Chapter 12

“Englishing” the L1: Reconsidering the Use of the Mother Tongue EFL Classroom

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Abstract

A standing tradition in EFL has emphasized that for effective learning to occur, classroom practices should be conducted solely in the target language. Whilst this view has been prevalent for a long time, a better understanding of the role of the mother tongue has motivated practitioners to reconsider traditional practices in favour of more inclusive and encompassing ones. This short-scale study focuses on mature learners of EFL at an ab-initio level in compulsory education to negotiate basic communication in English. This is what we refer to as “Englishing,” or the successful use of existing linguistic knowledge in L1 to solve communicative problems in English through metacognition. Although it is not possible to generalize results, the experience showed that the L1 becomes an effective tool enabling mature learners to transfer expertise between languages, whilst helping them to develop learning autonomy through shared cognition.

1. Introduction

The perception that the use of the mother tongue or first language (L1) when learning a second or additional language (L2) hinders learning has prevailed for a long time in the field of second and foreign language didactics. A quick look at teacher training manuals produced between the 1980s and early 1990s (Asher, 1986; Halliwell & Jones, 1991) shows that the advice given to trainee teachers at the time encouraged an intransigent attitude towards the L1 to the point of viewing this as the root of all evils in the language classroom. These views emerged largely as a result of the popularity of the audio-lingual method whose theoretical framework was underpinned by the principles of behaviorism. The “scientific” dimension attached to this method — it was the first time that a teaching approach was sustained from tenets coming from psychology and linguistics — gave it a special status and credibility that remained unchallenged for over five decades. For
behaviorists, learning an additional language resembled the acquisition of the L1, which was basically seen as a habit based on oral input and repetition for accurate output. In the L2 classroom, learning was facilitated and encouraged by long language drills with the aim of developing grammatical and phonemic accuracy at the expense of fluency (Richards & Rodgers, 2014). Needless to say, errors were not tolerated as they were seen as undesirable habits that needed to be eradicated as soon as they occurred to avoid language fossilization (Lado, 1957).

It is undeniable that the above position enjoyed — and in some countries still does — some considerable reputation to the point of shaping teaching and learning practices and setting important precedents for pre- and in-service teachers’ (dis-)beliefs and attitudes. At some point in my professional development, as it was the status quo of the time, I followed the theoretical perspectives of the audio-lingual method to the letter. This included banning my students from using their L1 whilst insisting, time and time again, on the exclusive use of English in the classroom. This was even the case when my common sense would indicate that this insistence was pointless as the students at that time in their learning experience were not able to utter a word in English. In fact, my continuous insistence on “English only” often resulted in students’ feeling frustrated and disengaged, contributing to long-term absences whilst increasing their apprehension of speaking publicly for fear of making mistakes and being ridiculed by their peers. It was very clear to me that the “English only” policy did not contribute to create a positive learning atmosphere but, on the contrary, it promoted high levels of anxiety, trepidation and disengagement. With some years of experience upon my shoulders, I can now see that should I have taken a more lenient approach in relation to the use of the L1, I would have been able to capitalize on my learners’ existing linguistic knowledge and skills in their mother tongues as a tool to scaffold their learning of English. The theoretical framework underpinning this study, therefore, is based on the role of the mother tongue in the learning of an additional language, in particular English as a foreign language (EFL). One of the purposes guiding this small-scale project is to explore the role of the language learning strategies, fundamentally those involving the L1 within instructed L2.

2. Literature Review on the Use of L1 in L2 Teaching and Learning

Different views and approaches have developed over time rejecting and, more recently, advocating for the use of the mother tongue when learning another language. From the point of view of a traditional pedagogy, some authors such as Lado (1957), Krashen and Terrell (1983) and Pennycook (1994), indicate that in order for an effective acquisition of an L2 to take place, it is necessary to do away with the mother tongue to minimize instances of negative transfer, which can result in the development of different types of errors (Pacek, 2003). The tradition of excluding the L1 when learning an L2 has been widely criticized by Cook (2001) and Jiang (2002) as they are of the idea that the use of the L1 enables new
knowledge in L2 to be strengthened, a position also shared by Auerbach (1993), Mitchell (1988), Phillipson (1992), Schweers (1999), and Wells (1999).

