sind einundzwanzig und siebzehn.</i> Let's all say it.	<i>our</i> with an e-ending, <i>sons are twenty-one and seventeen.</i>	

212 S and A: <i>unsere Tochter ist sechsundzwanzig und unsere Söhne sind einundzwanzig und siebzehn.</i>	<i>Our daughter is twenty-six and our sons are twenty-one and seventeen.</i>	
213 A: <i>Frau Benn: und wo lebt Ihre Tochter?</i> Same thing capitalized with an i. Why is it formal?	<i>Mrs. Benn: and where does your daughter live?</i>	
214 Jarid: your daughter		
215 A: it is your daughter and they are still talking formally, if people decide that they are talking formally they are not going to switch you make up your mind before you start talking to somebody but if you stay at a last name basis you don't change that. <i>Wo lebt Ihre Tochter.</i> So what is he responding?	<i>Where does your daughter live?</i>	
216 S: <i>Laura und ihr Mann leben in Hannover.</i> Laura and her man	<i>Laura and her husband live in Hannover.</i>	
217 A: her husband		
218 S: live in Hannover.		
219 A: Und what is she saying here?		
220 S: <i>und ihre Söhne?</i> And their sons where do they live.	<i>and their sons?</i>	
221 A: And what is it going to look like?		
222 S: capitalized with an e-ending		
223 A: because we are still talking formally. <i>Lukas studiert in Münster und...</i>	<i>... Lukas studies in Münster and...</i>	
224 R: <i>ihre</i>	<i>their</i>	
225 A: no, <i>unser Sohn Daniel ist noch hier bei uns.</i> Let's all read it!	<i>Our son Daniel is still here with us.</i>	
226 S and A: <i>Lukas studiert in Münster und unser Sohn Daniel ist noch hier bei uns.</i>	<i>Lukas studies in Münster and our son Daniel is still here with us.</i>	
227 A: What does it mean again?		

228 S: <i>Lukas studies in Münster and our son Daniel</i>	<i>Lukas studies in Münster and our son Daniel...</i>	
229 A: ...he is still here with us. Very good. Go ahead and work in your groups on <i>euer und unser</i> .	<i>you all and our</i>	As soon as I suggest students go back to working with their groups there is a noticeable change in the languaging
230 Ricardo to Nico: so, <i>noch es</i> still,	So, <i>still is</i> still	
231N: <i>noch es</i> still	<i>Still is</i> still	
232 R: <u>nuestro hijo Daniel está todavía aquí con nosotros.</u>	<u>Our son Daniel is still here with us</u>	
233 N: <u>Sí</u>	<u>yes</u>	
234 R: still		
235 V: <u>no entiendo por qué la penúltima es ihre, no unsere Söhne</u>	<u>I don't understand why the second to last is your, not our sons</u>	
236 R: <u>¿cuál?</u>	<u>Which?</u>	
237 V: <i>unsere Söhne</i>	<i>our sons</i>	
238 R: okay		
239 N: <u>porque: Lukas studiert in Münster, es el hijo de Lukas.</u>	<u>Because: Lukas studies in Münster, it is Lukas's son</u>	
240 V: <u>¿el hijo de Lukas?</u>	<u>The son of Lukas?</u>	
241 N: <u>no, no, es nuestro hijo Daniel todavía ésta ...tienes razón</u>	<u>No, no, this is still our son Daniel... you're right</u>	
242 V: <u>no, no, no, pero la que va antes que eso</u>	<u>No, no, no, the one that was before that one</u>	
243 R: <u>¿la que dice unsere Söhne?</u>	<u>The one that says our sons?</u>	
244 V: <u>¿por qué es ihre?</u>	<u>Why is it their?</u>	
245 R: <u>Porque Söhne es plural</u>	<u>Because sons is plural</u>	
246 N: <u>no, no, no, pero es que está preguntando por qué ... está preguntándole por los hijos de Herr Haag, ¿sabes?</u>	<u>No, no, no, but it is asking why... it is asking about the sons of Mr. Haag, you know?</u>	
247 V: Okay		
248 N: <u>Y tus hijos; entonces, por eso es ihr.</u>	<u>And your sons, so because of that it is yours</u>	
249 V: <u>Entonces está preguntando [por] sus hijos, sería unser</u>	<u>Then it is asking [about] their sons, would be our</u>	

