AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

THE USE OF L1 IN EFL CLASSROOMS ACROSS VARIOUS MULTILINGUAL CONTEXTS: AN INTEGRATIVE SYNTHESIS OF RESEARCH

by
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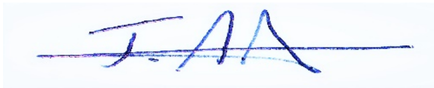

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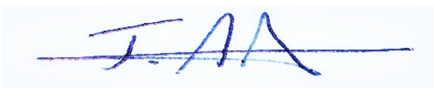

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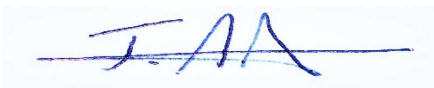

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To myself, for pushing through and having my own back at all times. This journey has not been easy, and I am so thankful for making it this far.

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ABSTRACT
OF THE THESIS OF

<u>Rima Issa El Khatib</u> for <u>Master of Arts</u>
<u>Major</u>: Education

Title: <u>The Use of L1 in EFL Classrooms Across Various Multilingual Contexts: An Integrative Synthesis of Research</u>

Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) is conducted in many multilingual contexts around the world and is referred to with different terms according to the context (i.e., English as Second Language and English as a First Additional Language). Translanguaging (TL), where two or more languages are systematically used for teaching and learning inside the same lesson, is a phenomenon that has been observed in many TEFL classrooms. Although there is controversy regarding whether learners' native language (or other languages in their repertoire) should be used in TEFL pedagogy, there is also an increasing recognition that using other languages spoken by learners can be a useful strategy. There is a substantial literature on this issue across different contexts (e.g., Asker & Martin-Jones, 2013; Mohanty, 2004). However, given the diversity of these contexts, it is difficult to draw general conclusions about whether and how learners' linguistic repertoires should be drawn on in TEFL classrooms. In multilingual contexts, most students come to the English classroom with rich linguistic repertoires consisting of one or more languages other than the English they are learning. This study addresses two questions: 1) what multidimensional model captures the pedagogically important dimensions of variation across multilingual TEFL contexts and allows for clusters of contexts to be identified? and 2) what recommendations regarding the use of learners' linguistic repertoires in TEFL classrooms in each context cluster can be identified? These questions were answered by conducting an integrative synthesis of research to map contexts and distinguish broad conclusions by context type in order to have a better understanding of how language learners switch among multiple languages, the role of each language, the role that the sociopolitical contexts play, and the tension that could create in schools and classrooms. It sought to identify important socio-cultural, political, historical, and linguistic variables that could be relevant to the challenge of producing recommendations for how to use multiple languages in the context of TEFL instruction. The study identified two particularly notable variables: the status of English and the status of indigenous languages both in the country and in education. It was found that there is a link between these two variables and the variable of the attitudes of teachers, learners, and administrators towards TL. These variables formed the basis for constructing a multidimensional model that allowed for clusters of contexts to be mapped. This study has significance both for research and for practice. For research, it can guide those conducting future studies so that they tackle open questions that need to be addressed empirically. For practice, it provides a more organized

and theoretically rigorous set of recommendations for instruction and policy that are sensitive to context variables, even when empirical work may not yet be extensive. The model will allow readers to map their own context to clusters identified and thereby identify the appropriate recommendations for their context.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 1

ABSTRACT 2

TABLES 7

ABBREVIATIONS 8

Chapter

INTRODUCTION 9

1.1. Background & Rationale 9

1.2. Statement of the Problem 17

1.3. Research Questions 19

1.4. Significance 20

METHODOLOGY 21

2.1. Overview 21

2.2. Theoretical Frameworks 21

2.2.1. Framework to guide the selection of the literature to be reviewed 21

2.2.2. Framework to guide the interpretation of the selected literature 22

2.3. Systematic Review Criteria 27

REVIEW OUTCOMES ... 30

3.1. Overview ... 30

3.2. South Africa ... 31

3.2.1 Context ... 31
3.2.2. Reviewed empirical studies ... 32
3.2.3. Recommendations ... 39

3.3. India ... 41

3.3.1. Context ... 41
3.3.2. Reviewed empirical studies ... 43
3.3.3. Recommendations ... 49

3.4. Bangladesh ... 51

3.4.1. Context ... 51
3.4.2. Reviewed empirical studies ... 53
3.4.3. Recommendations ... 59

3.5. Indonesia ... 61

3.5.1. Context ... 61
3.5.2. Reviewed empirical studies ... 63
3.5.3. Recommendations ... 71

3.6. Colombia ... 73

3.6.1. Context ... 73
3.6.2. Reviewed empirical studies ... 74
3.6.3. Recommendations ... 83

3.7. Libya ... 85

3.7.1. Context ... 85
3.7.2. Reviewed empirical studies ... 86

3.7.3. Recommendations 94

3.8. Proposed Model for Clustering Contexts 96

DISCUSSION 104

4.1. Overview 104

4.2. Summary of Findings 104

4.3. Discussion of Findings in Relation to the Broader Literature 107

4.4. Implications for Practice 111

4.4.1. Recommendations for Green Cluster 111

4.4.2. Recommendations for Yellow Cluster 112

4.4.3. Recommendations for Red Cluster 113

4.4.4. Case of Lebanon 114

4.5. Limitations of this Study and Implications for Research 115

4.6. Conclusion 117

BIBLIOGRAPHY 119

TABLES

Table

1. Inclusion Criteria……………………..……………………………………………27

2. Basis for Interpreting Studies…………………...………………………………… 28

3. Included Studies………………………..……………………………………… 29

4. Clusters…….…………………………………………………………………… 96

5. Expanded Model ……………..…………………………………………………. 98

ABBREVIATIONS

CLT = Communicative Language Teaching approaches

CUP = Common Underlying Proficiency

EFAL = English as a First Additional Language

EFL = English as a Foreign Language

ELTIP = English Language Teaching Improvement Project

ESL = English as a Second Language

L1 = First language

L2 = Second language

L3 = Third language

LoTL = Language of Teaching and Learning

TEFL = Teaching English as a Foreign Language

TL = Translanguaging

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background & Rationale

Using learners' first language (L1) (also referred to as: native language, home language, indigenous language, mother tongue) can be a rich source of knowledge that learners bring to the English classroom. Although this is now a less controversial issue in the research, it still creates tensions in practice. Empirical research has shown the numerus functions of employing L1 in the acquisition of a second or foreign language (e.g., Alsied, 2018; Sampson, 2012). However, in practice, it is still a controversial issue (Brooks-Lewis 2009; Littlewood & Yu 2011) as there is a perception that using L1 reduces learners' opportunity to use and therefore, learn, the target language. Thus, L1 use is often discouraged and may be considered a poor learning habit or a sign of limited motivation which causes teachers to set rules that minimize students' L1 in class (Ma, 2019). However, banning L1, though to some degree is possible in whole class interactions, is more difficult to ensure in peer interactions or group work activities, especially when students share the same mother tongue, as in the case of many TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language) contexts (Ma, 2019).

Teachers' tendencies to ban or discourage the use of L1 is understandable considering that most common English as a Foreign Language (EFL), English as a Second Language (ESL), and English as a First Additional Language (EFAL) approaches do not support the use of L1 in the language classroom. The origins of 'English-only' classroom

policies, which encourage learners to use the target language being taught as the sole means of interaction with teachers and peers, appear to date back to the widespread discrediting of the Grammar-Translation method, the decline of contrastive analysis in language teaching, and the rise in popularity of the Direct Method (Atkinson, 1987; Sampson, 2012). Since then, the monolingual approach has continued to be widely supported (Ma, 2019). According to the Direct Method, learners need to think in the target language and to avoid L1 interference (Brooks-Lewis 2009; Littlewood & Yu 2011). This monolingual principle (Howatt, 1984) emphasizes instructional use of target language to the exclusion of students' home language, with the goal of enabling learners to think in the target language with minimal interference from the L1. This principle gained widespread acceptance more than 100 years ago in the context of the Direct Method and has continued to exert a strong influence on various language teaching approaches since that time (Yu, 2000).

In addition, the Communicative Language Teaching approaches (CLT), which were prevalent in the 1980s, do not recognize L1 as a valuable resource (Ma, 2019). In CLT classrooms, learners are expected to use only the target language to communicate and complete language activities, and consequently there has been little discussion of L1 use in the CLT literature. Therefore, 'English-only' classrooms are often regarded as the most effective setting for language learning (Murray & Wigglesworth, 2005) and this is especially valid for learners in EFL contexts where the classroom is the major, if not the only, domain for target language exposure. Moreover, it is presumed that the more the recourse to code-switching (the use of two or more different languages within the same speech exchange (Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009), translation, or multilingual pedagogies, the more the chances for weak English proficiency and language interference

(Manan & Tul-Kubra, 2020). Therefore, teachers are ideally expected and encouraged to avoid hybridizing or border crossing between languages, and preferably keep languages separate (Manan & Tul-Kubra, 2020). This is referred to as a 'two solitude' assumption by Cummins (2007, 2008, 2016): to either teach monolingually and succeed or use other languages in the classroom and fail. In sum, as Cummins (2008) observes, in second and foreign language teaching, "it is assumed that instruction should be carried out, as far as possible, exclusively in the target language without recourse to students' first language. It has become axiomatic that the two languages should be kept rigidly separate" (p. 65).

Supporters of monolingual English teaching approaches often ground their argument on Krashen's input hypothesis (1985) which proposes that second language (L2) learning is modelled on L1 development and therefore, the more exposure to L2, the better the learning outcomes (Ellis, 1985). Another theoretical argument that the advocates of the monolingual approach put forward is that L1 is a source of hindrance to the learning of the target language. Thus, they presume that L1 and the target language to be two separate and distinct systems. A closer look on these dominant 'English-only' policies and classrooms, however, reveal that these ideologies are not necessarily reflective of actual classroom practices. For instance, Liu et al. (2004) studied 13 high school English teachers in Korea and found that their use of L1 ranged from 10% to 90%, with an average of 40% found in the classroom data and as much as 68% from teachers' self-report, which Liu et al. considered a more reliable picture of daily practices. Similarly, in Littlewood and Yu's (2011) study, 28% of the student participants from Hong Kong and China reported that teachers used L1 for over 75% of class time. It is also equally important to note that many language teachers do not feel good about their use of L1. Sharma (2006) found that many

English language teachers in Nepal tend to feel uneasy about using L1 even if they think that it is useful for learners. Previous studies also observed teachers' uneasiness about the use of L1, and the evocation of guilt even when they feel that it is useful for learners (Butzkamm, 2003; Cheng, 2013; Copland & Neokleous, 2011; Neokleous, 2017; Sharma, 2006). Such feelings of guilt and shame may also potentially arise due to the symbolic perceptions the society in general and the communities within the academia in particular attribute to the English language and about those who can speak or know better English. Some teachers openly admit that although they understand the benefits of TL and the use of L1 in their classes, they have to hold themselves back and deliberately use more English to project a certain image, and to impress both students and administrators (Manan & Tul-Kubra 2020).

In addition to the practical realities of English language classrooms, there are strong empirical and theoretical reasons to challenge the monolingual principle and articulate a set of bilingual and multilingual instructional strategies that more adequately address the challenges of English language and academic development around the world. Firstly, a fundamental principle of learning states that learners' preexisting knowledge is the foundation for all future learning (Bransford et al., 2000). This principle echoes the interdependence hypothesis which states that if a child's competent in their L1, transfer will occur from L1 to L2 (Cummins, 1979). Because EFL learners' prior knowledge is encoded in their L1, particularly in the early stages of English language learning, activation and building on prior knowledge requires the linking of English concepts and knowledge with the learner's L1 cognitive schemata (Cummins, 2007; García, 2008; Lucas & Katz, 1994). This linking cannot be done effectively if students' L1 is banished from the classroom

(Cummins, 2009). Secondly, the perpetuation of the monolingual principle as ‘common-sense knowledge’ in countries around the world is associated with multiple forms of injustice directed toward both teachers and learners of English. It reinforces the empirically unsupported and socially problematic assumption that native speakers are superior English language teachers as compared to non-native teachers (Cummins, 2009). Not least, it consigns newcomer students to a non-participatory role in the classroom until they are capable of expressing themselves without embarrassment in English, a process that can take up to several years for many students (Cummins, 2009).

Perhaps the first step towards starting to change the belief that monolingual teaching approaches are superior to multilingual ones is by letting go of the goal of achieving native-like language competency when learning English. Cook (2002) notes that language learners are aiming to become competent L2 users not native speakers, and that competent L2 users code-switch in their daily practices. Cummins (2005) emphasizes the necessity to let go of the common assumption that monolingual approaches are superior when it comes to language learning and argues that cross-lingual transfer is going to occur regardless, so it is better to facilitate it instead of impeding it.

An opposing approach to monolingualism is multilingualism. Multilingualism is a combination of two words ‘multi’ and ‘lingual’; the former referring to ‘many’ and the latter to ‘to do with language.’ Therefore, ‘multilingualism’ captures the meaning ‘to do with many languages.’ However, some linguists indicate that multilingualism cannot be so simplistically described; one scholar observes that, “a multilingual identity extends from the language of intimacy through the language of proximity to languages of regional, national, and international identification. As the layers are peeled off, a complex network of

relations can be observed. In this scenario each language is representative of an overarching culture" (Pattanayak 2003, p. 57). Multilingualism is defined as "the acquisition of a non-native language by learners who have previously acquired or are acquiring two other languages" (Cenoz, 2003, p. 71). Pattanayak speaks to other scholars' view of the term who observe that definitions of the term are represented on a continuum ranging from full fluency to the use of different languages at different levels of proficiency, driven by specific needs (Bialystok, 2001; Rooy, 2010).

Creating an environment that caters to the needs of learners' multiple languages will, in fact, assist in the learning of English as the target foreign language. Cenoz and Gorter (2015) maintain that, "when multilingualism is an educational aim, students are expected to become competent speakers of different languages. One of the most important issues in this process is to identify the best possible conditions and approaches to teach second and foreign languages, that is, the most efficient ways of "becoming multilingual" (p. 3). Within such a framework, language learners would not worry about attaining higher levels of oral proficiency by trying to imitate the native English speaker but will rather learn English while affirming their own identities (Cummins, 1996). As García and Sylvan (2011) state, "teaching in today's multilingual/multicultural classrooms should focus on communicating with all students and enabling them all to negotiate challenging academic content by building on their different language practices, rather than simply promoting the teaching of one or more standard languages" (p. 386). In the United Stated for example, the Bilingual Education Act which was originally proposed in 1968 and reauthorized in 1994 aimed "to ensure equal educational opportunity for all children and youth and to promote

educational excellence… for children and youth of limited English proficiency" (BEA, 1994, Section 7102 (c)).

Translanguaging (TL) can be described as a multilingual framework. It is defined as "the planned and systematic use of two languages for teaching and learning inside the same lesson" (Garcia & Wei, 2014, p. 3). In TL, languages in the classroom are not bound to a rigid binary system. Within TL, language is seen as an ongoing 'process' rather than a 'thing', a 'verb' rather than a 'noun' (Becker, 1988), as in the notion of 'languaging'. The focus moves from how many languages an individual may have at their disposal to how they use all their language resources to achieve their purposes. This concept will be elaborated on further in the following chapter.

TL not only allows using L1 in language teaching, but rather encourages it. Using L1 in the English language classroom has many functions. Some of these functions are maintaining social relationships (Alghasab, 2017), avoiding grammatical mistakes as much as possible due to linguistic insecurity (Khresheh, 2012), and remaining true to one's identity (Canagarajah, 2001). Auerbach (1993) highlights the last point by explaining how starting with the L1 provides a sense of security and validates the learners' lived experience, allowing them to express themselves. The learner is then willing to experiment and take risks with English. Therefore, the use of L1 increases learners' self-confidence. When learners' identities are accepted, they do not feel as if they are choosing between their own language habits and English (Halliday et al, 1968; Rinvolucri, 2001). Moreover, sensible use of L1 in the EFL classroom sharpens learners' metalinguistic awareness (Cook, 2002) and allows the fullness of the learner's language intelligence to be brought into play (Rinvolucri, 2001). Thus, learners depend on their L1 when they learn an L2 and

this dependency has been shown to foster their awareness of their native language, assist them in processing the structures and grammar of L2, eliminate their anxiety about learning a new language, and ultimately nourish their process of achieving multilingual competence (Pan & Pan, 2012).

Empirical research in recent years has shown that L1 is the most important ally a foreign language learner can have (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009). In addition, practices like code-switching offer an important service known as floor holding, a function used by learners wishing to continue without pausing or being interrupted (Sampson, 2012) as the learner might not be familiar with a certain term in the target language and explaining it may take a longer time to get the message across to the listeners (Bader, 1995; Grosjean, 1982). Because pausing, even if it is only a matter of seconds, could interrupt the learner's train of thought as well as the listener's attention. Dewaele (2010) reported significant positive relationships between levels of self-perceived competence of adult multilinguals in their L2 and L3 and self-reported frequency of TL. This led to the conclusion that TL is not a symptom of a deficit in the target language, but on the contrary, a characteristic of participants who feel proficient in it. Researchers also found that the use of L1 develops positive relationships between teachers and students (Littlewood & Yu, 2011). Research demonstrated cognitive and affective benefits of multilingualism for language learners, such as a higher tolerance of ambiguity (e.g., Dewaele & Wei 2013), higher language aptitude (Thompson 2013), and better learning strategies (e.g., Nayak et al. 1990). In addition, the use of L1 can help in sustaining learners' motivation levels as they find the learning environment suitable to their communicative needs (Manan & Tul-Kubra, 2020). Engin (2009) states that most EFL learners have instrumental motivation to learn English,

such as finding a better or higher-paying job, as well as integrative reasons, such as being able to communicate with native speakers and watch English movies and international channels.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

While the general principle of using learners' linguistic repertoire is valuable in foreign language instruction, this issue may play out differently in different contexts. Different contexts come with different challenges and achieving the required shift in teaching practices might be easier in some contexts than others given the specifics of the sociopolitical and language situation in the country. For this reason, it is important to look at dimensions not limited in the classroom when investigating language use in English teaching and learning in order to examine relevant impactful factors and to be able to provide holistic recommendations.