The objections to the traditional perspective are formulated from varied positions but more notably from the perspective of pure linguistics and psycholinguistics as well as other disciplines such as socio-cultural theory, ethnolinguistics, and critical theory. In principle, if we accept the hypothesis of the affective filter as proposed by Krashen (1987), we need to acknowledge that positive emotions enable learning. The inherent limitations of monolingual speakers when using the L2 in situations where they may well use their common language (L1) tend to increase anxiety whilst significantly decreasing motivation and self-confidence, as argued by Agustín (2007). Other perspectives are more radical and critical and see language in direct relationship with the speakers’ identity and subjectivity. Within these critical positions, we find those that emphasize the construction of identity, a dynamic process which is carried out with and through the mother tongue (Schweers, 1999; Brown, 2000). Overall, these positions argue that the imposition of an L2 as the only means of communication in a group of monolingual speakers restrain individual and collective identities (Ricento, 2005), negatively affect the development of the self (Norton, 2000), strip individuals of their subjectivities (Weddon, 1987/1997), and deny their linguistic and cultural capitals (Bourdieu, 1980; Loos, 2000).

The above views, although largely debatable, provide two interesting possibilities: on one hand, they invite us to reflect upon teaching and learning practices based solely on the exclusive use of an L2, and on the other, they also prompt us to reconsider the role of the mother tongue when learning another language. In this sense, unlike traditional pedagogy, the advantages of using the mother tongue in the context of EFL becomes a tool for scaffolding L2 learning and for facilitating metacognition, allowing learners to identify and transfer different strategies to the new language. The role of L1 in learning an L2, therefore, enables students not only to produce new linguistic knowledge (Martín Martín, 2000), but also adds to the process of development and negotiation of their individual identities thus contributing to the construction of individual subjectivities (Erdocia & Ruiz, 2016) whilst adding symbolic value to their linguistic and cultural capital (Noguera, 1996).

In this context, the present study aims to reconcile the aforementioned perspectives by focusing on a model of instruction based on the strategic learning of languages, a research topic that has been widely investigated from the point of view of cognitive science (Chamot, 2004; Oxford, 2011) and systematized by Chamot (2004). The design of Chamot’s model consists of three stages planned by the teacher, namely: (a) the identification of the strategies to be used in the lessons following an assessment of learners’ linguistic needs which is carried out a priori, (b) the facilitation of opportunities to use key language strategies, and (c) the
design of tasks for the consolidation of learning. According to Chamot (2004), language strategies can be taught, and this model is based on a mental dimension that considers language to be the product of cognition. Whilst such a position holds some truth, it is important to consider language as a social and cultural product that is not developed in the mind of the speakers regardless of the context in which it is used, but quite the opposite: language is shaped by a socio-cultural dimension and, as such, it is a cultural instrument with a mediational function (Vygotsky, 1978). Therefore, we argue that Chamot’s instruction model needs to be revised and adapted to reflect the above position more accurately.

In principle, we need to consider that my learners were inserted in a learning community where novices (or less experts) learned from the more experienced ones (i.e., the teacher or more advanced peers). Learning communities are akin to communities of practice, which Wenger (1999) defines as social groups generated to develop specialized knowledge (in this case language learning), where individuals are engaged in a reflection of their own learning experiences with the aim of strengthening their interactions as well as the practices they are involved in. Learning, therefore, results from the relationships that take place within a group whereby the less experienced members progressively abandons the periphery to align themselves to the practice of the professional community. Consequently, it is necessary to highlight the collaborative aspect and the social dimension of learning as one of the defining features of these communities. Additionally, as the focus moves away from the cognitivist perspective, the “new” angle to consider is the mediating role of language that is used to activate previous knowledge. This is useful in so far as it allows the members of the community to reflect and identify future learning opportunities that are negotiated and agreed by the members.