250 N: <u>unsere sí, y nuestros es como unsere</u>	<u>ours yes, and ours is like ours</u>	Nico is adding the e-ending to “unsere” because it is feminine
251 R: <u>ihre con “i” minúscula porque están hablando formalmente, y es con e porque es plural. ¿Sí les entendiste?</u>	<u>Your, with lower case “i” because they are talking formally, and it is with e-ending because it is plural. Did you get it?</u>	
252 V: <u>yes</u>		
253 R: <u>y sus hijos</u>	<u>And their sons</u>	
254 V: <u>y sus hijos</u>	<u>And their sons</u>	
255 R (talking to Jared): <u>minúscula porque están hablando formal, y si es femenino o plural es la e. Wie alt ist euer. Estamos en la treinta y cuatro. Cuando no eres parte del grupo.</u>	<u>Lower case because they are speaking formally, and if it is feminine or plural it is the e-ending. How old is your. We are in number thirty-four. When you are not part of the group.</u>	
256 J: <u>¿Hay una diferencia con ihre cuando es femenino?</u>	<u>Is there any difference with your when it is feminine?</u>	
257 N: <u>Sí, la r.</u>	<u>Yes, the r.</u>	
258 J: <u>La r. Wie alt ist eure Uni?</u>	<u>The r. How old is your university?</u>	
259 R: <u>Entonces, ¿qué pones en la uni?</u>	<u>Then, what do you write for university?</u>	
260 J: <u>Unsere Uni ist fast...</u>	<u>Our university is almost...</u>	
261 R: <u>¿unsere?</u>	<u>Ours?</u>	
262N: <u>no, eure</u>	<u>No, yours</u>	
263 R: <u>¿euer?</u>	<u>Yours?</u>	
264 N: <u>euer no, es eure. Wie alt ist eure Uni? Unsere Uni ist fast 200 Jahre alt. Ist euer Campus groß? Nein, unser Campus ist nicht sehr groß. Sind eure Vorlesungen gut? Ja unsere Vorlesungen sind sehr gut. Ist eure Bibliothek gut? Ja, unsere Bibliothek ist sehr gut. Sind eure Computer up to date? Ja, unsere Computer sind fast alle up to date. Wie ist eure Mensa? Unsere Mensa ist gut aber ein bisschen zu teuer.</u>	<u>Not yours, it is yours. How old is your university? Our university is almost two hundred years old. Is your campus big? No, our campus is not so big. Are your classes good? Yes, our classes are very good. Is your library good? Yes, our library is very good. Are your computers up to date? Yes, almost all our computers are up to date. How is your cafeteria? Our cafeteria is good but a little too expensive.</u>	

265 R: ok, <i>unser Buch</i> is our book, right? <i>Ihr, euer Haus. Ist euer Campus groß? Wie sind, unsere es plural.</i>	Ok, <i>our book</i> is our book, right? <i>You, your house. Is your campus big? We are, ours is plural.</i>	
266 N: <u>Como que todo primero es eure</u>	<u>Like everything is first yours</u>	
267 R: <u>y si es femenino, ¿no le agregas una r al final?</u>	<u>And if it is feminine, don't you add an r at the end?</u>	
268 N: <u>le agregas la e siempre: eure</u>	<u>You add the e always: yours</u>	
269 J: <u>y luego la dos es eure</u>	<u>And then number two is yours</u>	
270 N: <u>sí, es eure</u>	<u>Yes, it is yours</u>	
271 J: <u>tres es unsere porque es plural</u>	<u>Number three is ours because it is plural</u>	
272 N: <u>en la tres, sí</u>	<u>In number three, yes</u>	
273 J: <u>eure</u>	<u>Yours</u>	
274 N: <u>también</u>	<u>As well</u>	
275 J: <u>porque es femenino. Es que no le he agarrado; en español, ¿eure que viene siendo?</u>	<u>Because it is feminine. I have not understood yet; in Spanish, what does yours mean?</u>	
276 N: <u>es que en español no hay para eso yo creo, o sea, porque es como... te vas a hacerlo en inglés porque wir es we, ihr es your and sie es they, ¿sí?</u>	<u>In Spanish there is no word for that, I think, because it is like... you do it in English because we is we, your is your, and they is they, all right?</u>	
277 J: <u>Cuando dices euer es...</u>	<u>When you say yours it is...</u>	
278 N: <u>nosotros</u>	<u>Us</u>	
279 J: <u>cuando no eres parte de grupo</u>	<u>When you are not part of the group</u>	
280 N: <u>ajá, es diferente; creo que es más fácil con inglés porque en español está diferente, es muy diferente. We is our, ¿your cómo es?</u>	<u>Yes, it is different; I think it is easier in English because in Spanish it is different, it is very different. We is our, how do you say your?</u>	
281 J: <u>you</u>		
282 N: <u>you es your y luego sie es their</u>	<u>Your is for you and then their is for them</u>	
283 A: <u>here we are only using euer and unser.</u>		
284 N: <u>mmh</u>		
285 A: <u>Unser is...</u>	<u>Ours is...</u>	
286 N: <u>nuestro, sí</u>	<u>ours, yes</u>	