To illustrate, a quick overview of two contexts reveals how the specifics of each one translates into different attitudes towards TL practices. The contexts are Libya and South Africa. The status of English and native languages in these two countries both on a national level and on an educational one can be described to be on opposing ends. In Libya, Arabic is the only official language in the country, and it is the official medium of instruction despite the existence of the indigenous Berber-speaking community. Moreover, the government prohibits any display of languages other than Arabic (Asker & Martin-Jones, 2013). English in Libya does not have an important role. Teaching of English was even eliminated from the educational system at one point before it was brought back again

(Adriosh & Razı, 2019). When it comes to South Africa, however, English plays a major role in both the country and in education. English is an official language alongside Afrikaans and nine indigenous languages (RSA, 1996). Despite the official recognition of South African native languages, this recognition does not translate into educational institutions. English is the official medium of instruction across all subjects starting from fourth-grade (Ngubane et al., 2020).

In a study in Libya by Asker and Martin-Jones (2013) which aimed to investigate the ways in which TL practices were being performed in the English classroom through a case study of two teachers, it was found that TL was a normalized practice in the class. However, the author noted that for one teacher, the country's official language policy was a significant determinant on which languages she allowed TL to occur within. It was noted that this particular teacher had a very strict attitude towards banning the use of Berber in the classroom. On the contrary, this same teacher had a very relaxed attitude towards TL between English and Arabic.

In a study in South Africa by Dowling and Krause (2019), which examined how a particular teacher of English facilitated access to the target language by practicing TL in the classroom, it was found that despite this teacher successful teaching, the administrator in the school had a very negative attitudes towards TL. The school principal expressed his dissent of teachers' common TL and believed that students are not performing well because of the common TL done by teachers.

This is a very brief summary on what will be elaborated on throughout this study. It is apparent how the language policies in these two countries manifested in different attitudes towards TL in the teaching of English. In Libya, where the national language is a

native language and where English does not play a major role, the teacher practiced TL semi-freely. Because of this same policy, the teacher employed only the allowed languages in the country. In South Africa, where English is an official language and is the medium of instruction, TL was seen as a sign of teachers' incompetence.

By looking at these studies while also paying attention to the specifics of the language situation and the sociopolitical context, a link can be drawn to the way they impact classroom linguistic attitudes. Additionally, it would not be wise to give English teachers in Libya the same recommendations for English teachers in South Africa given the variety of language policies which would impact the degree to which these recommendations can be applicable.

This thesis explores these dimensions in relation to their impact in the English classroom, clusters countries with similarities, and provides recommendations which can be applicable across contexts. While there is an abundance of literature that argues in favor of using L1 in the English language classroom in bi- and multilingual settings, the issue is less explored in relation to specific variables.

1.3. Research Questions

Therefore, this study addresses two questions:

1. What multidimensional model captures the pedagogically important dimensions of variation across multilingual TEFL contexts and allows for clusters of contexts to be identified?

2. What recommendations regarding the use of learners' linguistic repertoires in TEFL classrooms in each context cluster can be identified?

1.4. Significance

The significance of this study is both for research and for practice. For research, it can guide those conducting future studies so that they address issues that need to be addressed empirically. This study can pave way for further studies to explore the specific dimensions proposed in the model which will lead to more refined recommendations.

For practice, it will provide a more organized and theoretically rigorous set of recommendations for instruction and policy that are sensitive to context. The model will allow readers to map their own context to clusters identified and thereby identify the appropriate recommendations for their context. Moreover, this study will empower teachers with a set of principled recommendations that are built upon many existing practices (such as TL).

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1. Overview

This study is an integrative synthesis of research which applies three theoretical frameworks. This chapter will highlight the frameworks which will guide the selection of the literature and the interpretation of it. Next, it will discuss the inclusion and interpretation criteria. Lastly, it will present the selected studies.

2.2. Theoretical Frameworks

2.2.1. Framework to guide the selection of the literature to be reviewed

The study applied Braj Kachru's model of World Englishes (Kachru, 1992) as a guide for the selection of references to be reviewed. In this model the diffusion of English is captured in terms of three concentric circles of the language: the inner circle, the outer circle, and the expanding circle. The "inner circle" refers to English as it originally took shape and was spread across the world in the first diaspora. In other words, countries where English is the native language or mother tongue (e.g., Australia, anglophone Canada, some of the Caribbean territories, Ireland, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States). The "outer circle" of English refers to the second diaspora of English, where the spread of the language occurred through imperial expansion by Great Britain in Asia and Africa. In these regions, English is not the native tongue, but serves as a useful lingua franca for diverse ethnic and language groups. In these countries, higher education, the

legislature and judiciary, national commerce and other important domains of life may all be carried out predominantly in English. This circle includes Bangladesh, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, non-Anglophone South Africa, Pakistan, Tanzania, the Philippines, and others. The outer circle also includes countries such as Jamaica and Papua New Guinea, where most people speak an English-based creole and retain standard English for official purposes. Finally, the "expanding circle" encompasses countries where English plays no major historical or governmental role, but where it is nevertheless widely used as a medium of international communication. This includes much of the rest of the world's population not categorized above, including territories such as China, Colombia, Egypt, non-Anglophone Europe (especially the Netherlands and Nordic countries), Japan, Nepal, Russia, and South Korea.

2.2.2. Framework to guide the interpretation of the selected literature

The EFL and TEFL research literature has convincingly argued for the use of L1 and other languages in the foreign language classroom (Pan & Pan, 2012). It is no longer a question of whether a relationship between L1 competence and foreign language acquisition exists, but rather, the issue is how to optimize the use of learners' linguistic repertoire to the best of their abilities. The roots of this go back to Jim Cummins' interdependence hypothesis (1979). Most studies which discuss TEFL in bi- or multilingual settings, including recent ones, have relied on this framework. The interdependence hypothesis is one theoretical assumption that will guide interpretation of the studies reviewed.

The interdependence hypothesis states that if a child is competent in their L1 transfer will occur from L1 to L2 and that this will contribute positively to the development of L2 (Cummins, 1979). The idea is that core components of proficiency in language acquisition and literacy developed in L1 is also common in L2 and therefore is transferred to L2. Cummins (1979) explains that this hypothesis explains why immersion programs succeed in some contexts by pointing out that "when the usage of certain functions of language and the development of L1 vocabulary and concepts are strongly promoted by the child's linguistic environment outside of school, as in the case of most middle-class children in immersion programs, then intensive exposure to L2 is likely to result in high levels of L2 competence at no cost to L1 competence" (p. 233). In short, the hypothesis proposes that there is an interaction between the foreign language being learned and the type of competence the child has developed in their L1 prior to school. The framework assigns a central role to the interaction between socio-cultural, linguistic, and school program factors in explaining the academic and cognitive development of bilingual children. It views linguistic competence as a dynamic process that involves variables not only limited to the classroom.

The interdependence hypothesis also sought to explain related phenomena such as the consistently significant correlations between L1 and L2 reading abilities (Cummins, 2005). These correlations are clear even across quite dissimilar languages (e.g., Japanese and English) (Cummins et al., 1984; Genesee, 1979) suggesting that the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) should be conceived not just as linguistic proficiency but also in conceptual terms. "In other words, although the surface aspects (e.g., pronunciation,

fluency) of different languages are clearly separate, there is an underlying cognitive/academic proficiency that is common across languages. This CUP makes possible the transfer of cognitive/academic or literacy-related proficiency from one language to another" (Cummins, 2005, p. 3). This framework establishes a core assumption in this study; the acquisition of a foreign language is greatly dependent on L1 competence.

Moreover, to expand the focus to multilingualism, the study seeks to review the literature through the framework of translanguaging (TL). TL is one of multiple theories that discuss the issue of using languages other than the target language in the EFL classroom. According to Garcia and Wei (2014), the term 'translanguaging' was coined by Williams (1994, 1996), and originally referred to the pedagogical practice of having students alternate between languages depending on whether they were using them receptively or productively and was constructed as a purposeful cross-curricular strategy for "the planned and systematic use of two languages for teaching and learning inside the same lesson" (p. 3). Since then, many scholars have extended and expanded the concept (e.g., Blackledge and Creese 2010), defining it slightly differently. Researchers working in multilingual classrooms have begun to use the term 'translanguaging' to describe multilingual oral interaction (e.g., Blackledge and Creese, 2010; García, 2009) and the use of different languages in written texts (e.g., Canagarajah, 2011; García and Kano, 2014). For Canagarajah (2011), "TL is the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system" (p. 401). TL theory considers multilingualism as the worldwide norm and sets aside the notion that bi- and multilinguals alternate between separate 'named languages'. Instead, the

bi- or multilingual is understood to have “one complex and dynamic linguistic system that the speaker then learns to separate into two [or more] languages, as defined by external social factors, and not simply linguistic ones” (García & Kleyn, 2016, p.12). This study adopts Garcia and Wei’s (2014) defintion.

Conceptually, TL resonates with the ideas of Cummins (2001), whose work has for long been influential among practitioners worldwide. His concepts of CUP and linguistic interdependence stress the positive benefits of transfer in language learning. These concepts made it possible to move away from monolingual approaches towards bi- and multilingual practices and frameworks. TL may include translation and code-switching practices, not necessarily as a shuttle between two languages, but as elaborated bilingual/multilingual linguistic practices to make sense by doing various production and comprehension tasks (García, 2009: García & Wei, 2014).

Where code-switching refers simply to the act of shifting between two languages, TL has to do with a speaker’s “construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language, but that make up the speaker’s complete language repertoire” (Garcia & Wei, 2014, p. 22). Li (2018) argues that TL “challenges the conventional understanding of language boundaries between the culturally and politically labelled languages” (p. 3-4). Furthermore, Blackledge and Creese (2010), among others, link language and identity, arguing that identity construction is an important factor in learning. They suggest that TL affords opportunities for the learner to make links—often in ways not available to their teachers—between their experiences outside the classroom and those within.

Baker (2001) describes four main pedagogical advantages of TL:

1. It promotes a better, deeper, and fuller understanding of the subject matter.
2. It helps students to strengthen their weaker language.
3. It supports students with home-school links and cooperation.
4. It integrates fluent learners with beginner students.

TL systemizes the usage of L1 and other languages in the foreign language classroom. It is the most encompassing framework to date that draws attention to the range of linguistic resources a learner brings to the TEFL setting.

This framework will be used as lens through which studies will be reviewed but will not limit the selection of studies. Studies reviewed may or may not explicitly adopt TL as a theoretical framework guiding the study.

Although both the interdependence hypothesis and TL are of high importance and value as frameworks, neither of them, whether on their own or combined together, lead to providing specific recommendations across multiple contexts. There are still many open questions on how to best use languages in the EFL classroom. Hence, the need for the multidimensional model this study seeks to construct.

2.3. Systematic Review Criteria

Studies selected for this review discussed the issue of L1s specifically in the English classroom across multiple contexts. Further criteria are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Inclusion Criteria

Country of origin	• Countries within Kachru's (1992) model: o "Outer circle" of English o "Expanding circle" of English
Media type	• E-Books • Books • Peer reviewed journal articles • Conference papers
Literature type	• Empirical reviews on original research articles • Original reports (qualitative and quantitative) • Position papers that discuss research in specific contexts (to help identify candidate variables for the model to be constructed) • Literature review (as a basis for identifying empirical research reports)
Topic areas - broad	• The use of L1 (or other languages) in English or EFL classrooms
Topic areas - narrower	• Code-switching • TL • Multilingualism

Several themes will be investigated in the selected studies. Emergent themes helped identify the possibly relevant dimensions of the model at the early stage of the literature review. The basis for interpreting studies is presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Basis for Interpreting Studies

Key themes	• Multilingualism • Code-switching • Functions
Emergent themes (based on the preliminary literature review)	• Sociolinguistic features of context • Laws and policies • Historical political context (e.g., colonialism and imperialism) • Equity and access to education • Number of home languages • Attitudes to foreign language use and learning
Theoretic framework/Theorist	• Cummin's (1979) interdependence hypothesis • TL (Garcia &Wei, 2014)

Table 3 lists the studies selected that provide the core of this review organized in terms of the Kachru's framework. The review is presented as six case studies with three core empirical studies highlighted in each case; the total of 18 studies are the core empirical studies reviewed in which empirical research on TEFL/EFL that meet the criteria are reviewed. However, the literature review also considered other work related to each case study to clarify relevant features of the linguistic, educational and sociopolitical context.

Table 3 Included Studies

Circle of English	Country	Studies
Outer	South Africa	Dowling and Krause (2019) Ngubane et al. (2020) Zano (2020)
	India	Anderson and Lightfoot (2018) Mukhopadhyay (2020) Rahman's (2013)
	Bangladesh	Chowdhury (2012) Farooqui (2014) Islam and Ahsan (2011)
Expanding	Indonesia	Khairunnisa and Lukmana (2020) Rasman (2018) Suganda, et al. (2018)
	Colombia	Cruz Arcila (2018) Ortega (2018) Sampson (2012)
	Libya	Adriosh and Razı (2019) Alsied (2018) Asker and Martin-Jones (2013)

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OUTCOMES

3.1. Overview

This chapter presents the 18 empirical studied chosen for the systematic literature review. The 18 studies are divided over six contexts. As per Kachru's model, three contexts were chosen from the "outer circle" of English, and three other contexts from the "expanding circle" of English. Each context is discussed using three studies.

The review is presented as a series of case studies. Each country is presented in three main bodies:

1. 'Context' in which an overview of the country's language policies, educational policies, and common attitudes towards language is given.
2. 'Reviewed empirical studies' where the case studies are laid out.
3. 'Recommendations' are presented from the same case studies reviewed.

Finally, the proposed model is presented and is used to cluster the cases into groups that have similar characteristics.

3.2. South Africa

3.2.1 Context

There are 11 official languages in South Africa (RSA, 1996). In alphabetical order the languages are Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, SiSwati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa, and isiZulu (Hickey, 2019). This abundance of languages resulted in an international acclamation of the country as progressive and unique (see Adams, 1999; Deumert et al., 2005). Yet, a closer look reveals otherwise as African languages continue to be used in limited domains (see Deumert et al., 2005; Mazrui et al., 1998). English and Afrikaans remain the dominant languages of instruction in all educational institutions despite previous attempts at changing that. Under the ruling of Nelson Mandela, mother-tongue instruction was seen as a basic human right and multilingualism was embraced and viewed as a national resource for the first time (van Wyk, 2014). That was when nine indigenous languages gained official status alongside Afrikaans and English. However, this ideal of a multilingual community soon failed because, in practice, indigenous languages remained underrepresented especially in educational institutions.

The use of English as the language of instruction in South Africa has been extended to all content subjects, assuming this helps improve students' English proficiency (Brock-Utne 2005). English is taught as a First Additional Language (EFAL) after a home language. Most South African learners begin their schooling with learning in their L1 and EFAL as a subject (until grade 3). However, in their fourth year of schooling they are forced to make a change into learning through English. English then becomes the language

of teaching and learning (LoTL) throughout their schooling years (up to grade 12 and in universities) (Ngubane et al., 2020).

In this multilingual context, it is not a surprise that translanguaging (TL) practices occur in EFAL classrooms, though not always admitted by teachers (Desai, 2016). Generally, TL is not considered a legitimate classroom strategy in South Africa, nor has it been part of teachers' training (Probyn, 2009). One teacher referred to it as "smuggling the vernacular into the classroom" (Probyn, 2001). This stigma around TL makes it challenging to utilize it to its potential as an aid to foreign language learning (Probyn, 2009). Teachers often find themselves caught between learners' aspirations of accessing English as a way out of poverty on the one hand, and classroom realities on the other, where using English-only hinders learning and academic success (Probyn, 2009).

In light of this context, this review seeks to answers several questions:

1. How strict is this monolingual policy in practice?
2. How does this policy manifest itself in teachers' attitudes towards TL?
3. What functions does TL serve in the EFAL classroom?
4. What are learners' attitudes towards TL or lack thereof?

3.2.2. Reviewed empirical studies

To address these questions, three empirical studies were reviewed in the context of EFAL in South Africa. All three studies have shown that TL practices are common in South African EFAL classrooms. Dowling and Krause (2019) addressed teachers' linguistic classroom behaviors and their attitudes towards TL in addition to highlighting relevant

functions. Ngubane et al. (2020) addressed TL functions in depth. Lastly, Zano (2020), explored learners' attitude towards TL.

Despite the advocated monolingual teaching policy in South Africa, teachers and even principals are fully aware that actual practice is much less restrictive. A study by Dowling and Krause (2019) which examined how a particular teacher of English clarifies tasks and facilitates access to the target language by drawing on morphemes and lexical items familiar to learners, found that the teacher was not held back by perceived boundaries dividing languages. The study took place in a fourth-grade English classroom in Khayelitsha, a township in Cape Town. The study adopted a qualitative approach using 1) an interview with the principal and 2) classroom observation, followed by 3) interviews with the teacher. Based on the data analysis, it was concluded that TL practices displayed by the teacher operate as linguistic clues that help learners navigate the meta-language of the English classroom, as well as to understand and produce the target language. Such clues play with features of Xhosa and English morphology, producing a third level of semantic props that help learners decipher the exact nature of the target language's grammar. This study has argued that TL practices in a school typically described as 'dysfunctional' can, if given detailed linguistic attention, reveal themselves to be highly nuanced, complex, and functional. However, they remain hidden under the political umbrella of monoglossic language ideologies.

To describe the TL processes that were recorded in the classroom, the following excerpts show the teacher explaining part of a textbook story to the learners and includes comments the teacher makes about his/her TL in a follow up interview.

Transcript 1: [T = Teacher; L = Learners]

> T: She cleared everything but she left the books.
> L:…books. [joining in]
> T: *Akazisusa iibook* (She did not remove the books). *Clearisha yonke* (Clear away everything). To clear, that is to clean. Clean. You used to hear me saying, 'Clean your desk. Clear your desk.' *Siyavana* (Are we getting each other)?
> L: Yes. [some learners quietly]
> T: It means you must collect and clean your desk.