Communities of practice have been defined as social groups that produce specialized knowledge because of shared reflection (i.e., metacognition or located cognition) of the practical experiences that the participants are involved in (Lave & Wenger, 1991). These experiences make sense in that they enable individuals to build and reproduce knowledge (Wenger, 1999). In the context of this study, I adhere to Wenger, McDermott and Snyder’s (2002) definition who explain that a community of practice is a “group of people who share an interest, a set of problems, or a passion on a subject, that serve to deepen knowledge and experience in a given area through the continuous interaction of the participants that also contribute to strengthen their relationships” (p. 18). One of the fundamental aspects of a community of practice is the ability of its members to reflect on learning or “learning to learn” (metacognition) (Garrison & Akyol, 2013). According to this view, learning takes place in and through continuous interaction amongst participants that involves a reciprocal process of scaffolding (Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976). Within this study, I conceived my class as a learning community characterized by the social practices of teaching and learning EFL where, at times, the more experienced members (me and more advanced learners) cooperated with
the less experienced ones, supporting one another through the L1 as a tool for scaffolding and metacognition.

3. Methodology

The study aimed to determine the degree of certainty of the following assumptions:

- The use of L1 strategies can be transferred to learn a L2.
- The linguistic capital acquired in L1 helps regulate learning and enables learners to use a wide range of mechanisms to assimilate and put the L2 knowledge into practice.
- The learning community (community of practice) encourages the development of collaboratively learning of an L2.

To verify these assumptions, the study set out to identify the role of L1 learning strategies in order to facilitate the use of an L2 at a beginner level (A1), using Chamot’s (2004) model as a starting point. The study followed a case study methodology framed within the model of practitioner research (Menter, Elliot, Hulme, Lewin, & Lowden, 2011). This variant is characterized by a participatory nature and professional praxis. By professional praxis, we understand the use of reflective practice (Schön, 1987) in an attempt to develop and enhance teachers’ professional competences (Freire, 1970; Allwright, 2005). The project followed an interpretive approach as the aim was to understand the learners’ ideas and beliefs about the role of their L1 when learning English rather than quantifying instances of use of the L1 in the classroom. Had the latter approach been used in this study, a wider set of data collected over a much longer time frame would have been necessary to obtain statistically reliable results. Additionally, a completely different design should have been necessary to employ altogether. However, the purposes of the current project, as previously explained, its small-scale nature, and the context where it took place, justify the use of an interpretive approach. The participants were chosen randomly using a probabilistic sample consisting of 32 individuals who shared the same features in terms of age (over 21 years old), purposes for studying English (as a foreign language), and prior experiences with it (limited exposure).

Information was collected using the following techniques:
(a) Students’ portfolio of activities. The learners indicated samples of their work where they used the L1 to complete tasks thus allowing the identification of strategies and skills in L2 that emerged through the mediation of L1.
(b) Participant observations of group tasks or pair work. These random opportunistic observations focused on the use of L1 to identify when and how this was used and assess impact on L2 learning. In total 32 observations were recorded on paper and notes were made under three headings: description of task(s) – students’ responses – interpretation.
(c) Semi-structured group interviews. There were three sets of interviews taking place at the beginning and one at the end of the course with another one occurring at the end of the mid-term. The aim of the interview was to prompt students’ thinking about the use of the L1 with to establish the extent to which the latter contributed or hindered L2 learning.

Given that the focus of this project was on collaborative learning in the context of a community of practice, all the learning tasks required the students to interact in pairs or in small groups to complete activities designed to develop productive skills (i.e., speaking and writing), with listening and reading being used in an ancillary manner. It is important to indicate that the students were encouraged to use English all the time; however, when they found communicative barriers, they used compensatory strategies not to break a message. Such a use of compensatory strategies mediated by L1 allowed students to negotiate meanings with other peers in the way explained below:

Situation: talking about future intentions using “going to + verb”

Aman: I’m going to market buy apples (.) [kall, kall]