287 R: and <i>euer</i> is yours	and <i>yours</i> is yours	
288 J: ¿como ellos?	<u>As for them?</u>	
289 Vic: <u>vosotros</u>	<u>You (plural)</u>	
290 N: <u>sí, es como vosotros</u>	<u>Yes, it is like you (plural)</u>	
291 J: <u>cinco es: nuestras computadoras... sind unsere...</u>	<u>Five is: our computers... are our...</u>	
292 N: <u>no, eure</u>	<u>No, yours</u>	
293 J: <u>sind eure, “e”porque es plural</u>	<u>Are yours, e-ending because it is plural</u>	
294 N: <u>está preguntando si sus computadoras...</u>	<u>It is asking if their computers...</u>	
295 J: <u>sí, wie ist Mensa? Unsere?</u>	<u>Yes, how is cafeteria? Ours?</u>	
296 N: <u>Wie ist eure Mensa? _ Y unsere Mensa ist gut aber ein bisschen zu teuer. Todo lo de la izquierda es euer, una forma de euer; y todo lo de la derecha es una forma de unser</u>	<u>How is your cafeteria? And our cafeteria is good but a little too expensive. Everything on the left is yours, a form of yours; and everything on the right is a form of ours.</u>	
297 J: <u>¿la tres es unsere?</u>	<u>Number three is ours?</u>	
298 N: <u>no, todos los de la izquierda son eure y todos los de la derecha es unsere. Nomás cambias el final porque cuando es plural o femenino.</u>	<u>No, everything on the left is yours and everything on the right is ours. You just change the ending depending if it is plural or feminine.</u>	
299 R: <u>Wie alt ist eure Uni? What we tend to do is we tend to drop that e instead of euere Uni it is eure Uni. Wie alt ist eure Uni?</u>	<u>How old is your university?</u>	Ricardo is adjusting his language choice because I’m listening to his group, with this shift in language the small group phase ends and at this point we start working as a whole class in English/German
300 N: <u>eure</u>	<u>Yours</u>	
301 R: <u>ist euer Campus groß? It is masculine so it is euer</u>	<u>Is your campus big?</u>	
302 S and A: <u>Ist eure Bibilothek gut? Sind eure Computer aktuell or neu? Wie ist eure Mensa? Sind eure Studentenheime schön? What is Studentenheime?</u>	<u>Is your library good? Are your computers up to date or up to date or new? How is your cafeteria? Are your student dorms nice? What are student dorms?</u>	together with the students we are reading the answers chorally, I am asking about one German word

303 N: dorms		because I am asking in English in front of the whole class I receive my answer in English
304 R: <i>Wie gut ist euer Fußball.</i> They are using the English here, too. The answer is:	<i>How good is your soccer?</i>	
305 S and A: <i>Unsere Uni ist fast 200 Jahre alt. Nein, unser Campus ist nicht sehr groß. Ja, unsere Vorlesungen sind sehr interessant. Unsere Bibliothek ist sehr gut. Unsere Computer sind fast alle aktuell.</i>	<i>Our university is almost two hundred years old. No, our campus is not so big. Yes, our classes are very interesting. Our library is very good. Our computers are almost all up to date.</i>	
306 R: up to date [laughing]		The German textbook is actually using the anglicism “up to date” in the German sentence while we were reading as a class I changed it to “aktuell” which is the actual German term for it
307 S and A: <i>Ja, unsere Mensa ist gut aber ein bisschen teuer.</i>	<i>Yes, our cafeteria is good but a little expensive.</i>	
308 A: <i>Unsere</i> we are using the plural here <i>unsere Studentenheime sind sehr schön.</i>	<i>Our ...our student dorms are very nice.</i>	
309 S and A: <i>Unser Fußballteam ist gut.</i>	<i>Our soccer team is good.</i>	We are comparing answers from the group work section as a class
310 A: <i>Ich wünsche euch ein schönes Wochenende!</i>	<i>I wish you a nice weekend!</i>	I conclude the German class in German