Interview 1: Teacher comments on transcript 1 [I = Interviewer; T = Teacher]

> I: We were just wondering because you say *akazisusa iibook* (she didn't remove the books) hmh instead of saying *akazisusa iincwadi* (she didn't remove the books).
> T: *Ja*, because it's this thing of not understanding, others are taking time to do things so I'm telling them, I said to you, you must clear your books but this one didn't, didn't remove the, didn't clean so *akazisusa* (she didn't remove them) they didn't remove the books.
> I: But you use the word 'book', not not *iincwadi* (books), why you use *iibook* (books) not *iincwadi* (books)?
> T: I'm sure it's this way of I don't know, it's wrong of me to say *iibook* (books).
> I: No it's not! It's not wrong, it's not wrong!
> T: I just want them to, to understand that word 'book'.
> I: Ahhh OK and you put it into a Xhosa phrase
> T: *Ja, iibook, iibook* (books, books). The, the word book it's always in their minds but now this one did not clean or remove or clear. It's a new word to them.

It is evident that the critical language outcome of this sequence was grasping the meaning of 'to clear'. In focusing on that, rather than on the construction 'to clear away', the teacher avoids the complications of a phrasal verb, which might be difficult to understand for the learners whose L1 does not have split phrasal verbs and whose repertoire

in English is limited. By extracting only ‘to clear’ for the learners, the teacher can focus her energies on giving them access to the meaning of this new word. She also provides the negative form, ‘she did not clear (them)’, expressed through ‘*akazisusa*’, (derived from -*susa*, clear) instead of ‘she left (them)’. This allows her to replace what would be an additional, highly polysemic focus word (leave) with the negative of the established focus word ‘remove’, which she reiterates as ‘*akazisusa*’ (she did not remove them). This sequence shows how the teacher made meaning of the text digestible and accessible to learners through TL. She gave the learners resources to express the concept of ‘to clear’ in the positive as well as in the negative, all within their linguistic capabilities.

In the interview with the principal which aimed to provide insight into the monolingual teaching ideologies operating at the school, he was asked why only fluent Xhosa speakers were teaching at the school, although the official LoTL was English. Instead of answering the question, the principal talked about how he perceived the language practices of these teachers. He expressed that Xhosa and English must be separated even when the learners’ understanding is at stake. Any deviation from this policy of parallel monolingualism is seen as a sign of teacher weakness. He assigned the responsibility of students’ failure on the teachers, accusing them of underestimating the learners’ language abilities by TL. He added that such translingual language practice delays the learners’ acquisition of English, and therefore, TL has no place in classrooms.

Another study, which explored how teachers and learners used TL in their EFAL writing classes (Ngubane et al., 2020), suggests that bilingual teachers creatively employed TL for pedagogical and pastoral purposes. The study took place in five selected schools in Pinetown District. Teachers and learners in this study spoke isiZulu as their L1 and English

as their L2. The study adopted a qualitative approach to examine how TL is used, and the types and implications of TL in five schools. Classroom observation using a video camera was used as the method of data collection with a sample of 200 learners. Three grades, 10, 11 and 12, were observed from each of the schools. The study examined the learners' and teachers' TL and its influence on the learning of writing. The findings in this study suggest that TL was used for a variety of purposes. These included: 1) pastoral care, 2) encouraging learner participation, and 3) enhancing learning and understanding of writing concepts. To illustrate these functions, examples from the classroom are highlighted.

1) Pastoral care: In Extract 1, the teacher used the learners' L1 to establish a parental role where the learner would feel comfortable to interact with the teacher on issues of well-being.

> Extract 1:
>
> Teacher: *Yini kwenzenjani* my boy? *Uyagula* today? *Unani*? (What's wrong my boy?) (Are you sick?) (What illness do you have?)
> Learner: *Umzimba wonke* is sore *mam* (My whole body is sore)
> Teacher: *Kubuhlungu* the whole body? (Your body is sore?)
> Teacher: *Amaparents akho uwatshelile* that you are not well today? (Did you tell your parents?)
> Learner: Yes, ma'am.
> Teacher: *Bathini*? What did they say?
> Learner: *Bathi ngizoya eclinic* after school (They said I will go to the clinic after school)
>
> [The teacher pats the child on the shoulders to comfort him].

2) Encouraging learner participation: The teacher used TL to encourage learner involvement and participation during writing lessons, as illustrated below:

Extract 2:

Teacher: We know what is a summary, don't we?
Learners: Yes, Sir.
Teachers: Then, tell me, what is a summary?
Learners: [all raising their hands]
Teacher: Yes, Zizi.
Learner: Point form of the whole thing.
Teacher: Mmmh, not clear enough. *Bathini abanye*? (What do others say?)
Teacher: Yes, Zinhle?

Using the isiZulu phrase *Bathini abanye* (what do others say?) invited learner participation.

3) Enhancing learning and understanding: Here, TL was used by the teachers to emphasize certain points to learners in order to improve their understanding as illustrated in Extract 3.

Extract 3:

Teacher: *Konje ke iyini* writing? (What is writing?).
Learners: [silence]
Teacher: When we writing we expressing our ideas and thinking. *Uma sibhala sibeka*
imicabango yethu, angithi? (When we write we express our thoughts, isn't it?)
Learners: Yes.

As evident from the extracts above, TL allowed teachers and learners in this study to access their existing linguistic background in L1 simultaneously with their linguistic repertoires of English. In situations where the integration of isiZulu and English better explained writing concepts, TL was found to enhance learners' understanding of the writing concepts and to stimulate active participation in the learning of writing. The findings also suggest that TL is a useful learning resource in multilingual contexts where English-only

policy is an obstacle to effective learning. Finally, TL recognizes, values, and respects languages that bilingual learners bring to the school from home, and this restores learners' sense of their own identity.

Another important usage of TL is during the process of giving and receiving feedback in the classroom. The third study to be reviewed in the context of South Africa sought to identify the role of EFAL learners' practices of multilingualism in promoting peer and teacher feedback for errors as an integral part of EFL learning (Zano, 2020). This case study was designed as a qualitative research project. 24 EFAL learners from grades 10-12 participated as respondents. These learners were stationed at three high schools in one district of South Africa. The researcher used three focus group discussion panels with the learners to collect data. Each focus group contained eight learners.

The learners were informed about the aim of the study. During the discussion panels, stimulus questions allowed respondents to dwell on the subject under discussion. The chosen high school EFAL learners were asked questions which covered aspects such as the language a learner prefers when they receive peer feedback, learners' willingness or reluctance to provide their peers with feedback, the language learners prefer when they receive teacher feedback and what learners think of the teacher correction whether they find it useful or unhelpful. In this review, the focus is one the first and third point. In other words, only the questions and answers related to language preference. The respondents seemed to favor their L1 as the main medium of instruction when receiving either peer or teacher feedback. Generally, they held positive attitudes towards their teacher TL when providing feedback. One student stated, "since my teacher teaches me English, naturally the teacher has to use English and is supposed to give feedback in English. However, I like it

when my teacher turns to my mother tongue, Sesotho, for I feel involved in the discussion because my language is my culture" (Zano, 2020, p. 15546). An important issue arose in the focus group discussion as one student expressed their frustration that the teacher would translanguage but only using Sesotho and English. The student stated, "my identity is in my language, Ndebele. I wish my English teacher could mix Ndebele and English as he is currently mixing Sesotho and English" (p. 15546). This is often an overlooked limitation in multilingual classrooms that embrace TL practices as the focus tends to be on the more popular L1's. Furthermore, when receiving feedback from their peers, students seem to hold similar attitudes and an understanding of the value of employing indigenous languages in the English classroom. One student expressed this by saying "a mix between English and Sesotho will make even those who are said to be weak in class to understand so fast" (p. 15545). The respondents indicate that learning in their mother tongue is effortless, but learning in a second language takes more time, which unsurprisingly hinders their expression. Giving respondents feedback in a language other than their own is a breach of good pedagogy ethics and culpable of cultural imposition. Hence it is important to give feedback in L1 and teach through it because the learners' growth depends on it.

3.2.3. Recommendations

Dowling and Krause (2019), who concluded that the teacher in their study was not held back by linguistic divisions, encourage teachers to not watchfully adhere to societally constructed language boundaries and to reminds learners that they have tools to co-construct and build meaning. They criticize the common employment of outside

interventions and argue that multilingual practices in the English classroom setting are in part already functional, productive, and systematic. By drawing the functionality of TL practices into the light, they encourage more research that will help tilt the political umbrella so that those practices can meet their educational potential.

Ngubane et al. who explored the different functions served by TL in the EFAL classroom, recommend systematically integrating learners' L1 to achieve effective learning (2020). Furthermore, the authors encourage TL practices as a response to calls for the decolonization of the marginalized African languages. This is in line with Desai's criticism of the common monolingual ideology that is rooted in the demonization of African languages and the glorification of English (2016). Ngubane et al. address the Department of Education in South Africa calling for prioritizing TL and recognizing linguistic resources of learners and teachers. Since South Africa is an officially multilingual country, Mpanza (2018) explains that the constitutional recognition of multilingualism will only have a value-added impact if the education system restructures and revises language policies in education to truly reflect and accommodate the multilingual realities of the various communities that make up South African society.

Zano (2020), who found that learners prefer L1 when giving or receiving feedback, recommends investing resources in promoting the learners' home language usage in EFAL teaching and learning environments. Adding that there is a need for the use of African languages to alternate with any second language when giving learners feedback to enhance their fuller understanding. Zano elaborates that it is equally important to 'workshop' English language teachers to help them learn how to handle this seemingly new strategy of multilingualism. However, training teachers is not sufficient on its own when immersion is

still seen as the most efficient way of learning and the status of English remains dominant in society. More generally, Zano adds that a broad range of hindrances to promoting multilingualism - which include economics, politics, socio-cultural and technical factors - need to be addressed adequately so that multilingualism can be practiced with fewer obstacles in schools.

3.3. India

3.3.1. Context

Indian multilingualism goes beyond a simple diversity in numerical terms which, is in itself, quite overwhelming. There are 1652 mother tongues (1961 census) and a much larger number of dialects. These have been classified into approximately 400 languages (five language families). There are 22 constitutionally recognized official languages (Constitution of India, VIIIth schedule, after the 100th constitutional amendment, December 2003) along with English. Despite this abundance in languages, linguistic discriminations and inequalities are prevalent with only 22 of the languages being constitutionally recognized while keeping the rest out of the major domains of power (Mohanty et al., 2010). Indian multilingualism has been described as the "multilingualism of the unequals" (Mohanty, 2004) due to the vastly differing privileges, access to knowledge, and power some languages provide at the expense of others that are marginalized and disadvantaged.

On paper, India's education policy follows a three-language formula. According to the formula, the three languages to be studied (regardless of language of instruction) as

school subjects are:1) mother tongue, 2) Hindi or English, and 3) one modern Indian language or foreign language not covered under (1) and (2), and not used as medium of instruction. Despite the policy, English became the most common second language subject in all the states, followed by either Hindi or Sanskrit as a third language subject (Mohanty, 2006). In a majority of the states in India, English is taught as a compulsory school subject by the sixth year of schooling while Hindi (except in the Hindi-speaking states) is not or is taught only as a third language from the fifth year onwards (Government of India, Ministry of HRD 2003). Thus, in practice, English is better placed in school education in India than Hindi, the national language. Additionally, English-medium instruction at all levels of education remains the most preferred form despite the national education language policy and despite the research evidence that challenges the superiority of English-medium schools over mother-tongue-medium schools (Mohanty, 2006).

The glorification of English at the expense of indigenous languages impacts the way learners perceive these languages. Over seven to nine years, an Indian child internalizes that some languages are more prestigious, more useful and powerful than others; tribal children learn that their languages have no use for them (Mohanty et al., 1999) due to these languages lacking cultural or symbolic capital. Moreover, English teachers in India feel *compelled* to resort to L1 at times rather than choosing it as a strategic act of teaching. In other words, the practice of engaging learners' linguistic resources, and the mixing of the two languages evoke in them the feelings of guilt. Coleman (2017) aptly describes such teaching perspectives and practices as "guilty multilingualism" in which "teachers employ their pupils home languages to facilitate communication, even though this is a disapproved practice" (p. 31).

In light of this context, this review seeks to answer multiple questions:

1. How much does the three-language education formula come into play in the classroom?
2. How can this notion of “guilty multilingualism” be reduced and transformed into a principled practice?
3. What are the functions L1s serve in the English classroom?
4. What are teachers’ and learners’ attitudes towards TL in the English classroom in India?

3.3.2. Reviewed empirical studies

To address these questions, three studies were reviewed in the context of teaching English as a Second Language (ESL) in India. Rahman’s (2013) study highlighted L1’s role in the ESL classroom in a non-English-medium setting. Additionally, it illustrated teachers’ and learners’ attitudes. Anderson and Lightfoot (2018) investigated TL practices and teachers’ attitudes towards them while comparing the results among English-medium schools and non-English-medium schools. Lastly, Mukhopadhyay (2020) examined the TL practices of one teacher after her enrollment in a TL training program and highlights the functions of TL.

Rahman’s (2013) study was conducted in a secondary Assamese-medium school in Assam, a state in India, and revolved around two research questions: 1) Is the use of the Assamese language (L1) in the secondary Assamese-medium schools of Assam a deterrent or facilitator in students’ acquisition of English as L2? and 2) How do the students and

teachers view using Assamese language (L1) in the English classroom? Data was collected through classroom observation and personal interviews with 25 teachers and 300 students. Five English classes were observed and recorded, five teachers were selected to be interviewed, and two questionnaires were developed, one for the 25 teachers and the other for the 300 students. Findings revealed that L1 (Assamese) did not hinder learning English, rather it played a facilitating role in the English language classroom. Furthermore, the use of Assamese has not affected the academic performance of the majority of the learners.

The researcher listed common functions of using L1 in the English classroom observed. Among them are checking understanding, explaining rules of grammar, praising, telling jokes, and classroom management. Additionally, it was found that employing Assamese helped save valuable class time.

The summary of the interview with the five teachers whose classes were observed revealed that they all use L1 in translating English words, checking for understanding, and in explaining abstract concepts. Teachers expressed fear of students' dropping out of school if they feel that their language is in jeopardy.

The teacher questionnaire revealed that 65% of the 25 teachers surveyed use L1 (65% of this usage involved explaining concepts to learners), and 95% of the learners surveyed felt that they needed the help of Assamese in English classes. The questionnaire revealed that almost all students stated they need the support of Assamese in English class and showed more interest in the classroom when Assamese is used. 75% of them stated that they understand English better when Assamese is used and 95% of them do not see L1 usage as a hinderance to L2 learning. Notably, both the teachers and the students were of the similar opinion that Assamese should not be used in all of the class time, just that they

want its use to support English acquisition. The researcher concluded that the use of L1 has not negatively impacted students' academic performance as most student passed their English subject exams.

Despite the multiple functions of TL, teachers' attitudes and practice do not always reflect that. Illustrating this is a study by Anderson and Lightfoot (2018) which investigated both TL practices in English language classrooms and attitudes towards TL and L1 use among teachers in India. 169 teachers from all school levels responded to 33 quantitative and six qualitative items. The majority of respondents reported making only occasional use of other languages in English language classrooms, most often for comparing and contrasting language features, explaining concepts, managing the classroom and translating for learners. Only a minority of teachers reported actively facilitating TL during language practice activities. English-medium institutions were found to be less tolerant of L1-use practices than non-English-medium institutions. More experienced teachers were found to be more likely to express pro-TL beliefs and report more L1-inclusive practices.

A main question the survey posed was, "Do TL practices extend from everyday life into English language classrooms?" The majority of respondents reported that mixing languages in English lessons by students was either very common (34%) or quite common (36%). One teacher commented, "My students mix English and Tamil, Telugu, and English. Because when they don't understand a concept, they mix it up" (Anderson & Lightfoot, 2018, p. 9). Teacher's self-reported classroom practices revealed that skills activities involving TL were comparatively rare among responses, especially those involving writing and translingual texts. There was greater tolerance of L1s in speaking

activities, with 34% indicating 'occasionally', and 18% 'regularly', allowing students to mix languages.

As stated earlier, the majority of respondents reported making only occasional use of other languages in English language classrooms. Only a minority of teachers reported actively facilitating TL during language practice activities. More experienced teachers were more likely to report L1-inclusive practices. Only a small number of respondents reported proactive use of L1s to support or scaffold learning in English: "If there is a text or poem which is available in their mother tongue, I recommend my learners to read it." (Anderson and Lightfoot, 2018, p. 10), one teacher commented. When asked to what extent teachers actively encourage, rather than simply allow, use of L1 as in the classroom, the responses indicate 57% of respondents reported never actively encouraging use of L1, and a further 34% only doing so occasionally. 7% selected 'regularly' and only four respondents stated that they 'always' encourage use of L1s with one teacher commenting "I never encourage them to use (their) other language. But I allow them to use other language as most of them can't express themselves properly in English." (p. 11). Additionally, a sense of guilt was noted among the teachers who admitted to allowing the use of L1. This sense of guilt is hardly surprising, given that 36% of respondents reported that use of L1s was discouraged in their institutions, and a further 18% reported being told to teach using only English, despite national policy and constitutional directives recognizing the need for teachers to make use of more flexible language use practices (Government of India 2012; NCERT 2006).

Teachers' training can lead to positive principled TL practices among English teachers. In a paper by Mukhopadhyay (2020), a series of ESL classroom observations of

Anita, a teacher in an Indian primary level government run school, were presented to show instances of concrete uses of TL that were based on the guidance she received from a training program on using multilingual strategies to teach language. It was observed that the teacher applied TL to clarify concepts using contrastive elaboration, to instruct students, practice discourse-based management, prepare students for classroom activities, and help them communicate. The teacher also reflected upon her experience of TL as she reported her plans to use students' L1 more systematically. Instances of TL helped advance academic proficiency in students from low socio-economic status who would not otherwise comprehend the lessons if taught monolingually. Data was collected through classroom observation and semi-structured interviews with the teacher. Prior to the training program the teacher enrolled in, the researchers observed that though not systematic, language mixing was already taking place within a range of 43% and 60% in both English and content classrooms. The study revolved around an in-depth exploration of this teacher's understanding of the TL approach and its application in class in a planned manner.