Omesh: [kall nu] day after today (…) tomorrow

Aman: yes tomorrow I’m going to market and buy apples

In this situation the learners are talking about plans for the future using simple structures and vocabulary. Aman stops mid-sentence as he needs to use the adverbial item tomorrow, which he cannot remember. Attempting to overcome the gap, he uses body language to convey the meaning and utters an equivalent expression in his mother tongue. These clues are picked up by Omesh, who interprets the message in L1 as “the day after today,” and supplies Aman with the lexical item he needs to finish off his sentence (i.e., tomorrow). Immediately, Aman recovers the information and incorporates the word into his utterance to complete the meaning, and, despite grammatical inaccuracies, Aman successfully communicates his intention. Since the purpose of the task was to develop fluency rather than accuracy, the mistakes were reviewed at a later stage, including delayed feedback, to avoid interrupting the learner whilst he was communicating his ideas. The exchange illustrates the use of compensatory strategies and the L1 for the negotiation of meaning between peers as a form of scaffolding, allowing learners an opportunity to become engaged in thinking together about the target language to monitor production. Although some skeptics may argue that the above example shows nothing but an instance of one learner using direct translation, it is only when an exploration of the mental processes involved in the minds of the two learners is carried out that it is possible to understand the intertwined processes of shared cognition that characterize the exchange in the example.
4. Findings and Discussion

In principle, the learners were asked to indicate each time they employed the L1 in their portfolios. This served the identification of the type of learning instances where the mother tongue provided learners with some assistance and support for the development of English. Understandably, all the portfolios showed that the number of instances of L1 use was far greater at the beginning of the course, where learners tended to transliterate pronunciation or make annotations in L1 in almost all the learning tasks. However, the number of occurrences of L1 varied significantly towards the end of the course with a few instances where no L1 use was recorded at all; nonetheless, these cases were isolated and, as such, were not representative of the whole group. Notwithstanding, all the instances of L1, as illustrated in Table 1, were linked to the following practices:

(a) Checking instructions by underlining key words
(b) Highlighting key vocabulary and structures by making lists
(c) Identifying cognates and semi-cognates
(d) Identifying examples of L2 to model production
(e) Anticipating vocabulary according to topics
(f) Using the L1 for cues and organization of information
(g) Understanding complex grammar information

These occurrences did not take place in isolation, but most of the time they were closely interlinked and, for instance, occurred in this fashion: checking instructions by underlining key words to understand complex grammar information or anticipating key vocabulary by identifying cognates and semi-cognates. Using Oxford’s (2011) taxonomy of language learning strategies, the occurrences identified in the students’ portfolios correspond to the cognitive and memory categories, respectively. Cognitive strategies are skills that involve the manipulation or direct transformation of the language by mechanisms such as reasoning, analysis, note taking, and the functional practice of the L2 in natural environments as well as the formal practice of structures and sounds (Oxford, 2011). Memory strategies, on the other hand, are techniques designed to aid the learners to store new information so that they can retrieve it easily at a later stage. It is not surprising, therefore, to acknowledge that an active combination of these two types of language learning strategies contributed to increase the learners’ cognitive demands to which they responded by employing the L1 to bridge gaps, link experiences and prior knowledge, and hypothesize and predict lexicogrammatical features and uses of the L2. From this evidence, it was plausible to infer that the use of the L1 activated prior linguistic knowledge, predisposed learners to become more receptive of the L2 input and encouraged them to experiment more actively with English using the parameters of L1, thus increasing fluency. Although this latter was achieved at the expense of accuracy, it is important to acknowledge that active experimentation naturally involves making
mistakes; however, in the context of this study, these were not seen as negative occurrences; on the contrary, they determined the “hidden curriculum” (Auerbach & Burgess, 1985) of the course.

The observations followed an unstructured approach and were carried out at different moments of lessons to record how the learners engaged with language tasks in English. These instances were thought of as opportunities to understand when and how the L1 was used and determine the extent to which this facilitated or affected L2 output. The observation focused on random exchanges between two and five minutes long and were analysed according to the language learning strategies employed by the learners following Oxford’s (2011) taxonomy. Whilst I do not speak any of the mother tongues of the learners to be able to understand what they were talking whilst I was observing their language behaviors, the aim of the observations was simply to see what the students were doing with their L1 without passing any judgement on the observed phenomena. To illustrate this point, I recall a project where learners had to work in small groups to practice the function of making suggestions. The brief was to plan a holiday package within an allocated budget that included a variety of recreational activities. The learners, once they had agreed on a way forward, were to pitch their plans to another group of peers using the structures and vocabulary familiar to them. The criteria to choose the best package included affordability, variety of activities, and clarity of the presentation. This is exemplified in Table 1 below where letters in brackets (in bold) have been used to exemplify different strategies.