Annabell=A (instructor)

Carlos=C

Lino=L

Spanish is underlined in the original utterance and the English translation

Table A9

Excerpt 9 In-class conversation

Utterance	English translation	Explanation
1 A: <i>die Kaufhäuser</i> okay so the <i>au</i> with the <i>Umlaut</i> is almost gonna be the <i>oy</i> as in boy, <i>die Kaufhäuser</i> , <i>der Verkäufer</i> , <i>die Verkäuferin</i> , and then <i>die Verkäuferinnen</i> so those are the ones that we will be focusing on, so go ahead and go over the list with someone ask how you would say the plural and how you would say it. For that side we will do a minute and then we will switch	<i>the department stores</i> <i>the sales person (male and female)</i>	I show students a list of German vocabulary and give directions
2 L: <u>¿Qué tenemos que hacer?</u>	<u>What are we supposed to do?</u>	Lino and Carlos usually work together and talk in Spanish to each other here Lino asks Carlos
3 C: <u>Tenemos que leer el lado izquierdo y derecho</u>	<u>We are supposed to read the left and right side</u>	Carlos answers and gives a translation of the directions that were given in English
4 L: <u>Entonces...</u>	<u>Ok then</u>	
5 C: <i>Frauen, Fraunen</i> o <i>Frauen?</i>	<i>Women</i> <u>or</u> <i>women</i>	Carlos is unsure how to pronounce women in German so he is asking Lino.
6 L: <i>Frauen</i>	<i>women</i>	Lino gives the correct pronunciation
7 C: <i>Frauen, das Kleidergeschäft</i> (<i>Gliedergeschäft</i>), <i>die Klamotten</i> [Lino is also reading it]	<i>Women, the clothing store, the clothes</i>	Carlos is reading the K as G in department store which is common in some German dialects
8 L: <i>die Klamotten</i> . <u>Estamos viendo cómo se escribe en plural y en normales</u>	<i>The clothes. We are seeing how it is written in plural and in normal</i>	
9 C: <u>Y luego</u>	<u>And then</u>	
10 A: <i>Verkäufer</i> is male, <i>Verkäuferin</i> is female	<i>Sales person</i> is male, <i>sales lady</i> is female	instructor gives the singular for sales person masculine and feminine

11 C: <u>ah era femenino</u>	<u>Oh it was feminine</u>	Carlos affirms that he understood what was being said in English with his utterance in Spanish that is a form of inner speech that he happened to say out loud to himself
12 A: <u>die Verkäuferinnen</u>	<u>The sales ladies</u>	
13 C: <u>Oh sí era plural</u>	<u>Oh yes it was plural</u>	Carlos demonstrates understanding of what instructor said in this utterance in this form of inner speech
14 A: Okay, I'll let you work on these words so ask each other for the combinations		I provide more directions in English
15 C: <u>Tenemos que traducirlos unos, ¿no?</u>	<u>We have to translate some, no?</u>	Carlos now asks a rhetorical question
16 L: <u>¿Qué, qué?</u>	<u>what, what ?</u>	Lino did not understand the directions given in English
17 C: <u>Tenemos que traducirlos, haz de cuenta, yo te pregunto ah cómo se dice "loud"</u>	<u>we have to translate, do not tell me I ask you how do you say loud</u>	But Carlos did understand the directions and now translates the original directions to Lino. Carlos is using Spanish but is using the English loud to elicit the German translation
18 L: loud		Lino repeats loud in English
19 C: <u>pero te pregunté en inglés y tú me respondes en alemán</u>	<u>But I ask you in English and you answer me in German</u>	Carlos explains in Spanish that he is looking for the German
20 L: <u>Ah, laut</u>	<u>Oh loud</u>	Lino understands what he is supposed to do and gives the German translation
21 C: <u>Y tú me preguntas a mí</u>	<u>And you ask me</u>	Carlos continues to give directions in Spanish
22 C: <u>to take nehmen míralo yo pensé que ésa estaba más relacionada con nombre</u>	<u>To take look at that I thought that nehmen was more related to name</u>	The group discussed that it could be related to the word "name" in English which is also written as "Name" in German.
23 L: <u>Yo también</u>	<u>Me too</u>	
24 C: <u>Porque ésta tiene h, es por eso, porque se viene de nehmen creo ich nehme</u>	<u>Because this one has an h that is why it</u>	Carlos demonstrates metalinguistic awareness in