The study took place in urban Hyderabad, capital city of Telangana, a state in the south of India. The teacher spoke Telugu, English, and Hindi. Additionally, she used Lambadi for social communication with her students. The class where Anita's lessons were observed comprised of 39 ESL learners aged between 7 and 11 years, enrolled in grade four. At the time of the study, Anita's school had just transitioned to the English as medium of instruction.

To highlight Anita's TL practices post-training, an extract from the classroom is illustrated.

[T = Teacher, L = Learner]

T: What work did you do at home? *Ghar pe kyakaamkiya?Cheppu..Intloemi chesavu*, tell me. [tell me…in-home what you do-past]
L1: *Nenu Amma ki vessels* clean *cheydam* lo help *chesanu*. [I to-mother vessels clean to do in help do-past]
T: Do you do it every day? Yes? When you do every day then say –"help *chestava*" [help do] ante "I help Amma". If you did only yesterday then say "help *chesanu*" (ante helped) [help do-past = helped]
L2: *Nenu ground la ball aadenu*. I played ball. [I in ground ball play-past.] (la=in; Telangana colloquial use instead of 'lo' that is standard variety]
L3: *Nenu* cook *chestha*. Cook *karne ko* help *kiya*. [T: I cook do] [H: Cook do-inf for help do-past]
L4: Main` swimming *ku gaya*… *Tairneku* [Dakkhini: I swimming to go-past]

Anita employed TL by allowing students to use their stronger language to demonstrate the use of activities (as action verb phrases) in daily life in English and yet use Telugu or Hindi to converse. The teacher-student interaction can be seen as an instance of breaking away from the usual *initiation-response-evaluation* pattern to one where students are initiating moves. Further, there was a natural mix of language that made learning more meaningful.

In an interview that inquired about Anita's planning mechanism to know if she had integrated the inputs from the training into her classroom, she stated that she began making mental notes of when to use L1s while planning her lessons, an act that used to be spontaneous. She added that planning the multilingual inputs gives a better opportunity to anticipate the problems students might face in understanding the concepts to be taught and their learning needs. Anita's reflection displays her awareness and efforts in trying to better accommodate student needs and help them learn through the TL approach.

3.3.3. Recommendations

In their study where it was found that L1 facilitated the learning of English, Rahman (2013) recommends that the use of L1 should be legalized to lead to more systematic use. Rahman calls for standardized guidelines to support this, and the need for active support for such policies at school level by head teachers and others in the teaching-learning community. While the study revealed principled use of L1s in some contexts, and an interest in understanding and using L1s in the English classroom, it is clear that at least in some cases this is inhibited by the perpetuation of a more monolingual mindset through the practices of both institutions and practitioner culture, leading to a state of "guilty multilingualism" (Coleman, 2017). This mirrors findings from studies conducted in comparable contexts, which highlight teachers' reticence to use languages other than the prescribed medium of instruction in the classroom for fear of retribution by their supervisors, or due to a general belief that it is not beneficial for student learning (e.g., Probyn 2009).

Anderson and Lightfoot (2018) found that teachers did not systematically practice TL, but tolerated it from their students at best. They argue that there is a need for an explicit focus on use of other languages in Indian English language teacher education and suggest more cohesive support for TL practices across the education system. They echo Durairajan's (2017) call for an explicit focus on L1s use in teacher education in India, and also suggest that such support should recognize natural language-use practices present in society and reflect this in pedagogic guidance offered to teachers, so that "both the content and the processes of instruction for learners…might usefully be modified to prepare them for future translingual environments" (Anderson 2018, p. 32), a belief that several of the

respondents in the study have exemplified when describing their own attitudes and classroom practices. Nonetheless, Anderson and Lightfoot also caution that the support for such practices needs to be provided at all levels of the educational system for real change to happen.

Through their study which highlighted the functions of principled and planned TL, Mukhopadhyay (2020) emphasized the importance of teachers integrating the steps of TL into their lessons. Additionally, the author encouraged teachers to reflect on the efficacy of the approach as Anita did in the post-lesson interviews. This can be done through creating journals with logs of their own growth in using this approach. Furthermore, teachers need to document student growth as a result of using this approach by means of informal formative assessment so that no student misses an opportunity to learn (Shephard-Carey, 2019). Specific skill and form-based activities where TL steps can be incorporated needs to be designed and shared with other colleagues.

In the context of Indian society, multilingual educational systems exist. What is necessary. Mohanty (2006) argues is to assess the extent to which the existing educational systems really support multilingualism. Multilingual education in India must be seen as a broad holistic framework of education that is necessary for the sake of preserving the existing rich multilingual character of the society and for promoting multilingualism for all. It must not be viewed simply as a process of bringing the minority and tribal linguistic groups into the mainstream, nor as a process of enriching the majority alone but rather one that starts with development of mother language proficiency which forms the basis for development of proficiency in all other languages with functional significance for specific groups. Unfortunately, the question of English-medium schooling is pitted against mother-

tongue-medium education creating an unnecessary duality and tension that ignores the possibility of bridging the language gap in the existing multilingual ethos of the Indian society.

3.4. Bangladesh

3.4.1. Context

Though on a surface level, Bangladesh seems like a monolingual nation, it has a total 41 living languages (Simons & Fennig 2018). Bangladesh gaining its independence from Britain, and later on from Pakistan, has led to high attachment to its native language, Bangla. As a result, Bangla has become closely tied to Bangladeshi identity, with English for the privileged (Murray, 2020). Bangla was inscribed as the sole national language in the nation's constitution, with other indigenous languages largely ignored (Hossain & Tollefson, 2007).

The medium of instruction in state-provided basic education is Bangla. Nevertheless, as in the colonial period, a small number of students attend private English medium schools, some of which enjoy elite status and some of which are less strong. This created a four-tier schooling system, consisting of top down of the elite English-medium schools, less elite English medium schools, public sector Bangla medium schools, and the Madrasah (Islamic school). The great majority of students attend Bangla medium schools offered by the government and private sector, where all courses are taught in Bangla except for English and the Religious Studies course, which is taught in a mix of Bangla and Arabic (Rumnaz Imam, 2005). English is taught as a compulsory course in primary, secondary and

higher secondary levels. At the undergraduate level English is included as a compulsory course for the non-English major students studying in both public and private universities. In the public universities, the mode of instruction is English for these courses, but for other courses there is no specific instruction from the university authority regarding classroom language usage. On the other hand, in private universities the medium of instruction is English which is an obligatory rule for the teachers even taking other courses. But sometimes, even in the private university classroom discourse we find mother tongue interference as a common fact (Chowdhury, 2012). According to Chowdhury and Kabir (2014), until the National Education Policy (Ministry of Education, 2010), Bangladesh never had any planned and consistent English language policy at all.

Though language policies were never consistent or strict in Bangladesh as in other contexts, teachers' attitudes seem to be more on the tolerant side rather than on the encouraging or advocating side towards including L1 through practices such as TL (e.g., Chowdhury, 2012). Moreover, teachers seem to experience bittersweet emotions when students succeed in English. "Every time our students are successful in getting that TOEFL score which means that they can study at a US college, we celebrate this step towards personal liberation. And at exactly the same time, we have put another little brick in the wall which holds back all those other people who would have wanted to be a doctor, an architect … in their own country, but whose aspirations will be blighted because they failed to learn enough English" (Edge, 1996, p.16).

In light of this context, this review seeks to ask the following questions:

1. What reasons make teachers and students TL in the English classroom in Bangladesh?

2. What are the attitudes of teachers and students towards TL in this context?
3. How are education policies actually implemented in practice?

3.4.2. Reviewed empirical studies

This review seeks to answer these questions through reviewing three studies. Chowdhury (2012) investigated reasons for teachers' TL and the attitude of English teachers in university classes. Islam and Ahsan (2011) studied the mother tongue preference in the EFL classes from the perspective of the students as well as the teachers at the secondary level. Lastly, Farooqui's (2014) study answered the third question by highlighting a gap between policy imperatives and classroom realities.

Despite teachers' awareness of the functions of TL, their attitudes do not necessarily align with that. To elaborate on that, the first study to be reviewed was conducted by Chowdhury (2012). It aimed to focus on the reasons for teachers' TL and the attitude of the teachers and students towards classroom TL. The study took place in three prominent universities: Stamford University Bangladesh, United International University, and Dhaka University. A survey was conducted for data collection where two different sets of questionnaires were used for teachers and students. 20 English language teachers and 37 undergrad students from different universities participated in the survey. The findings of the survey identified the reasons for teachers' TL as: ease of communication, explanation, maintaining discipline in the classroom, and translation of unknown terms. On the other hand, although many teachers considered that they should not switch languages in the classroom, they admitted to its functions.

Two groups of participants took part in the survey. The teachers of English language courses in different public and private universities in Bangladesh, were in one group. The second group consisted of the tertiary level students studying in different universities. The students were both English-major and non-English majors. This review focuses on the teachers' responses, as the study makes no distinction between English major and non-English major students. The questionnaire for teachers aimed to idenitfy reasons for TL. It also provided open-ended questions in order to investigate their attitudes.

Teachers' questionnaires revealed the common reasons behind TL in the English classroom. 75% of teachers stated that mainting decipline especially in large classrooms was a big reason for their TL, as their classes usually have numbers between 30 and 65 students. 85% of teachers in the study agreed that TL helps students with understanding difficult and complicated topics. 75% agreed that TL can build solidarity and intimate relations with students. Open-ended questions revealed further functions such as explaining grammar and vocabulary, and rapport building. Additionally, it was reported that TL was used habitually, since it is an everyday phenomenon.

Regarding TL practices and attitudes, 65% of teachers stated that their students initiate TL not them. 55% teachers admitted of feeling negatively towards TL, justifying their answer by saying that TL interferes and hinders students' language learning. They added that frequent TL benefits no one because if the students were allowed to do it, they would get used to it and would grow the habit of TL whenever they spoke.

Undoubtfully, functions of TL are present in Bangladeshi EFL classrooms as revealed in the second reviewed study. The study investigated the mother tongue preference in the EFL classes from the perspective of the students as well as the teachers at the

secondary level education in Bangladesh (Islam & Ahsan, 2011). The study was conducted on 80 students and 16 teachers from four secondary schools during the period between October 2008 and December 2008. Data were collected through prepared questionnaires with teachers and students, direct interviews with the teachers and students. The study disclosed that the limited and considerate use of the learner's mother tongue by the learner as well as the teacher would significantly help the learner linguistically, extra-linguistically, and psychologically by facilitating the learning process.

All the respondents were native users of Bangla. They have already gone through nine years of English study as a second/foreign language since they were admitted in grade one. Apart from English, the students have to study nine or ten (including the optional subject) other subjects all of which are taught solely in Bangla medium. The subjects included in this study were selected from four secondary schools, two urban and two rural. The two rural schools were located at Ishurdi in Pabna district while the urban ones were at Savar in Dhaka district.

Students' questionnaires revealed the following findings: 66% believed Bangla should be used in the English classroom, 93% believed they actually need Bangla in the learning of English, 49% thought they would 'moderately' face problems if classes were to be English-only while 17% thought they would 'always' face problems if this were to happen, and 48% stated experiencing anxiety/nervousness in a moderate form when asked to speak in English in the class. Additionally, to illustrate the functions students believed L1 serves in the classroom, the following findings are highlighted: 92.5% believed L1 helps with explaining difficult concepts and unknown contexts, 87.5% stated using L1 to define new and difficult words, phrases and expressions, 86.25% found L1 helpful with explaining

complex grammar rules, and 32.5% thought L1 is needed when giving instruction. Data demonstrated that 78.75% of the respondents thought that the use of Bangla made them feel comfortable.

Teachers' questionnaire presented the following: 56.25 % admitted to using Bangla in the English classroom, 87.5% believed it is needed, and 62.5% liked students to use L1 in the English classroom. When asked if an EFL class were conducted fully in English, would create any problems: 0% said 'never', 37.5% said 'moderately', and 37.5% found it 'frequently' problematic. When asked about when the functions that the use Bangla in the English classes serves, the top two reasons were: 1) defining new and difficult words, phrases and expressions, and 2) explaining complex grammar rules with 81% each. Other reasons included, explaining difficult concepts and unknown contexts (75%) and giving instructions (56%).

Interviews with both teachers and students revealed that the respondents thought the use of Bangla helped the learners to, 1) know, understand and learn new and complicated words, phrases, expressions, grammar rules, pronunciations, etc., 2) disclose their problems and get the problems solved, 3) understand where to speak what, when to speak what, where to speak how, when to speak how, and so on, and 4) reduce their shyness and feel comfortable.

Imposed English-only policies are not always successful, and they do not guarantee the ban of L1 in the English classroom. The third reported study is a case study which explored how teachers implement a top-down English-only policy in the English classroom (Farooqui, 2014). It focused on teachers' use of the language of instruction and showed that the gap between policy imperatives and classroom realities. Data were collected through

classroom observation and a series of semi-structured interviews (one before the classroom observation and one after) with secondary English language teachers in schools in rural and urban areas. Data revealed that various contextual factors interact with teachers' use of English as the language of instruction as has been suggested in the textbook and the teachers' guide. The purpose of the classroom observation was to understand what language(s) teachers use while teaching. Description of each activity was recorded on the observation sheet. The pre-observation interviews were taken to gain some general understanding of teachers' teaching and learning experiences. The questions of post-observation interviews were constructed on the basis of what the author had observed. The interview helped deepen the author's understanding of the observed patterns in the teachers' English language use in class.

The school followed a curriculum of English language teaching which was first introduced in the country as part of the English Language Teaching Improvement Project (ELTIP) in 1998. This project set out to bring changes in textbook examination and in-service teacher training. This curriculum aimed at relocating the teaching and learning of English from a traditional grammar-based approach to a function-based communicative approach. The textbook which has been published as part of this new curriculum in Bangladesh was the primary instructional resource utilized by teachers and students in language classrooms. A teachers' guide has also been published with the text to guide teachers in teaching. It was intended that teachers would follow the guide while teaching the text. There was no option to use native language in any activity. In-service training has also been arranged for the teachers to facilitate better use of the new textbook effectively. It

stressed the need for students to learn to communicate in English rather than to just master the structure of the language.

From classroom observations, the following example of teachers' use of L1 was illustrated. After reading a passage from the textbook, teachers translated it into Bangla and whenever they asked students any questions in English, they immediately translated that passage into Bangla. The observation of a class by Amrin, a teacher in the urban area, who was teaching a lesson from the textbook, found her teaching in English all the time but when she asked the students to do some activities from the main passage, none of the students understood. The teacher had to translate that into Bangla and only then could the students understand her instructions. Teachers mentioned two reasons for using Bangla in the classroom – the language proficiency of the students and the language proficiency of the teachers themselves. Regarding the first point, one teacher stated:

> According to the new textbook, we are supposed to teach in English in classroom. ELTIP training emphasized this point. After receiving the training, I started trying to take classes in English, but I found that students could not understand me if I spoke in English. Gradually, I left the habit of teaching in English. If students cannot understand English, what is the point of teaching in English? (Farooqui, 2014, p. 448)

Regarding the second point, teachers' own inability to speak in English worked as a hindrance to using English as a medium of instruction. This is especially true in rural areas. Kabir, who had been teaching in a school in rural Comilla for 18 years said:

> In this school, you cannot expect an English teacher who completed Bachelors with major in English. People with good academic background do not take teaching as a profession because teachers do not get good salary. These people opt for professions other than teaching. (Farooqui, 2014, p. 450)

Shamim, another teacher, said that often an English teacher was a graduate in a different subject and found it difficult to instruct students in English. He added that he did his undergraduate degree in Political Science and he never had to speak English in the class and so as an English teacher he found it difficult to speak English fluently to his students.

Although the new curriculum emphasized the use of English as the language of instruction, observation notes revealed that teachers did not always use English in practice in the classroom. Interview data showed that the teachers' and students' low proficiency created barriers in using English in classrooms, a problem which originated from a range of socio-economic and political-administrative factors.

3.4.3. Recommendations

Islam and Ahsan (2011), who revealed that the limited and considerate use of the learner's L1 facilitated the learning of English, recommend not to blindly think about conducting English classes in the schools or other institution fully in English. It is the individual teacher who is to decide how much Bangla they should use in the classroom and/or how much they should allow their students to use it. It deserves consideration that the second/foreign language teacher who has a good command of the learner's mother tongue might be more helpful for the learner and a greater facilitator of the learning and teaching processes than the one who lacks command of the learner's mother tongue (for

example, a native speaker of the second/foreign language). The authors call for further studies that can help foreign language teaching researchers have a more authentic and substantial picture of the real situation and demand for the learner's L1 in the EFL classes.

Chowdhury (2012), who identified multiple reasons for teachers' TL, reminds teachers that English is the medium of instruction and TL should be kept to an effective minimum and warns against "abusing" TL to the point where it becomes the norm rather than the exception. As students' poor level of understanding in English triggers the initiation of TL, students' proficiency needs to be increased at their preliminary level, i.e., at the school and college level. Good knowledge and sound basis of English if achieved on the part of the students at the primary and secondary level will ultimately make the teachers' TL target oriented and occasional at the tertiary level. However, this recommendation does not take into account the vast difference of access to quality education among different social classes.

Farooqui (2014), who explored how teachers implement a top-down English-only policy in an English classroom, emphasizes that pedagogical changes cannot be made ignoring the context within which they are to be implemented. Despite the government's efforts in arranging teacher training to teach the new curriculum effectively, there is at present a conspicuous disjunction between curriculum rhetoric and pedagogical reality in Bangladesh, rendering the teaching approach inappropriate or ineffective. Farooqui adds that initiatives need to be taken in order to improve this teaching-learning situation. The learner variables and the instructional variables should be considered to make a decision on adopting appropriate method. Farooqui state that the success of English language teaching will depend on the government's commitment to work on contextual constraints and

finding ways to overcome them as well as the international sponsors' commitment in responding to academic research in the field. They conclude with a call to the government of Bangladesh to take proper steps to eradicate the problems mentioned and make the teaching material more effective to improve the educational situation of the country.