Table 1
Observation example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of task(s)</th>
<th>Student response(s)</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Project: Planning and selling a holiday package.</td>
<td>...about 8 minutes into the task. A group of three students are brainstorming ideas in L1 (a). One of them is writing down words in English on a piece of paper. Learners are using ‘how much...?’ and ‘how many...?’; I can hear one of them using ‘how long...?’. As they search the Internet, they write sentences which they (b).</td>
<td>The learners have already discussed the task and have allocated roles (one of them is the scribe, the other one surfs the Internet and the last one holds a coursebook which he uses to seek key words). They are in the process of identifying key words and structures to draft the script for their presentation. While one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plan a holiday package within an allocated budget that includes a variety of recreational activities.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
By looking closely at the interpretation of the event, it is possible to see that, in this particular case, the L1 was used to:

(a) Make sense of the task and establish a plan of action.
(b) Negotiate strategies to complete the task efficiently.
(c) Suggest, accept or reject others’ ideas.
(d) Monitor and adjust progress through peer feedback.
(e) Keep everyone engaged and on task.

In the above example, it is also possible to notice the use of a combination of language learning strategies, such as:

- Brainstorming – cognitive strategy
- Using ‘how much...? How many...? How long...? – memory strategy
- Reading out sentences – communication strategy
- Redrafting script; providing and receiving feedback – metacognitive strategy
- Working in a small group – social and affective strategies

Notably, most of the strategies in the observations corresponded to the categories of cognition and memory followed by compensatory, communicative, and metacognitive strategies, in this order. From this analysis, it seems reasonable to speculate that the role of the L1 in group work enabled learners to mentally organize a task whilst encouraging role distribution, engagement, and constant monitoring of progress. These are enabling conditions as they pave the way for L2 learning to take place, creating a positive environment and generating affordances for learning whilst predisposing learners to become more receptive and actively engaged.

Finally, following 18 hours of recorded interviews gathered at three different points during the course involving nine randomly-chosen learners, a considerable
amount of information was produced. The interviews, which are available online\(^1\), were transcribed using the same categories corresponding to language learning strategies applied in the analysis of the observations according to Oxford (2011). The analysis is illustrated in the excerpt below where learner C recounts her experiences of using Urdu, her mother tongue, when learning English (lines are numbered for reference):

1. If I use Urdu when I am studying English, I can understand more because in my mind I can make
2. links between English and words in Urdu. I don’t translate every single word from Urdu to English,
3. but I know key words, and this is all I need to understand a message or to say something. If I have
4. to speak in English all the time, I feel mentally tired and after 20 minutes or so my brain cannot
5. cope with too much information in English and I lose my concentration. However, by alternating
6. between English and Urdu I can focus for a much longer time and when I leave the classroom, I feel
7. that I have achieved something: I have learned new words or new ways of saying something.
8. Besides, it is good to work with my peers who also speak Urdu because we can help each other, and
9. we are not afraid of mistakes because we can correct ourselves and also learn one from the other.

(Learner C, 04/03, 0:01)

The interviews provided an opportunity to contrast the findings emerging from the analysis of the portfolios and the observations against those coming from the inquiry of the learners’ beliefs and opinions as told in the interviews. Whilst the portfolios and the observations pointed towards a considerable use of cognitive and memory strategies followed by compensatory, communicative, and metacognitive ones, the evidence collected in the interviews suggested that the use of L1 did not follow suit. For example, in the above excerpt, Learner C indicates that the use of English alone results in cognitive overload (lines 4 and 5) which limits her amount of learning and receptiveness. This is the only indication of the use of cognitive or memory strategies; however, the use of words such as *understand*, *concentration*,

\(^1\) A copy of the Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL) can be found at https://richarddpetty.files.wordpress.com/2010/03/sill-english.pdf
achieve, peers, and help, amongst similar others, refer to metacognitive, social, and affective strategies, which Oxford (2004) calls “indirect.” According to Oxford (2004), metacognitive strategies are behaviors used to reinforce, organize and evaluate learning; they go beyond the cognitive domain and are used to develop an executive control of the learning process. The affective strategies, in turn, are techniques such as self-reinforcement and internal dialogue that help learners better control their emotions, attitudes, and motivations whereas social strategies are actions that involve other people in the learning experience. Cooperating with peers is an example of a social strategy.