	<u>comes from</u> <u>to take</u> <u>I think</u> <u>I take</u>	this multilingual vocabulary inquiry.
25 L: <u>la que hicimos el</u> <i>nehmen</i> <u>con h</u>	<u>What we did to take with h</u>	
26 C: ah		
27 L: <i>sehen</i>	<u>to see</u>	
28 C: to become		
29 L: hmm?		
30 C: to become		
31 L: <i>werden</i> [rolling r]	<u>to become</u>	
32 C: <i>werden</i> <u>creo que</u> <i>ja</i>	<u>To become</u> <u>I believe that</u> <u>yes</u>	German and Spanish are both used in this utterance <i>ja</i> is German for yes
33 L: <u>¿Entonces qué hacemos?</u>	<u>Then what do we do?</u>	Lino is asking for clarification on the task in Spanish
34 C: <u>Lo mismo</u> , to bake	<u>The same</u> , to bake	
35 L: <i>backen, er bäckt</i>	<u>To bake, he bakes</u>	
36 C: <u>Bueno</u> to drive	<u>Good</u>	The feedback is provided in Spanish then in English, Carlos is asking for "to drive"
37 L: <u>¿qué?</u>	<u>what</u>	
38 C: <u>conducir</u>	<u>To drive</u>	They had agreed to ask each other in English for the German translation and are using Spanish here because Lino did not understand when asked in English
39 L: to drive <i>er fährt</i> , to eat	<u>he drives</u>	Lino can give the answer in German
40 C: to eat <u>era</u> <i>essen</i>	To eat <u>was</u> <u>to eat</u>	
41 L: <i>essen, er isst</i>	<u>To eat, he eats</u>	
42 C: <i>zahlen bezahlen</i> <u>no sé ésa está</u> <u>curiosa, a ver</u> to run	<u>To pay</u> <u>I don't know it is curious</u> <u>let's see</u>	
43 L: to run <i>laufen</i>	<u>to run</u>	
44 C: <u>Yo pensaba que era como que</u> <u>laugh</u> <u>para la risa, no es,</u> to wash	<u>I thought it was like for laugh</u> <u>it is not</u>	Making associations between German words when trying to understand their meaning
45 L: <i>waschen, er wäscht</i> , to bake <u>no ya te</u> <u>la marqué</u> to get	<u>To wash, he washes, to bake, I already marked it, to get</u>	
46 C: to get <i>bekommen</i>	<u>to get</u>	
47 L: <u>mmh, ¿dónde está?</u>	<u>Where is it?</u>	
48 C: to need <u>hasta arriba</u> <u>bueno</u>	<u>At the top</u> <u>good</u>	
49 L: <i>brauchen</i> , to read	<u>to need</u>	

50 C: <u>leer, ah ya le vi, lesen er liest a ver</u> to sleep	<u>To read I saw it, to read he reads let's see to sleep</u>	Spanish translation from English is given before the German translation
51 L: sleep?		
52 C: <u>schlafen y no sé decirlo</u> to sleep pero <i>Plautdietsch</i>	<u>To sleep and they don't say to sleep in low German</u>	Carlos is familiar with Plautdietsch a German dialect that is spoken by the Mennonites a religious community living in Chihuahua, Mexico
53 L: <i>Plautdietsch</i> <u>¿cuál es ése?</u>	<u>Low German which one is that?</u>	
54 C: <u>El aleman bajo de los Menonitas</u>	<u>The low German of the Mennonites</u>	
55 L: aha		
56 C: <u>Se diece mischläft se dice que tiene sueño</u>	<u>They say ...when one is tired</u>	Carlos is sharing his knowledge of Plattdeutsch with Lino
57 L: <u>¿pero de dónde aprendiste eso?</u>	<u>But where did you learn that</u>	Lino is wondering why Carlos knows it in Plautdietsch and he reminds him because of Monika, his girlfriend who grew up in the Mennonite community speaking the German dialect, Spanish and English
C: <u>de Monika</u>	<u>From Monika</u>	
L: <u>sí, es cierto</u>	<u>Yes that is true</u>	