Murray (2020) recommends that it is imperative that the field of English language teaching challenges the rhetoric of English as the key to advancement and rather to work to ensure social justice in the field, through teachers, teacher educators, and teacher education programs whose practices explore the sociocultural and political contexts of English language education.

Additionally, an important unacknowledged issue in the above recommendations is the non-acknowledgement of minority languages in educational policy.

3.5. Indonesia

3.5.1. Context

Indonesia consists of a significant number of distinct ethnic groups, speaking hundreds of languages (Paauw, 2009; Renandya, 2000). The latest statistics have indicated that there are now over 700 living languages in the archipelago (Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014). The official language in Indonesia is Bahasa Indonesia which was formalized in article 36 of the 1945 Constitution (Simanjuntak, 2009). Bahasa Indonesia was declared the national language as a sense of nationalism grew and Indonesians began looking to the future and an end to more than three centuries of Dutch colonial rule under the rationale of 'one land, one nation, and one language' (Paauw, 2009)

As the official language, Bahasa Indonesia functions as the social medium of instruction in educational institutions (Abdul Hamied & Bachrudin, 2019). English is a compulsory subject in the secondary curriculum and, although it is not compulsory in primary schools, nearly all primary schools offer English instruction, not to mention the proliferation of private English courses (Lamb & Coleman, 2008; Zein, 2013). However, the promotion of English in primary schools has actually worsened multilingualism in Indonesia as heritage languages have no place in the primary curriculum (Zein S. , 2019).

Accroding to Sandra (2018), in Indonesia, translation takes part in the English teaching and learning activity in the class since the portion of reading and writing activities is quite dominating due to students' preparation of examination. Generally speaking, although TL practices are not systematically utilized in EFL classrooms in Indonesia, most teachers seem to display awareness of its role in facilitating the learning of English for Indonesian learners (e.g., Suganda et al., 2018). However, most teachers display TL practices which focuses more on utilizing the national Indonesian language more than other Indigenous languages (e.g., Rasman, 2018).

In light of this context, this review seeks to ask the following questions:

1. What are the functions of TL in Indonesian EFL classrooms?
2. How do teachers react to and/or employ indigenous languages that are not the national language?
3. What is the general perception among both teachers and learners of TL practices in the EFL classroom?

3.5.2. Reviewed empirical studies

To address these questions, three studies were reviewed in the context of EFL in Indonesia. Suganda, et al. (2018) examined the functions of TL alongside studying teachers and learners' perception of L1 in the EFL classroom. Rasman (2018) invistegated learner-learner TL interactions highlighting their functions in addition to learners' attitudes towards the different languages they posses. Lastly, Khairunnisa and Lukmana (2020) highlight teachers' attitudes in depth.

For the most part, TL is a common practice in Indonesian EFL classrooms. Exemplifying that is the first reviewed study which proposed to investigate teachers' use of TL in the context of learning English as one of the compulsory subjects in one of the universities in Indonesia. Additionally, it aimed to identify and evaluate teachers and students' attitudes towards the patterns, function, and influence of TL used in the EFL classroom. (Suganda et al., 2018). Data were collected from classroom observation, interview, and questionnaire. The results indicated that the switching between English and Indonesian in the EFL classrooms was very natural since it also became a tool to show the cultural, social, and communicative aspects of each language despite the amount of its use which varied greatly from teacher to teacher due to their students' English competence.

The participants in this study were 42 university students from one faculty (F1) and their five-year-teaching-experienced teacher (T1) and 31 students of another faculty (F2) and their six-year-teaching-experienced teacher (T2). The students were non-English majoring taking English subject in their faculties. The two teachers (T1 and T2) teaching in the class were observed and recorded for approximately 200 minutes. A semi-structured interview was held with the two teachers to identify their perception on the use of TL as the

medium of instruction in their classes, their students' attitude, and their performance in relation to their use of TL, and the reasons why they practice TL. In addition, a questionnaire for 73 university students was the additional data to find out about the students' perception in relation to their teachers' use of TL in the classroom context.

The results of the transcripts showed that the teacher frequently switched between English and Indonesian (even Palembangnese, the L1 of most students) in the classroom. In the process of TL, the teacher used complete English utterances, but she also inserted some Indonesian words into her English sentences. In certain cases, she used mostly Indonesian utterances, but she also inserted some English words into her Indonesian sentences. The observation revealed that the teachers used L1 for an average of 40% of class time. The functions of TL in this study were as follows: 1) the topic switch function, which was done in relation to the focus of explaining grammar content during the class, 2) the repetitive function, which was mostly done for clarifying and emphasizing T1 and T2's utterances, explanation, and instruction, and finally, 3) the affective function which was made to develop or maintain solidarity or friendship between T1 and T2 with their students, to show understanding of students' reaction or problems, and to joke or to warn the students. Moreover, the interviews with the teachers revealed the high value of the affective functions of TL. From their observation of the students' reaction, they claimed that if they practiced TL, their students were happier and more enthusiastic rather than feeling confused and under pressure during the teaching and learning. This resulted in students having better comprehension in understanding their explanation during the classroom discourse. In addition, the data from the interview revealed that the teachers' attitudes appeared to influence their decisions to translanguage. The teacher who felt the need to use

less L1 due to her students' English competence, spoke far more English than the other teacher. T1 teaching in F1 used more English because she claimed that her students' English competence was an average level and she believed her students still understood when she exposed them to more English. On the other side, T2 teaching in F2 claimed that her students' English competence was below average, therefore, she used more Indonesian and TL for topic switch in order to teach grammar more effectively and efficiently.

Looking at the students, the results of the questionnaire show that most students had a positive attitude towards their teachers' use of TL. 33.75% students agreed and 62.75% students strongly agreed with the statement "switching between English and Indonesian in teaching is one of the effective learning strategies." In terms of the function, 51.21% students strongly agreed and 48.79% students agreed that their teachers switch between English and Indonesian in explaining the materials; 69.01% students strongly agreed with their teachers' use of TL during the teaching and learning process for making them understand the material/lesson

In this study, it was found that both teacher and learners have positive attitude toward the use of TL in their EFL classroom since it contributes to the smooth flow of the classroom interaction.

To look deeper into TL practices among languages other than English and the national language, a study by Rasman (2018) investigated TL in an EFL classroom in Indonesia where learners used their full repertoire (English, Indonesian, Javanese) to negotiate meaning in learner-learner interactions. Specifically, this research attempted to find out both the effectiveness and the challenges of applying TL to promote learning. The data were collected from the video-recordings of naturally occurring interactions among

junior high school students (14-15 years old) in an EFL classroom in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The findings showed that TL could help learners develop their multilingual competencies (including the English language). However, the different socio-politically constructed status of English, Indonesian, and Javanese was still prevalent among students and thus, it inhibited them from maximizing their full repertoire when learning English.

In the classroom, students were divided by the teacher into several groups of four to discuss the previous English national exam test for the preparation of the upcoming national exam. The teacher did not give any instruction on the languages that should be used in the interactions.

In this perspective, TL is seen as scaffolding, using L1 to help learners' study of L2. The extracts in this section are parts of conversations among four learners namely Annisa (An), Fatima (Fa), Zulaikha (Zu), and Zahra (Za). The following extract is a conversation in the group discussion activities. They were discussing a multiple-choice question about the main topic of the text. One student chose an answer and said it in Indonesian. However, it could be seen that they negotiated the meaning of the word 'started' by using their full repertoire at their disposal.

> An: *Trus yang ini*, <and then, this one> the text generally tells about... *apa yo? Apa ini?* <what is it? What is it?>
> An: *Nganu. Surat tersebut menggambarkan pengalaman yang diawali penulis*. <The letter tells experiences started by the writer>
> Za: **[dialami::** <experienced>
> Fa: **[dialami::** <experienced>
> Zu: **[dialami::** <experienced>
> An: Oh: ((laugh)) *dialami* <experienced> ((laugh)) *Nglawak*. <I'm joking>

This interaction indicates that these Zahra, Fatima, and Zulaikha tried to scaffold Annisa who said ‘*diawali*’ (started) rather than ‘*dialami*’, the actual meaning of the word ‘experienced’. In line (7), Annisa accepted this correction by laughing and realizing at her own mistakes. This would hardly be possible if they were not TL using their full repertoire of English, Javanese, and Indonesian. It would also be impossible to achieve the task if the classroom forbade the use of languages other than English, a belief commonly upheld by some EFL teachers in Indonesia.

Another interaction highlights the status of Javanese and the learners’ perception of it. It shows how the use of Javanese language was constructed as less desirable language evidenced by the laughter it created in the conversation. In this extract, they were discussing a question, but it seems that one of them looked tired and uninterested. Thus, one of them spoke in Javanese asking her not to sleep. However, this resulted in laughter in the conversation.

> An: *Nah, kita garap ini sekarang*. <Now we answer this question>
> Fa: *Ojo turu* <don’t sleep>
> An: *Ojo turu* ((laugh)) *Ojo turu* ((laugh)) <don’t sleep> (2.0) Kartika, *tak kiro adikke* <Kartika, I thought she is the sister>

The word *‘ojo turu’* which means ‘don’t sleep’, was uttered by Fatima first and repeated twice by Annisa in the last line. This Javanese sentence is not funny in itself. Interestingly, they constructed it as funny words in that particular educational context. It indicates that they perceived that the use of Javanese language was inappropriate in this context. The way

they constructed the function of the Javanese language was apparently learnt from the context where they did the TL. The status of the Javanese language as the local language that could only be practiced at home might be rooted in the history of Indonesian language as the official language which resulted in the perception of Indigenous languages as undesirable. English language, on the other hand, is viewed as the desirable language with the higher status. It shows from an interaction where the students made a joke about the typical Javanese accent in pronouncing English words. For them, there is a particular standard of pronunciation and accent that should be followed by learners. The belief that English should be pronounced in a particular way indicates how these students to some extent still strive for monolingualism, which is probably a reflection of their monolingual bias. They still perceive that the native speakers of English are homogenous. This socio-political construction of language status affects the way the learners constructed the TL space. Even though in this classroom the teacher let them speak any languages to accomplish the task, the learners were still hesitant to use Javanese and embarrassed when their accent influenced their pronunciation of English words. Therefore, it could be inferred that no matter how good the TL space the teacher built, the language ideology of the country, particularly the language status, could still be traced in the way the learners interacted with their peers because it is likely that the ideology has been quite firmly embedded in them.

Though TL is not an official teaching strategy in Indonesia, Indonesian EFL teachers were found to be flexibly employing it in their classrooms. Third reviewed study aimed to investigate the attitudes towards TL in EFL classrooms by 50 English language teachers (Khairunnisa & Lukmana, 2020). The study employed quantitative descriptive. A

survey was administered to the teachers to gauge information regarding the importance of TL use and the frequency with which these teachers felt it was practiced in the classroom. The survey was collected through a questionnaire that included multiple-choice and Likert scale questions. The findings revealed that Indonesian EFL teachers showed positive attitude towards the use of TL in their classrooms. Most of them considered the incorporation of Indonesian language and local language beneficial in EFL classrooms. It was also discovered that Indonesian EFL teachers were flexibly using TL to facilitate students' learning.

This study employed a descriptive quantitative approach through survey. In line with this, there were 50 EFL teachers employed in this study who worked in different elementary schools in Bandung, Indonesia and filled the questionnaire. The participants consisted of 41 females and 9 males. 75.6 % (38 teachers) of the participants had working experience less than five years while 24.4% (12 teachers) of them had working experience more than five years.

The questionnaire was designed to reflect teachers' attitudes in their teaching practices which covered their language choice and TL use in EFL classrooms. The results and discussion of this topic are presented below. To figure out the primary language of instruction in Indonesian EFL classrooms, the findings exposed that most participants (57.8%, 30 teachers) chose English and Indonesian language to be employed in the classroom. Then, 12 teachers (24.4%) selected English, Indonesian and local language to be used in the classroom. 17.8% (8 teachers) preferred to teach English-only in their English classrooms. Most of the teachers (93%, 46 teachers) agreed that they did translation in their classroom. The language that was used primarily Indonesian by 84%. Therefore, as a

strategy for language learning, Indonesian EFL teachers acknowledged that translation activities can assist the students to accommodate their learning and to develop their communicative competence. When asked what language the teachers typically respond with when the student asked them in their mother tongue, half of the participants (56%, 28 teachers) answered English. The rest of the participants answered in students' mother tongue again (44%, 22 teachers). Those who chose to respond it in English are assumed to maximize the use of English in the classroom as desired. Meanwhile, the teachers who selected to respond in students' mother tongue is argued to perceive the phenomenon as a natural reference point for learners; thus, it will be appropriate to use students' mother tongue to explain the activities. In line with this, when the teachers asked a question in the target language, mainly the teachers expected the students to answer in target language. Only five teachers (11%) evaluate response in the mother tongue of the students. The findings seem interesting since it is contradictory to what the teachers stated earlier.

Regarding teachers' usage of TL, the questionnaire elicited teachers' perception of the use of Indonesian and vernacular language in English classroom. The dominance of the participants (78%, 39 teachers) believed that the incorporation of Indonesian language and local language are beneficial in the English language classroom in foreign language context. To highlight: majority (more than 50% each) agreed that they use Indonesian language to explain concepts, describe vocabulary, give directions, manage the classroom, and build bonds with the students. Teachers tended to use the Indonesian language much more than local languages. Highest percentage was 48% which was used for building bonds with the students. the highest percentage is on the item to help lower proficiency students in

both languages by 90% for Indonesian and 44% for vernacular language. This implies that TL could scaffold lower proficiency students to learn English.

The present study showed that teachers held positive attitudes towards TL in their English classroom which can be seen from the language choice and the utilization of TL. The majority of the teachers were aware of the benefits offered by TL which can be seen from the language choice.

3.5.3. Recommendations

Most studies conducted in Indonesian EFL classrooms that explore TL and TL recommend further studies to be conducted before recommendations can be made.

Suganda et al. (2018), whose study results indicated that the switching between English and Indonesian in the EFL classrooms was very natural, recommends future researchers to investigate the use of TL in promoting students' competence. They emphasize that TL can be particularly supportive in some situations; however, it must be part of an intentional and balanced approach in which teachers follow a clear plan for when they use each language and are clear about the specific goals they seek to accomplish. However, this recommendation does not shed light on languages other than the national language.

Rasman (2018), who showed that the learners' agency to shape the boundaries of TL space is central in influencing the way they drew on their language repertoire, encourages teachers to attempt building students' awareness of the danger of their bias against minority languages instead of only focusing on the establishment of the TL space.

This is mainly because once the students are aware of their bias, they could freely enlarge their boundaries of TL space. Rasman acknowledges that challenging this ideology is not an easy task. Moreover, TL concept itself might to some extent also be ideological in nature (Canagarajah, 2011; Lewis, et al., 2012). Thus, while adjusting the power relationship and identity between teacher and students is important (Creese & Blackledge, 2015), this ideological struggle should also be backed up by the reform of language policy at the governmental setting (Wiley & García, 2016). They conclude by guiding future research not to only answer the question of *to translanguage or not to translanguage?,* but more importantly *how to translanguage?*

Khairunnisa and Lukmana (2020), who revealed that Indonesian EFL teachers showed positive attitude towards the use of TL in their classrooms, suggest future researchers who are interested in this topic to investigate how TL is practiced in EFL classrooms further. Moreover, since their research focused on the teachers, future studies must attempt to discover how TL is perceived and employed by the students. Finally, they suggest future research to investigate the challenges of TL faced by the teachers in EFL classrooms.

Siddiq et al. (2020) encourages English teachers to think more critically about the phenomenon of TL in teaching and learning context. They add that teachers themselves should improve the research about code-switching and code mixing in educational progress.

3.6. Colombia

3.6.1. Context

Colombia is a linguistically diverse country with around 69 separate indigenous languages including Amerindian languages, two native Creoles, Colombian Sign Language and Romani (de Mejía, 2017) in addition to speakers of Portuguese in border areas (de Mejía, 2017). Despite its linguistic diversity, Spanish, is spoken by the majority of the population as a first language and continues to be the country's official language and is used in government and education (de Mejía, 2017). Although Indigenous languages were awarded as co-official languages in the National Constitution of 1991, this acknowledgement is only applicable in the territories in which these Indigenous languages are spoken (de Mejía, 2017). It is worth noting that English has official status in some parts of Colombia such as the San Andrés, Providencia and Santa Catalina Islands.

In 2004, the Colombian Ministry of Education (MEN) created The National Bilingual Program, aimed at offering all school students the possibility of reaching a B1 level of proficiency in English according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages by the end of their studies (de Mejía, 2017). The declared objective was: 'to have citizens who are capable of communicating in English, in order to be able to insert the country within processes of universal communication, within the global economy and cultural openness, through [the adopting of] internationally comparable standards' (MEN 2006, 6). The emphasis on English is clear in this bilingual binary. In spite of its title, The National Bilingual Program only refers to one type of bilingualism:

English-Spanish, and does not take into account the many other languages of the country (de Mejía, 2017).

In Colombian EFL classrooms, the standard practice remains one of banning the use of languages other than English, including Indigenous languages (Miranda-Nieves, 2018; Peláez & Usma, 2017), and many teachers and policymakers still believe that in order to learn English effectively, students must use English exclusively (Ortega, 2019). Most teacher education programs in Colombia continue to advocate for communicative language teaching approaches that favor English-only policies, given that this is what is expected by government and institutional authorities. This negatively affects marginalized communities in the country (e.g., Usma, et al., 2018).

In light of this context, this review seeks to explore the following questions:

1. What translingual practice do Colombian teachers employ in the absence of a multilingual policy?
2. What are the teachers and learners' perception of using L1 in the EFL classroom?
3. What functions do L1s serve in the EFL classroom in Colombia?

3.6.2. Reviewed empirical studies

In order to address these questions, three studies were reviewed in the Colombian context. Ortega (2018) exploresd how one teacher drew on her students' linguistic and cultural repertoires to facilitate English learning. Cruz Arcila (2018) highlighted the intuitively practiced TL strategies in the English classroom. Lastly, Sampson (2012), shed

light on the functions of TL in the classroom while providing important notes on the possible limitations.

Drawing on learners' linguistic and cultural repertoire is a valuable teaching resource. The first reviewed study is a case study by Ortega (2018) which used a classroom experience to exemplify ways in which students learn English as a foreign language in Colombia and how the teacher uses trans[cultura]linguación. This is a process of making meaning during English-learning tasks while comparing specific linguistic variations as students learn about both their own culture and other people's cultures. Borrowing from TL, the author described how one teacher attempted to use a social-justice approach to teaching English by valuing her students' linguistic and cultural repertoires through 1) discussing issues related to problematic situations in the school and 2) allowing students to use their linguistic repertoires to make meaning as they discussed these issues.

Data was collected through classroom observation by the author, who also acted as a critical friend to the teacher where their role where was to understand the teacher's concerns with regard to her class. The study took place in a nineth-grade EFL classroom in a high school in the south of Bogota, Colombia. The teacher, Laura, taught English for around three hours a week, her students were in level A1 of the Common European Framework of Reference scale. They were speakers of different variations of Spanish. Laura also spoke Spanish and had stated that she would usually use strategies such as translation in her English class. Because the students seemed to struggle with English, she continually asked herself how her class can be more engaging, and meaningful. Moreover, most of the students have experienced violence at home, in school, and on the street. Additionally, they did not have much exposure to English outside the school, thus making

Laura's teaching job more demanding. Because of these challenges, Laura expressed that her personal goal was to use her class as a space to foster a welcoming environment for learning English, as well as using English language learning as an opportunity to empower her students to become agents of social change. The classroom experience is an example of how Laura used a dynamic TL pedagogy to draw on the knowledge of students' own culture and other internal cultures of Colombia to make connections between their Spanish language repertoire (which includes many variations) and English. In order to address these linguistic and social issues, Laura thought that it was a sound idea to discuss social problems through the lens of peace education. Laura and her students collaboratively developed a social justice-oriented project.

The teacher with collaboration with the students started working on a project regarding bullying the school in hopes of motivating the students through a project that closely tied to their school life. The final goal of this exercise was for students to present skits regarding the topic in English. While rehearsing the skits, one of the TL strategies displayed by the teacher was allowing students to use any variations of Spanish (L1) to interact with each other during English activities. Because of this, students not only became more aware of the different variations of their own Colombian Spanish from various regions of the country but were also able to make connections to the same phenomenon in English. In order to exemplify this, in one of the classes, Laura was discussing with the students how American English is different from that spoken in England, and she brought up an example from Colombian culture. The word *bolsa* (bag in Spanish) has different meanings in different regions of Colombia. Students were prompted to give examples of how they say the same word in the different cities from where they came. For example, for

one student from El Valle (a province in Colombia) *chuspa* is the word for bag, whereas for another student from Cundinamarca (another province) *talego* is the word they use. She encouraged her students to appreciate the different variations of the Spanish language in Colombia as they learned different variations of English. Giving respect to and understanding variations of Colombian Spanish allowed Laura's students to recognize that English is not the powerful utilitarian language it is made out to be, but just another language in which to communicate. Thus, this TL approach to language equips and empowers bilingual or multilingual speakers to challenge the monolingual dominant paradigm and to resist the tendency some researchers have to study languages as existing in isolated silos. Further, the teacher described how her students are not only empowered to use Spanish and other vernacular variations fearlessly in class but are also engaged and motivated to learn about other cultures and languages while learning English.

Although teacher training on TL can be a significant source of knowledge, it is equally important to acknowledge the translingual abilities teachers already possess. The second reviewed study explored different locally grounded English language teaching practices in rural Colombia (Cruz Arcila, 2018). Through the analysis of teachers' narratives (semi-structured interviews) and field observations, four examples of such practices are discussed. These examples highlighted how teachers intuitively tend to make the most of their expertise, the limited resources available, and the local lingua-cultural repertoires in an attempt to help students make sense of English. One of these strategies was TL, which is the practice this review will highlight. From the perspective of language teaching as a socially sensitive practice, findings suggest that teachers' own experiential

and situational knowledge constitutes a powerful platform from which valuable bottom-up practices are and can further be devised.

Ten teachers participated in this study. They were located in seven different schools. Teaching biographies, two semi-structured interviews, and field observations were the sources of data. Teaching biographies focused on teachers' professional backgrounds and how they came to work in rural schools. Interviews were conducted before and after field observations. This review will only focus on the interviews conducted after field observations as the ones before focused on teachers' work history and future plans. Additionally, teachers' biographies are not relevant in this light. The interviews conducted after the field observations focused on aspects drawn from the observations.

The study highlighted different effective teaching strategies employed by the teachers. One of which was teachers' inclusion of TL practices in the EFL classroom. To illustrate further, Hilda, one of the teachers in the study intuitively endorsed the use of TL in her lessons as a sort of cultural bridge between students' cultural background and new forms of representations of such backgrounds (i.e., English). Particularly, she referred to the idea that words with cultural loads such as "*cuy*" (guinea pig, an iconic gastronomic product of the region) "*cedazo*," (handmade strainer), "*hornilla*" (a wood burner, usually in the form of a hole with a metal support on the top) or colloquial expressions such as "*qué chimba*" (which, depending on the context, can be used to express either joy, irony, or disagreement) can make the use of English more meaningful as students see there is room for, as Hilda says, what is "theirs". The interview with Hilda further highlights her TL practices. The researcher asked if she had identified any particularities of teaching English in rural zones. Hilda responded:

> . . . maybe the knowledge they have of what is out of the rural context . . . there are expressions that astonish students, as they do not really know the outside context, I mean they are framed within their own context. Then, I try to locate myself in their context, what they have, for example, domestic animals, nature, what they have there, and cultural aspects. So, they come and ask me "teacher, how do you say *cedazo*?" so they ask me how to say terms that are from that region . . . the *cuy* for example . . . but [I say to them] "*cuy* is *cuy*" it is a name, but it does not have to change because it is not going to be recognized anywhere else (p.71).

She added, "I think there is a clash with regards to certain terms, but the truth is that I apply what they have. So, from what they have . . .I make them take some terms they use, or their own expressions normally used when they are upset. For example, in a dialogue they say . . . the term "*qué chimba!*" so, we also use that term within English, I mean, we use what is theirs… they are their expressions and their words. Not all, all pure English." (p.71). When asked on how this strategy has worked for her, Hilda responded:

> . . . it has worked well because they like it, they have fun, I mean it is a way in which students' interest in another language can be triggered. The idea is not to make them get away from what is theirs, the idea is that little by little they start absorbing the English language. I mean, I think that the mix of the two is ideal because through half-joking learning English becomes more interesting and fun." (p. 71).

It is clear that Hilda understood the value of using resources from a bilingual repertoire as an effective pedagogic strategy. She promoted the mix of what is theirs (their local cultural expressions in Spanish) with what is new (English) in order to trigger their appreciation of English or at least to familiarize them with L2.

The flexible approach Hilda took to teach English was also evident in classroom observations. In one of the lessons, Hilda started by showing students a sketch of a town in construction. In Spanish she invited her students to imagine it as an ideal place to live in ten years' time. She instructed them to work in pairs and come up with a description of this ideal place. After that, drawing on students' descriptions in Spanish, Hilda started to explain how to express those ideas in English, and explained the use of the auxiliary verb *will/won't* with examples: "the town won't have rubbish" with its translation "*no habrá basura en el pueblo*". Following the examples, students started to express their own ideas but this time in English. While they attempted to do so, the use of Spanish to negotiate meanings among the groups was not only evident but also welcomed by the teacher. In this observation it was evident that Hilda uses an initial discussion in L1 as a platform to give ideas to students about what to write in English later on with a greater understanding of what they are doing.

Elaborating further on TL functions in Colombian EFL classrooms, Samson's study described the functions of TL in EFL classes at a Colombian language school (2012). The study was undertaken to decide whether the official 'English-only' policy in place in this and other classrooms is pedagogically justified. The results suggest that TL may not necessarily be connected to ability level and serves multiple communicative and learning purposes. This indicates not only that total proscription of L1 is ill-advised, but that the mother tongue can be usefully exploited for learning, like when performing contrastive analysis, for example. However, factors including learners' expectations, the positive motivational effects of learning L2 strategies for dealing with communication breakdowns, the importance of exposure to and practice of the target code, and the need to prepare

learners for L2-only contexts call for a common-sense approach where exploitation of L1 is counterbalanced with efforts to teach communicative functions in L2, and some strategies are suggested for achieving this.

Two monolingual groups of Spanish-speaking adult learners studying general English at a private language school in Colombia were recorded. One was an upper-intermediate (CEF B2) group of six learners and the other a pre-intermediate (CEF A2) group of four learners. Two different levels were recorded to investigate whether a link exists between proficiency level and number of code-switches. The groups were receiving two hours of class per day from native-speaking teachers, both of whom also spoke the learners' L1. Two lessons were observed at each level. Within each lesson, five four-minute excerpts were recorded using an MP3 recorder. The lesson phases to be recorded were preselected to ensure that the same task types were observed at each level and that a variety of task types, and therefore a representative sample of learner output, was recorded. Learners were also asked to participate in a post-lesson group interview where they were asked if, in their opinion, L1 serves useful purposes in their English class, and if so, what these purposes might be.

Recorded classroom observations highlighted the functions of TL. It is noteworthy that the total number of switches recorded at each level is the same (18), suggesting that no relationship exists between the proficiency level of the learners observed and the number of switches: switching appears to derive from communicative objectives common at all levels, rather than linguistic deficit. The functions that were found in this study are: 1) equivalence, 2) metalanguage, 3) floor holding, 4) reiteration, 5) socialization, and 6) L2 avoidance. Firstly, equivalence which appears to be triggered by the absence of the lexical

item in the learners' interlanguage. This function accounts for over a third of all the switches recorded in the data. Secondly, metalanguage which takes place when learners perform tasks in English but hold discussions about the tasks and other procedural concerns are often articulated in L1. Thirdly, floor holding which is used by learners wishing to continue without pausing or being interrupted, and so a switch from L2 to L1 occurs because the item can be retrieved more quickly in L1. In this pre-intermediate example, the learner knew the L2 item 'booking', but retrieved the L1 equivalent more quickly and therefore used it to hold the floor: [T = Teacher, S = Student]

> T: Okay, in what situations would you use the telephone?
> S1: When you are not at the home.
> T: Good, what else?
> S2: Er, to make a *reservacio´n*, er booking?
> [reservation, booking]
> T: Good. . .

Fourthly, reiteration which occurs when L1 is used when messages have already been expressed in L2, yet are highlighted or clarified in L1, particularly in cases where they are perceived to have not been understood. Fifthly, socializing, as TL appears to develop a sense of group solidarity, often occurring in gossip and jokes. Lastly, L2 avoidance which takes place when a learner appears to have the linguistic resources to convey the message in L2, but instead chooses to do so in L1.

When asked if and how L1 serves useful purposes in their English class, interviews with the ten students revealed the following. Seven of the ten learners claimed that they thought L1 served a useful purpose in class, although none identified any functions beyond

lexical equivalence. One upper-intermediate learner recognized the usefulness of L1 for equivalence but also mentioned that his long-term learning goals needed consideration. These goals being 1) succeeding in their international exams, and 2) moving to England. The three learners who claimed they would prefer an English-only classroom all alluded to the positive motivational effects of being able to successfully communicate and overcome communicative breakdowns in L2. One learner spoke of her frustration in a previous learning context in which L1 had been used excessively: "[The teacher] was American but she obviously wanted to improve her Spanish, so we spoke lots of Spanish . . . it was great for her, but we wanted to speak in English" (p. 301). This would appear to be an example of in which L1 use ceases to be a communication or learning strategy.

3.6.3. Recommendations

Ortega (2018), who described how a teacher used a social-justice approach to teaching English by valuing her students' linguistic and cultural repertoires, encourages teachers to develop activities in which different variations of Spanish expressions from various Colombian regions are integrated within English language learning tasks. Ultimately, a more holistic curriculum which allows flexibility and fluidity in language teaching and learning, and which fosters flexible bilingual pedagogy, is encouraged. Ortega proposes three implications for a framework towards achieving a flexible and fluid holistic curriculum for English language teaching in Colombia and elsewhere: 1) equal education, 2) teacher education, and 3) language research. Additionally, Ortega advocates for a paradigm shift in teacher education programs and language research in which TL is adopted

as an approach to EFL learning in contexts where English is not the official language of instruction. This could be difficult to implement, however, when Indigenous languages are still neglected by the current policy.

Cruz Arcila (2018), who highlighted the creative practices English teachers displayed including TL, provides recommendations in relation to the current Colombian English language teaching policy. They argue that a different nature of professional development aimed at building from what teachers already do may prove as the most pertinent. Cruz Arcila also suggests that there may be a wealth of unexplored teaching practices ensuring teachers' agency and ingenuity and emphasizes on the importance of bringing those practices to light. On that basis, they argue that it would also be possible to build from teachers' efforts by, for example, setting up professional development programs that are underpinned on the premise that what teachers need to do is not necessarily completely different from what they already do.

Sampson (2012), who highlighted multiple functions of TL in the Colombian EFL classroom, argued that if one of our goals is for learners to be linguistically independent in monolingual settings, we need to encourage learners to develop alternative strategies to TL so that they can communicate with speakers with no knowledge of their L1. This is also true in multilingual classes, where teachers and learners cannot be expected to speak everyone's L1, and so L2 must function as the sole means of communication. Taking these considerations into account, they encourage teachers to try to strike the balance between L1 and L2. Additionally, they argue that any attempt to ban L1 use in the classroom would be detrimental to the amount of communication and learning taking place.

3.7. Libya

3.7.1. Context

Arabic was recognized as the language of the Libyan nation after its independence from the Italian colonizers in 1952. The Berber language is the language of the Indigenous inhabitants of Libya. It is the only other local language spoken in Libya, alongside Arabic. Berber-speaking people mostly reside in the north-western parts of Libya along the Nafosa mountain range (Asker & Martin-Jones, 2013). The former Libyan government, led then by Gaddafi, had a very extreme attitude against display of Berber language, or other non-Arabic languages for the matter, to the point where even the display of non-Arabic writing systems in public spaces was prohibited (Asker & Martin-Jones, 2013). This was part of a broader authoritarian strategy of achieving national 'unity' through the strict imposition of a 'one-language-one-nation' ideology (Asker & Martin-Jones, 2013).

English was a school subject in primary and secondary schools and was used as the medium of instruction in Libyan universities before its elimination from the educational system of the country for political reasons in the late 1980s and was allowed back in the mid-1990s (Adriosh & Razı, 2019). In an effort to reform English education in the country, the Libyan Ministry of Education developed new English curricula in 2000 based on Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) principles to be used in place of the previous curricula which aimed mainly to teach grammar and reading. However, this was not accompanied by professional development programs. Additionally, there are no guidelines that govern the choice of teaching methods or curricula in Libyan universities (Aloreibi & Carey, 2017).

Given this context, it is understandable that EFL teachers in Libya do not feel negatively about employing L1 in the English classroom. However, it was noted that teachers mostly tolerate TL practices in the classroom but not encourage it as it shall be noted in this review. Additionally, teachers seem aware of the pedagogical functions which practices such as TL serve in the teaching and learning of English (Adriosh & Razi, 2019; Alsied, 2018).

In light of this context, this review seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How does this rigid policy impact the Berber-speaking community in EFL classrooms?
2. What are the functions of TL whether in the Berber- or Arabic-speaking community?
3. How does the absence of English-only rhetoric influence teachers' and students' attitudes towards TL?

3.7.2. Reviewed empirical studies

Asker and Martin-Jones (2013) addressed the first two questions by conducting an ethnographic study in a school of Berber-speaking learners and teachers. Adriosh and Razı (2019) and Alsied (2018) addressed questions 2 and 3 by investigating how EFL teachers translanguage to facilitate teaching/learning process in addition to the perceptions of teachers and learners.

To examine how this linguistic ban of Berber in Libya manifest in English classrooms of Berber learners, the first reviewed study is an ethnographic study that was

carried out by Adel Asker in 2009 (cited in: Asker & Martin-Jones, 2013) in two English classes in a secondary school in north-west Libya. It aimed to investigate the ways in which beliefs and ideologies about 'appropriate' language use were being reproduced through multilingual classroom interaction and TL practices, particularly in English classes. The paper is based on field notes made during daily observations of two classrooms over a four-month period and on audio-recordings of particular moments of multilingual classroom interactions (Berber/Arabic/English), in addition to interviews with teachers. Learners' L1 was Berber, L2 Arabic, and they were learning English as L3. The study observed two English classes taught by two different teachers: Hanna and Wafa. In both classes, the teachers used English to read from the textbook or from the board and to give basic organizational instructions. Arabic would be used when the teachers needed to provide explicit comments on the structure of English, to translate certain words and sentences, to guide students, and to navigate between activities or to convey other formal and casual messages. The author concluded that this linguistic behavior of teachers was due to two factors: 1) the teachers' lack of confidence in their own abilities in spoken English and 2) their concern about observing school and national policy regarding the official medium of instruction.

Differences are witnessed regarding the teachers' attitudes towards Berber. Wafa seemed more tolerant about students' use of Berber than Hanna. For instance, Hanna exercised what can be described as 'language policing'. She repeatedly asked her students to switch to English or Arabic when they talked in Berber. In the extract below, we see Hanna's reaction to the use of Berber by one of her students. In this extract, Hanna was

initiating a warm-up activity by inviting the students to talk about social gatherings: [T = Teacher, S = Student, B = Berber, A = Arabic]

T: where do we meet new friends?
S1: birthday parties?
T: yes, birthday parties, or…?
S2: <B> *ايسلان* [<B> weddings]
T: in English
S2: <A> *ما نعرفش معناها بالإنجليزي* [<A>I do not know what it is in English]
T: in Arabic…
S2: <A> *الأفراح* [<A> weddings]
T: in weddings, yes, or… where else do you meet new friends?