Catalina= C
Rory= R
Annabell= A (instructor)

Table A11

Excerpt 11

Utterance	English translation	Explanation
1 All: <i>Wie ist Ihr Name und Ihre Adresse?</i>	<i>What is your name and your address?</i>	
2 A: In English we would say what. In German we would say it as how. <i>Wie heißt du?</i>		I highlight the difference between English and German

3 All: <i>Wie heißt du?</i>	<i>How are you called?</i>	
4 A: Is this formal or informal?		I probe for understanding
5 All: Informal		
6 A: Very good! <i>Wie</i> can also be in a comparison or you know in a sense what it is like, so what is your new apartment like. <i>Wie ist Ihre neue Wohnung?</i> <i>Wohnung</i> is feminine it is <i>die Wohnung</i> , <i>Ihre</i> is capitalized because we are addressing someone formally. Let's read it:	<i>How is your new apartment? ... the apartment, your</i>	I'm giving explanations
7 All: <i>Wie ist Ihre neue Wohnung?</i>	<i>How is your new apartment?</i>	
8 A: Okay, literally what are we saying? How is		
9 C: your new apartment.		
10 A: You can translate it with how you can say how is it like, right? I mean people will understand that in English. How is your apartment? <i>Wie</i> can be like. An apartment like mine costs much money. Let's read it (pointing out the line on the board projected from e-text book)		
11 All: <i>Eine Wohnung wie meine kostet viel Geld.</i>	<i>An apartment like mine costs a lot of money.</i>	
12 A: " <i>So wie</i> " is a comparison, so my apartment doesn't cost as much as your apartment. Let's all read it!		
13 All: <i>Meine Wohnung kostet nicht so viel wie deine.</i>	<i>My apartment does not cost so much like yours.</i>	
14 A: What are we saying?		
15 C and all: My apartment costs not so much like hers.		

16 A: My apartment costs not so much like or as yours. You can say as yours or like yours that would be correct. It doesn't cost as much as yours, so we use it for comparisons, we use it in questions, we see it a lot in questions and we haven't seen it as much in comparisons we use it in comparisons, and there is a couple more. For this one we are going to practice using it. I want you to work with your group and to make sense of the translations, okay? So, you go ahead and you read the first, second and third and try to think what is the translation as you read.		
17 C: Okay		
18 A: Okay, so go ahead.		
19 C: I'll do the first can you do the second? Alright: <i>Wie heißt Lena's neuer Freund und wie alt ist er?</i> So, the first one would be what, right, what is the name of Lena's new friend, so and then how old is he, right?		During the group work English is used
20 R: <i>Er heißt Florian und er ist zweiundzwanzig Jahre alt.</i>	<i>He is called Florian and he is twenty-two years old.</i>	
21 C: <i>Mmh, und wie ist er, ist er so doof wie ihr letzter Freund?</i>	<i>and how is he, as stupid as her last friend?</i>	
22 R: How is he and is he so stupid, would the first one be how [pause 3 sec] and I think the second one is like		
23 C: But if you use like the first one would have to be what I think.		
24 R: In this sentence?		
25 C: Aha		

26 R: But I think the first one is trying to say how is he.		
27 C: Yeah, I think so		
28 R: <i>Wie ist er?</i>	<i>How is he?</i>	
29 C: Yeah		
30 R: You want me to read the next one?		
31 C: So the first one is like?		
32 R: Yeah, I think so.		
33 C: Okay. If you want? You want?		
34 R: Yeah. <i>Wie ist das Wetter? Ist es immer noch so schön wie heute Morgen?</i>	<i>How is the weather? Is it still as pretty as it was this morning?</i>	
35 C: <i>Nein, jetzt regnet es wie verrückt.</i>	<i>No, no it is raining like crazy.</i>	
36 R: How is the weather		
37 C: Wait that is not an option		
38 R: Would it be what?		
39 C: Yeah, it would be what is he weather like?		
40 R: It is raining like crazy.		
41 C: For the second one would it be as because is it and as shiny as in the morning, right?		
42 R: Or yeah ahm		
43 C: And <i>verrückt</i> would be like	<i>crazy</i>	
44 R: Yeah, look the third one for sure		

45 C: Okay, it's raining like crazy.		

Vita

Annabell Sahr, MSc is an educator with many years of bilingual teaching experience in the K-16 educational system in the Texas borderland.

Contact Information: asahr@utep.edu