The teacher's insistence on the use of the Arabic word indexed her commitment to classroom observance of the Arabic-only policy despite the fact that she could speak Berber. In one of the interviews that followed a class, Hanna described her students' act of using Berber as disrespectful and blamed them for wasting her time watching their language.

Unlike Hanna, Wafa did not always require her students to switch to Arabic when they addressed her in Berber. She thus allowed the communicative practices in her classes to be fluid and multilingual. The below extract illustrates this further. This particular exchange took place while the students were doing group work, discussing the concept of myth. After this they went on to work on the main reading text for the lesson which was based on a myth:

S1:<B> متا المعنى ن <E> myth? [<B> what is the meaning of <E>myth?]
S2:<E> myth <B> معنانس حاجة خيالية [<E>myth <B>means something imaginary]
S1:<B> حاجة أم مخلوقات الفضاء؟ [<B> something like Aliens?]
S2<B> لا ووهو خيال علمي. الخرافة ام. . ... [<B> no, aliens are science fiction, <E> myth
<B> is like. . .]
S3:<B> ام الغراب نالصبح [<B> like the raven]
T: <A> خيره غراب الصبح (teacher joins S1, S2, and S3's interaction ([<A> what about a morning raven?]
S3:<B> امي تصبحد د الغراب اسنم امشوم [<B> if the first thing you see in the morning is a raven, your day is ruined]
T: yes, this could be a good example. So we can describe a myth as. . .
S2: an old story
T: yes, an old story that is passed down from one generation to another

Although Wafa's pragmatic approach to language policy implementation in her class may not have been multilingually principled, one of the consequences of her approach was the opening up of more opportunities for genuine teacher–student dialogue. Her tolerant attitude towards the use of Berber in her classes was clearly expressed in the interview. She stated, "You have two options: either you spend the whole class telling the students off for speaking Berber or ignore it and get on with your lesson."

Students seemed comfortable TL among the three languages. Common social functions of the TL behavior for students emerged out of this study. For example, one student was primarily concerned with maintaining her 'ideal' student image through addressing the teacher with the two 'allowed' languages. The same student also wanted to maintain her social relations with her peers, so she would address them using Berber.

Exploring the functions of TL using English and Arabic, the second study is an ethnographic exploratory study that aimed to investigate how EFL teachers translanguage to facilitate the teaching/learning process (Adriosh & Razı, 2019). EFL instructors and their

students participated in this study from three universities in Libya. Fifteen hours of classroom observation were carried out and six EFL teachers and their 24 students were interviewed which were conducted both in English and in Arabic as participants desired. The results revealed that L1, Arabic, was occasionally used by classroom participants for different pedagogical and social functions. Those functions are labeled as follows: clarification, repetition, recapitulation, and socialization. Both teachers and students hold generally positive attitudes toward the use of TL.

Classroom observations revealed that English was predominantly used as a means of instruction in EFL undergraduate classrooms in Libya. The observations also pointed out that the teachers mainly used English to explain lessons in the classroom. Yet, they switched to the learners' L1 for limited and carefully oriented purposes. One of the teachers stated the following: "I think we need to switch to Arabic, but most of the time, you know, English is the medium of instruction." (p. 5). TL functions in this study are presented. 1) Clarification where teachers would switch to the learners' L1 to expand explanation of unclear concepts. 2) Repetition where teachers would repeat English vocabulary in Arabic. 3) Recapitulation took place when teachers would present an explanation of the lesson in English first then provide a summary of it in Arabic either throughout the lesson or informally after. 4) Socialization which would appear more at the beginning and the end of the class sessions where students and teachers exchange greetings and informal interaction in their L1. Teachers self-reported that they try to keep L1 use to 20% of class time. They argued that the reliance on L1 will deprive the students of better exposure to L2 in the classroom. One teacher expressed in the interview:

> I always feel they need to use the target language, but in some situations, I would prefer Arabic, as I told you, because it is needed, but I don't feel that guilty if I use it when I need it. But if it is, you know, used more than it should be, then, of course, there is, you know, there is a problem. There will be a problem (p.7).

The above extract indicates the teachers' conviction and acceptance of the use of L1 to solve certain pedagogical issues and attain other social goals. Yet, they felt concerned about the excessive use of L1 in the classroom, which might pose potential pedagogical challenges.

The analysis of the students' interviews showed the learners' inclination to speak English in the classroom. The findings revealed that the students preferred to use English rather than Arabic for classroom communication. They believed that the learners of English must practice the target language to improve their language skills. As English language is not widely used outside the classroom, students saw it as an opportunity to practice L2 in the classroom. Yet, the students sometimes feel the need to switch to L1 to understand some unfamiliar L2 words and expressions. But overall, most students have positive perceptions to teacher's TL in the classroom. They believed that the use of L1 had positive impact on learning new vocabularies and in the simplification and comprehension of new grammatical rules.

The classroom observation showed that occasionally when the students responded to the teacher's questions in L1, the teacher would insist on having the students try to answer in English first. Similarly, the students' interviews showed that they preferred L2 in the classroom as their first choice. They pointed out some strategies that they utilized in

this vein. One of the mentioned strategies was to request the teacher to summarize the entire lesson in L1. Only after all attempts were exhausted in L2, they resorted to L1.

To illustrate further, the third reviewed study attempted to explore the use of L1 (Arabic) in the Libyan EFL classrooms as well as teachers' and students' attitudes towards using it (Alsied, 2018). To this end, five Libyan EFL teachers and 143 Libyan EFL undergraduate students from the English department of Sebha University took part in the study. Data were gathered through student and teacher questionnaires and semi-structured interviews with the teachers. Like the previous study, the findings of this research indicated that the Libyan EFL students had positive attitudes towards using Arabic in the classroom to some degree; however, they were in favor of using English more than Arabic. It was also found that the students employed Arabic frequently to translate words from English into Arabic. The results additionally reported that the teachers used Arabic in their classrooms to accomplish many purposes such as helping students to understand, giving instructions, emphasizing information, and giving the meaning of new and unfamiliar words. Furthermore, teachers held positive attitudes towards the use of Arabic inside the classroom but were of the opinion that Arabic can be only used in certain cases and should not be overused.

Student questionnaire revealed their attitudes towards L1 in the classroom. The data analysis indicated that Libyan EFL students have positive attitudes towards the use of Arabic in English classroom to some degree; however, most of them are in favor of using English as 74.2% believed that English should be taught monolingually. The respondents also deemed that Arabic has a negative impact on learning English (66.5%). Likewise, 64.4% of the respondents agreed that Arabic lessens the opportunity of using English. On

the other hand, the participants advocate the use of Arabic to some extent. As was indicated by the data, 73.4% maintained that Arabic can make learning English easier. Besides, 65.8% agreed that Arabic can be used as a method to help students develop their English proficiency followed by 54.6% who stated that Arabic is very important in English classes. The results also revealed that 50.4% of the believed that students should be allowed to use Arabic. Students used Arabic in the EFL classroom for multiple functions. A large number of the respondents used Arabic chiefly to translate English words into Arabic (88.8%), to understand grammatical rules (81.9%), to translate English texts for understanding (80.4%) and to do activities in the classroom (65.1%). Regarding students' attitudes towards teachers using L1, 83.2% stressed that teachers should use Arabic as little as possible. With respect to the reasons for using Arabic by the teachers, most respondents indicated that their teachers use Arabic mainly to translate abstract words (81.8%), to check students' comprehension (78.4%), and to give instructions (77.6%). Accordingly, from the analysis it can be understood that Libyan students held the opinion that teachers must use English most of the time in the class and should only use little Arabic.

In the current study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with five Libyan EFL teachers to answer two questions. In responding to the first question which was "Do you use Arabic in your English classroom? Why?", all of the teachers reported that they use Arabic in their classroom to make their students understand, to illustrate something, to emphasize information, to give instructions, to explain a new term or a concept, to draw students' attention, and to give the meaning of new and unfamiliar words. With respect to the second question which was, "In which situations do you use Arabic in the classroom?" most of the teachers stated that they use Arabic when they feel that their students do not

understand something. Arabic was also used to explain the meaning of some certain words, concepts, new terms and to give examples. When asked how much Arabic should be used in the class, the majority of the teachers indicated that Arabic should not be used a lot in the class because it is an English class, and it can be only used when it is needed. When asked whether they use TL while explaining something to their students, all the teachers emphasized that they frequently translanguage from English to Arabic in their classes to check their students' understanding. All the interviewees maintained that the use of Arabic can have many advantages which include making everything clear and easy for the students to understand, making the students more interested in the class, and helping them pay more attention. However, using Arabic all the time, as the teachers stated in the interviews, can become a habit for the students and they will find it more difficult to express themselves in English. With respect to the teachers' opinions about avoiding the use of Arabic and making English the dominant language in the classroom, all the teachers completely agreed that English should be the dominant language in the classroom, but it will be okay if they use some Arabic from time to time to explain something, provided that it is not overused. Concerning whether students feel more motivated, relaxed, confident, and less anxious when the teacher uses Arabic in the class, most of the teachers agreed that using Arabic in the class makes their students feel more relaxed because it is their mother tongue.

3.7.3. Recommendations

Asker and Martin-Jones (2013) who examined how rigid language policies impact marginalized communities, call for more profound research to be conducted so it allows

researchers to engage in critical dialogue with teachers and students as the research unfolds. In the north-west region of Libya, it would allow researchers to build a sound understanding of the ways in which students' language resources are used inside and outside the classroom, and to contribute this knowledge to future debates about the respective roles of Berber, Arabic and English in education.

Adriosh and Razı (2019) who found that L1 was occasionally used by classroom participants for different pedagogical and social functions, and that both teachers and students hold positive attitudes, emphasize the importance of raising teachers' awareness of the practicality of classroom TL in light of its functional effect. They call for further experimental research to measure the effectiveness of how teachers codeswitch for various reasons in the context of Libya.

Alsied (2018), whose findings were similar to those of Adriosh and Razı (2019), reconfirm that learners' L1 should not be ignored by teachers and students due to its major and facilitating role in the English classroom. Alsied adds that more empirical research with a larger number of participants is required to investigate further the use of L1 in the Libyan EFL context. Additionally, they call for further research focus on the correlation between the use of L1 and other factors such as gender, level of English proficiency, teaching experience and individual differences.

It is evident that the current recommendations available in the EFL literature conducted in Libya do not offer concrete empirical steps. Although it is true that more research needs to be conducted before providing recommendations, there is a significant need for governmental acknowledgement of languages of the Berber minority as a first step. The fact that a language is completely prohibited poses great challenges on the

educational level and more importantly, on the humanitarian level. When that is in place, multilingual policies can then be formed.

3.8. Proposed Model for Clustering Contexts

This chapter reviewed empirical studies in six different contexts from Kachru's 1992 model of World Englishes. The countries belong to the "outer" and "expanding" circles of English. The reviewed studies on their own do not provide enough guidance for making recommendations to other contexts not studied. Additionally, they limit the scope of the recommendations. The proposed model seeks to cluster contexts based on common variables in a manner that would allow recommendations to be more holistic and better applicable across contexts not studied. This section will present two tables; the first one will show the proposed clusters, and the second one will elaborate on the common variables which led to the clustering.

Table 4 briefly displays how the six reviewed contexts are distributed over three clusters.

Table 4 Clusters

Green Cluster	Yellow Cluster	Red Cluster
Indonesia	India	South Africa
Libya	Bangladesh	
Colombia		

Clusters are color-coded with each color representing the general theme in relation to status of national languages in education. Green represents countries with high status of the national language(s) in education, yellow represent countries with a moderate status of national language(s), and red represent countries with low status of national language(s). It is important to highlight that 'value' here refers to how national language(s) are perceived in English learning. They are not representative of whether minority languages are officially recognized.

Table 5 expands on the different variables that led to these clusters.

Table 5 Expanded Model

	Green Cluster: Colombia, Indonesia, Libya,	Yellow Cluster: India, Bangladesh	Red Cluster: South Africa
Status of English & Indigenous Languages in the Country	In these three countries, there is only one national language. Indigenous languages have no official status nor does English.	In India, 22 Indigenous languages have official status in addition to English. In Bangladesh, there is one national language. English does not have official status. In both, English plays an important role.	In South Africa, 11 languages are official, nine of which are Indigenous, two of which are English and Afrikaans. However, as a lasting result of colonization, English and Afrikaans remain the dominant languages in all aspects of life.
Status of English & Indigenous Languages in Education	In Education, the national language is the medium of instruction except for foreign languages. English is taught as a subject. Indigenous languages have no place in the curriculum or do on paper but not in practice English-only schools are not common.	In India, on paper there is a place for mother tongue. In practice the focus is on English, or English-Hindi. In Bangladesh, Bangla is the medium of instruction except for foreign language education. English-only schools are common in both. In both countries, English is seen as superior and more prestigious.	In South Africa, English and Afrikaans remain the dominant languages of instruction in all educational institutions and is extended to all subjects.

Attitudes towards TL	Teachers in the three countries seem to hold positive attitudes towards TL practices to an extent. However, it is noted that TL is only acceptable when it is between English and the national language but not with minority languages.	Teachers display acts of "guilty multilingualism" where it is done out of necessity. Teachers seem to tolerate acts such as TL but not encourage it.	Negative attitudes are observed among teachers and school administrators. Teachers' TL practices are often blamed for students' academic failure.
Current Common Recommendations	Most recommendations call for further research to fine tune teachers' TL. Additionally, some call for trainings to be built on teachers' current practices. Lastly, some authors encourage teachers to develop alternative strategies to TL.	Most recommendations advocate for systematic changes to the education system and to improving teacher's education to include TL as a legitimate practice.	Most recommendations encouraging teachers to defy and not adhere to English-only policies. Moreover, calls for decolonization of education through the inclusion of L1s are present.

Table 4 presented the six reviewed contexts in three proposed clusters. Based on the variables identified through the literature review, Table 5 laid out: 1) the characteristics in which countries within cluster are similar and 2) the characteristics in which clusters as wholes are distinct. The common criteria for comparison constitute the proposed model.

To elaborate further on the clusters and their common variables, multiple dimensions are taken into consideration. The dimensions are: 1) status of English & indigenous languages in the country, 2) status of English & indigenous languages in education, 3) attitudes towards TL, and 4) common current recommendations. It is important to note that TL was a common practice across all context and did not vary as a practice. For this reason, it was not considered as a dimension of variation.

Before discussing the clusters, a definition of attitudes, which emerged as a dimension from the literature reviewed, is important to highlight. In this context, the adopted definition is one proposed by Gardner (1985) who defined attitudes as a set of beliefs and psychological predispositions to act or evaluate behaviour in a certain way. Attitudes in language learning has always been an important dimension discussed in the literature. Tódor and Dégi (2016) state that language learners' attitudes towards the language, including its status and prestige, greatly influence the language learning process and the learning outcomes.

Firstly, the case of Colombia, Indonesia, and Libya is going to be discussed. In all these three multilingual countries, English does not play a major role in the country. For example, in Libya English language teaching was banned at one point in the 1980's and allowed back in the mid-1990's. Though this is not exactly the case in Indonesia and Colombia, English still plays a relatively small role in them. All three countries have only one national language despite their multilingual nature under the justification of national unity. None of the indigenous languages are officially recognized. The case of Libya is the most extreme as it bans any use or display of the Berber language. Additionally, even though Colombia granted indigenous languages co-official status, this recognition is not on

a national level. As result of both the limited status of English and the systematic neglect of indigenous languages, teachers' attitudes are generally positive towards TL. Teachers seem to display an awareness of the pedagogical value of TL. Additionally, it is important to note that TL seems to only occur between the national language and English, but rarely between English and minority languages as it was noted in the review outcomes. This explains why the common recommendations given in these contexts seem to be displaying acceptance towards the reality of TL in EFL classrooms and focusing more on fine tuning these practices to be more principled. Additionally, it is recommended to build teachers' education and professional programs on what teachers already know and practice.

Secondly, the case of India and Bangladesh is going to be laid out. In both countries, English plays a big role and is used widely whether institutionally as in the case of India or for non-institutionally as in the case of Bangladesh. English-only ideologies can be observed in both countries. English-medium education is seen as the better education and English-only schools are popular. India and Bangladesh might seem as quite dissimilar when it comes to the status of indigenous languages considering India's recognition of 22 languages versus Bangladesh's recognition of one. However, in practice, it can be argued that indigenous languages are as neglected in both. This is in spite of India's three-language-formula in education, which is yet to be truly implemented. This high status of English in both these countries could explain the phenomena of "guilty multilingualism" witnessed among English teachers. This is addressed, to a certain extent, in the recommendations which call for standardizing TL guidelines for teachers and for it to be added in teachers' education and to grant teachers more agency on language use in the classroom.

Lastly, the last cluster containing only South Africa proves to be the most complex and a fairly unique context for the highly politicized nature of language and language-in-education in it. Nine indigenous languages were officially recognized as with the end of apartheid yet, the languages of the colonizers (i.e., English and Afrikaans) continue to be the most dominant in all aspects in the country including education. In this particular context, TL is perceived to be hindering of learning. Students' academic failure is often blamed on teachers' use of L1s in the English classroom. This is especially evident among administration staff and education policymakers who continue to perceive teachers as incompetent for employing L1 in the EFAL classrooms. This could be due to the fact of the remaining presence of the white community linked historically to colonizers, which is not the case in the context of India for example. Many principals running schools in South Africa may very well be from the white community with English as a first language. In this case, learners and teachers' TL could be considered a political act of resistance. Furthermore, black South African students' use of their L1 in these English-dominant educational spaces could be seen as them using their L1s as a source of pride and as an act of maintaining their identity. This is translated in the recommendations given in the South African context calling for 1) encouraging teachers to not adhere to the English-only policy and 2) decolonization of marginalized African languages through TL. Additionally, the employment of outside intervention is criticized with translingual classrooms already proving to be functional. Moreover, implications for research focus on tilting the political atmosphere.

The three clusters used the dimensions which emerged from the literature review as a guide to form the model. This model aims to organize the interpretation of diverse

contexts through identifying common features across seemingly different settings. The results indicate that TL occurred in all contexts and that the use of students' L1s aided their learning of English whether as L2 or as L3. The interdependence hypothesis states that if a child is competent in their L1 transfer will occur from L1 to L2 and that this will contribute positively to the development of L2 (Cummins, 1979). This framework can be used to argue that the low proficiency in English recorded in some contexts is in fact due to the neglect of the development of L1 rather than teachers' usage of L1s in English teaching.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

4.1. Overview

This chapter outlines the summary of findings, discussion of the findings in relation to the literature, limitations and implications both for practice and research, and lastly, conclusion.

4.2. Summary of Findings

Use of native languages in the teaching of English is not a recent issue or debate. Literature has long discussed it and empirical studies have shown the functions of translanguaging (TL) practices. However, this issue continues to create tensions between the top-down language policies and the bottom-up classroom linguistic practices. Additionally, specific challenges arise across different contexts. The review of the literature conduced here looked at research on English teaching in different multilingual settings. As evident in the literature reviewed in Chapter 3, there are many dimensions that need to be taken into consideration when looking at the issue of TL in English classrooms. Chapter 3 concluded with an integrative analysis across the three case studies presented. A model was proposed that allowed for the clustering of cases in light of a set of dimensions used for comparative analysis. In this model, the dimension of the 'status of both indigenous languages and English' is treated as major. This is because it was observed that this dimension has a significant and direct impact on language policy which in return translates

into attitudes towards TL. Although the other dimensions are important, they are not treated as major. The dimension of 'common recommendations' is treated as minor since it is a result of the three first dimensions and not a cause.

The status of both indigenous languages and English in any given context was identified as a major dimension as it has significant implications on language policy and attitudes towards TL. It was observed that countries' view and treatment of languages is reflected in education policies, common classroom linguistic practices, and attitudes. Language policies need to be investigated not only in terms of whether they are multilingual, but also in terms of the degree to which they are practically implemented. This can be seen through many examples cited in this study.

A common dimension across all clusters is the neglect and dismissal of indigenous languages in education (in varying degrees). This is true even in contexts which officially recognize indigenous languages. However, although the neglect of indigenous languages is common, the treatment of English differs vastly across contexts. This is why it is important to look into the status of both indigenous languages and of English. The role of indigenous languages is highlighted in the attitudes.

The review outcomes revealed that although TL was recorded in all six contexts, the difference in attitudes towards it is significant. Contexts in which English does not play a major role, both on a national level and on an educational level, were found to have more relaxed attitudes towards TL and vice versa. This is where the status of indigenous languages come to play. It is an impactful variable on determining which languages TL takes place among. If a language is banned or looked down upon, it is unlikely that its usage will be prompted or allowed in the classroom.

As a result of the different dimensions, recommendations also differed across clusters. In places where the literature recorded positive attitudes, the recommendations focused more on tightening the existing TL practices. In contexts where teachers exhibited emotions of guilt when TL, recommendations tended to focus on shifting that. Lastly, recommendations for negative attitudes that were caused by the political atmosphere, encouraged teachers to continue TL despite the possible negative consequences.

Green Cluster, which includes Colombia, Indonesia, and Libya is characterized by the limited role of English both in the country and education, the official recognition of one national language, the dismissal of indigenous languages (sometimes actively) in both the country and education, and the relaxed and positive attitudes towards TL although only among English and the national language only. The link between policies and attitudes is apparent. Language policies in countries in the Green Cluster are not English-centered and teachers generally have positive attitudes towards using TL in the English classroom. However, present policies that marginalize minority languages translate into the classroom. This is seen through TL being mostly allowed between English and the national language, not minority languages.

Yellow Cluster, which includes India and Bangladesh, is characterized by the relatively big role of English in both the country and education, the neglect of indigenous languages English in both the country and education regardless of the possible existence of multilingual language policies (India as opposed to Bangladesh), and the guilty attitudes towards TL. Teachers in countries in the Green Cluster, where English has a higher status than those in the Yellow Cluster, can be seen to have less tolerant attitudes towards TL,

resulting in a state of guilt when resorting to it. In the Yellow Cluster, immersion approaches are perceived as superior and the best way to learn English. This high status of English can also be seen in the popularity and prestigious status of English-only schools.

Red Cluster, which includes South Africa, is characterized by the major role of English in both the country and education, the official recognition of all indigenous languages but dismissal of them in practice, and the negative perceptions towards TL. An additional dimension here is the highly politicized context. The Red Cluster country (South Africa) where English remains the most dominant language in the country despite the recognition of all Indigenous languages, display the most rejecting attitudes towards TL by administrators and policymakers. However, this does not mean that TL is not practiced by South African teachers. It is practiced but it is not seen as a legitimate and is perceived as a sign of linguistic inadequacy. Moreover, teachers face professional consequences for their TL and are considered incompetent for not adhering to the current English-only policy. Political atmosphere in South Africa could explain the paradox of officially recognizing multilingualism as part of the society while having the opposite reflected in education. This apparent paradox reflects macrolevel contestations around language rights and practices that are a feature of South Africa's ongoing political transformation.

4.3. Discussion of Findings in Relation to the Broader Literature

Kachru's model of World Englishes was the starting point of choosing contexts to review for this study. The results of the proposed model suggest that the clusters are not completely in line with his model, but not too far from it either. The Green Cluster which

includes Colombia, Indonesia, and Libya all belong to the “expanding circle”. This is plausible given the fact that English plays a limited role in this circle. South Africa, India, and Bangladesh belong to the “outer circle”. However, the proposed model clustered South Africa in a different group than that including India and Bangladesh. The “outer circle” explains that English a big role. However, the case of South Africa proved to be far too complex for it to be grouped with any of the reviewed contexts.

The literature was reviewed through the lenses of the interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1979) and TL (Garcia & Wei, 2014). As stated earlier, these two frameworks resonate with each other. The interdependence hypothesis states that knowledge transfer occurs from L1 to L2. Moreover, TL advocates for systematically using and alternating between languages in the classroom which to facilitate the learning of the target language in addition to its other social function. In all six contexts reviewed it was evident that use of students’ different linguistic repertoires did in fact aid them in learning English. This is evident even in the contexts where teachers held negative attitudes towards their own TL in the classroom.

These two frameworks can be witnessed in many studies in the literature that discuss the issue of using L1 in English language teaching and learning. However, in several studies in the literature which discuss the issue of managing multilingualism in English classrooms, authors can choose dimensions of their liking to compare contexts. The proposed model in this study suggests that specific dimensions that are particularly relevant will suggest particular ways of clustering different contexts together that might otherwise seem different if compared for other purposes. To elaborate on that, it is common to find studies discussing English language teaching and learning in multilingual or post-colonial

multilingual settings generally not taking into account dimensions other than that. To illustrate, before looking into empirical studies, South Africa and India seemed like similar contexts in terms of rich multilingualism and colonial history. Yet, a closer look revealed otherwise. Two examples from the literature are given to illustrate this further.

A study by Chen and Rubinstein-Avila (2018) discussed TL functions in post-colonial classrooms either as foreign/second/additional language (i.e., English as a subject) or as the medium of instruction across all subjects. In the study, the authors highlight similarities between South Africa and Malaysia as both have English as medium of instruction across all subjects hindering the learning of content subjects. However, the authors did not take into account the specifics of each context included when providing recommendations. They recommended including native languages for the interactional and pedagogical purposes and they reaffirmed that teachers' TL accomplish several important pedagogical strategies to reach the learning objectives in their language classrooms. A valuable recommendation, nonetheless, however, it does not address the particularities of languages status and language policies of the contexts. Relevant dimensions such as language policy or the role of the especially highly politicized context of South Africa were not taken into consideration before providing this recommendation. We know from the review outcomes of the case of South Africa that the political, linguistic, and educational situation in South Africa is far too complex for this recommendation to be applicable.

Another illustration from the literature is presented by Murray (2020) who states that despite the diversity of contexts in which English is taught, they all share the inherent conflicts from introducing another language into existing complex social practices (2020). In this study, Murray clustered Japan and Bangladesh together on the basis of them having

policies for teaching English from early grades as a common dimension. According to the proposed model in this study, these two countries are too disparate to be clustered together. Though it is true that in both countries English is taught from early grades, they vary significantly in historical context which cause them to have different status of English and native languages both in the country and in education. This as result, causes different attitudes towards English. Japan was never colonized but was a colonizer itself while Bangladesh went through many major political changes by first gaining independence from Britain when it was a part of the of Indian Princely States (formerly known as East Bengal) and later from Pakistan as it became an independent state. This implication can be seen in the different attitudes towards English in both these countries. In Bangladesh, as seen in the review, English still has a high status in the country. Contrarily, resistance towards the prevalence of English in Japan has been noted in the literature. Some scholars (e.g., Tsuda, 1993; Phillipson, 1992) have described the rapid spread of English in comparison to other languages as "English Imperialism" phenomenon, viewing the dominance of English and Western ideologies in Japan as a "deviancy that threatens one's Japaneseness" (McVeigh, 2002, p. 155). Therefore, making generalizations though legitimate in certain dimensions, is not necessarily sufficient to draw conclusion on clustering different contexts together. By using the proposed model and looking into the specifics of these contexts in light of specific dimensions, led to conclusions that are different from the ones originally proposed in Murray's (2020) study.

4.4. Implications for Practice

This study sought to answer two questions: 1) what multidimensional model captures the pedagogically important dimensions of variation across multilingual EFL contexts and allows for clusters of contexts to be identified? and 2) what recommendations regarding the use of learners' linguistic repertoires in EFL/ESL/EFAL classrooms in each context cluster can be identified? The model was presented in Chapter 3 and was discussed further in this chapter to illustrate its value over other comparative approaches in the literature. This section will address recommendations that follow from this model for practice and policy. Based on the model and the clusters it identifies, other countries that resemble those in the clusters along the dimensions identified can be added. Consequently, the corresponding recommendations for practice and practice can be applied. The implications for practice will add to, modify, and build upon existing recommendations. Therefore, in the rest of this section, I organize discussion of recommendations for practice and policy in terms of each clusters. The main recommendation for all clusters will address two important issues: 1) multilingual policy in the country and in education and 2) teachers' training and education. Implementations vary across clusters.

4.4.1. Recommendations for Green Cluster

Green Cluster, which includes Colombia, Indonesia, and Libya is characterized by the limited role of English both in the country and education, the official recognition of one national language, the dismissal of indigenous languages (sometimes actively) in both the

country and education, and the relaxed and positive attitudes towards TL although only among English and the national language only.

Firstly, advocacy work and lobbying to grant minority languages an official acknowledgement and to advocate against the, sometimes radical, exclusion of them from important institutions, including education, is an important step. However, since it could take a long time for that to be achieved, recommendations for practice can still be given in parallel. It is recommended for teachers to first acknowledge and unlearn their own bias against minority languages and to then work on having their students' bias dismantled. This is in line with Rasman (2018) who recommends encouraging teachers to build students' awareness of the dangers of that bias instead of only focusing on the establishment of TL in the learning space. This dismantling of bias also includes welcoming the different variations or dialects of minority languages. For this to be achieved, a holistic curriculum needs to be in place that allows the use of languages other than English in the English classroom. A holistic curriculum would also ensure the principled employments of L1s in the English classroom. Additionally, teachers are encouraged to make space for TL to occur in learner-learner interactions. Lastly, teachers' education and training need to build on what teachers already know and practice and focus on backing up these practices with principled awareness.

4.4.2. Recommendations for Yellow Cluster

Yellow Cluster, which includes India and Bangladesh, is characterized by the relatively big role of English in both the country and education due to the colonial legacy,

the neglect of indigenous languages in both the country and education regardless of the possible existence of multilingual language policies (India as opposed to Bangladesh), and the guilty attitudes towards TL.

An important dimension to look for in countries that belong to this cluster is whether a bi- or multilingual education policy exists. If one does not exist (such as the case of Bangladesh), advocacy work needs to acknowledge that and start aiming for creating one. If a policy does exist, is it truly implemented? If not (such as the case of India), then work needs to be done on making sure it is implemented. This could be achieved through policymakers ensuring that TL is taking place, or is at least not being held back, by holding school administrators accountable. The same way classroom observations are currently conducted to ensure that English-only policy is taking place, the same can be done to ensure multilingualism is truly happening. In parallel, teachers' feelings of guilt when TL need to be addressed through training and education that highlight the legitimacy of TL and increase teachers' awareness of it as a pedagogical practice rather than a sign of incompetence.

4.4.3. Recommendations for Red Cluster

Red Cluster, which includes South Africa, is characterized by the major role of English in both the country and education, the official recognition of all indigenous languages but dismissal of them in practice, and the negative perceptions towards TL. An additional dimension here is the highly politicized context.

In this highly politicized context, it is very challenging to create radical changes in terms of educational language policies on a national level especially because it was previously attempted and failed. Another layer of complexity is that colonialism can still be witnessed. Presence of white people is still prevalent, and education is highly colonized with English-only policies. It is recommended for teachers to continue to practice TL as an act of resistance and as a response to decolorizations of African languages. Intense advocacies need to happen that calls for real equality in education that start with at least offering options for non-English-only schools. Professional development for teachers should be given by indigenous people who are either English teachers themselves or TL trainers.

4.4.4. Case of Lebanon

To test the value of the model with a context which was not studied in this thesis, the case of Lebanon is now briefly highlighted. Lebanon, in which Arabic is the native and national language, has been a multilingual society in terms of foreign languages for centuries due to European colonization and through the schools and educational institutions established by missionaries (Nabhani et al. 2011). In 1994, the Council of Ministers approved a new National Curriculum which made using either English or French the medium of instruction an option for all schools (Shabaan & Ghaith, 1999). To this day, there is no clear evidence-based language policy existing in Lebanon (Bahous et al., 2011). Arabic was perceived to be only 'good enough' to be taught as a language subject and a medium to teach social studies except in some Islamic schools where standard Arabic was

used as a medium of instruction at the primary level (Bahous et al., 2011). Literature indicates the different perception by the population of L1 and L2; Arabic is seen as a symbol of the Lebanese identity in addition to its religious use, while English serves a practical purpose and is used in higher education, business, science, and technology (Akl, 2007). Attitudes towards TL in English teaching seem to be similar to what was earlier described as "guilty multilingualism". In a study by Bahous et al. (2011), foreign language teachers claimed to practice immersion, but based on classrooms observations by the researchers, it was noted that teacher tend to TL between colloquial Arabic (local vernacular) and the foreign language, which would make such immersion practices questionable.

The status and perception of English as the better more prestigious languages, in addition to practices of "guilty multilingualism" are similar to the reviewed context in the Yellow Cluster. Suggested recommendations apply.

4.5. Limitations of this Study and Implications for Research

This study only begins to address issues related to the use of L1s in English classrooms across contexts through a hypothesis that links the status of languages to the practices and attitudes in English language teaching and learning. The findings of this study have to be seen in light of some limitations. Firstly, the relatively small number of cases selected for this study could have possibly missed further complexities that would have been revealed in different context. Additionally, what was identified as a major dimension in this study might prove itself to be of less importance in other contexts. Secondly, the

same issue of the small number of cases may not be sufficient to compare the proposed model with Kachru's model. This study revealed a small difference in the way of clustering. Additional research is needed to further compare the two ways of grouping contexts, hence the importance of the need of many more case studies.

Many questions remain to be answered by future research. The review conducted here suggests that it would be of value to conduct additional careful case studies to test the generalizability of the model and whether other dimensions might be important but have been missed. Further, it is recommended that further research examine more directly the links between the dimensions included in the proposed model and how these links affect teachers' attitudes and classroom practice. For example, the link between English language education and the status of English and other languages in a particular sociopolitical context is an important issue to investigate further since the degree to which and the way in which language is politicized varies greatly and across contexts and might impact teaching and learning in diverse ways. More research is also required to investigate the impact of each dimension and to determine which dimensions are major and which are minor. This will help improve provided recommendations and avoid falling back into the loop if generalization.

Moreover, additional studies about minority languages in English classes are needed. For example, further studies about the Berber community in Libya would be beneficial for a deeper understanding on how extreme language policies impact classroom linguistic practices. This is needed in other contexts whether mentioned in this study or not. Other minority communities in other contexts would be beneficial to into as well such as the Migrant Worker and Armenian communities learning English in Lebanon. Doing so is

especially important since in some of the contexts reviewed, most of the available literature was about bilingualism and not multilingualism (e.g., Bangladesh).

Additionally, more research on alternative strategies to TL is needed especially for the cases of multilingual classes in which the teacher and students do not share languages other than English. An important dimension to this could be looking on ways to empower students with strategies they can practice when being in an English-only classroom.

Research must proceed not from the conceptualization of the multilingual classroom as a "problem" but as a body of knowledge to be leveraged in the interests of the expansion of language learning and developing proficient users of the language(s). The bridge between research and practice takes time to build and that research and practice must proceed interactively. It is unlikely that the insights gained from this study will be sufficient by themselves to bring about transformations in policies. Furthermore, it is essential to recognize that research impacts practice indirectly through the influence of the existing knowledge base on the various dimensions studied: languages' status, language policy in the country and in education, TL practices, and attitudes towards them. By affecting each of these dimensions and expanding knowledge base on the factors impacting them, more research can help change educational policies and eventually improve practice.

4.6. Conclusion

Ultimately, this study aimed to answer two questions; 1) What multidimensional model captures the pedagogically important dimensions of variation across multilingual TEFL contexts and allows for clusters of contexts to be identified? and 2) What

recommendations regarding the use of learners' linguistic repertoires in TEFL classrooms in each context cluster can be identified?

The proposed model clustered contexts based on four main dimensions: the status of indigenous languages and English in the country, the status of indigenous languages and English in education, linguistic practices and attitudes towards TL in the English classroom, and the common recommendations in each section. Based on these dimensions, three clusters were highlighted as critical and were discussed in depth. The model provides an organized and theoretically rigorous set of recommendations for instruction and policy that are sensitive to context. Additionally, it allows readers to map their own context to clusters identified and thereby identify the appropriate recommendations for their context.

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