Having applied a word frequency analysis to the transcriptions of all the interviews, it was possible to identify that the main concepts that featured more frequently were focus, closely followed by able and learn. A summary of the key concepts is provided in Figure 1. The results in the figure are displayed in terms of the relationship between the size of the font denoting a concept and its place in the figure: the more often a concept is mentioned, the bigger the font in the center position. The results emerging from the number of times the above concepts featured in the transcripts indicated that the use of the L1 enabled learners to maintain their focus during the learning experience.

![Figure 1: Frequency analysis results of interview transcriptions](image)

By focus, we can understand “interest,” “engagement,” “active involvement,” and “participation,” amongst other synonyms used by the learners in the interviews. It can be argued, therefore, that the focus enabled students (“[be] able”) to learn
English by establishing “links” with their mother tongue and develop “speaking” skills, which allowed them to “achieve” their learning goals successfully. These views are framed with an understanding of the regulatory role of the affective strategies that appeared to have contributed to balance the cognitive overload experienced by some individual learners, as signposted by learner C in the excerpt above. Whilst this is one possible interpretation out of many, some further inquiry is necessary to determine with greater accuracy the extent of the influence of the L1 in the development and use of indirect language learning strategies to sustain focus in L2. Nonetheless, the findings of this study suggest that the use of the L1:

- helped learners to identify and distinguish a range of strategies in L1 which were used as scaffolding tools to learn an L2;
- allowed learners to develop a greater awareness of the mechanisms involved in L2 learning. As such, it was possible to notice the development of individual and collective metacognition enabling a reflection on their own performance in L2;
- facilitated the linguistic and meta-linguistic reflection through exploratory talk. The learners showed instances of use of the grammatical and pragmatic competences when analyzing and producing contents in L2 using their innate knowledge of their mother tongue/s;
- created opportunities to develop and sustain peer learning through collaboration whereby the learners negotiated such opportunities by receiving and providing feedback to one another;
- promoted the development and use of indirect language learning strategies enabling the learners to identify potential linguistic barriers of different sorts, whilst equipping them with a series of mechanisms to overcome them. These indirect strategies generated positive attitudes toward learning and allowed the learners to regulate learning stress and anxiety.

5. Conclusions

The main purpose of this study was to ascertain whether the use of the L1 facilitated or hindered the development of communicative skills in English in a group of adult learners who shared a common mother tongue or, in some cases, more than one. We set out to explore the following postulates: (a) the use of the L1 strategies can be transferred to learn an L2; (b) the linguistic capital acquired in L1 helps regulate learning and enables learners to use a wide range of mechanisms to assimilate and put the L2 knowledge into practice, and (c) the learning community encourages the development of collaborative learning of an L2. The results emerging from the data analysis provided some interesting insights into the role of the L1 when learning English. Having reviewed those results, it is pertinent to say that the L1 was used as a language learning strategy which enabled learners to activate schemata allowing them to link learning situations in English with previous linguistic experiences in L1. Similarly, the examples discussed in this paper show that L1 use allowed the learners to develop a greater awareness of the mechanisms involved in the learning process.
This is, perhaps, the most salient feature of the L1 as it was clear that its use prompted both individual and collective reflection on performance through the constant monitoring of L2 output. Therefore, the use of the L1 became a tool to encourage metacognition and generated opportunities to develop and sustain peer learning through collaboration, scaffolding, and peer feedback. In this respect, the learners were actively engaged in interaction, using exploratory discussion to negotiate language use and skills. Additionally, the L1 promoted the development and use of indirect language learning strategies that helped remove learning barriers by encouraging positive attitudes to overcome stress, insecurities and anxiety. Whilst one of the criticisms to the use of L1 is the tendency to depend on translation, this was not seen as a distinctive feature in the study, and when this was deemed necessary, a communicative approach was followed thus encouraging shared cognition.

Since the scope of this study was limited to one teaching group, the outcomes cannot be generalized; however, it is hoped that the results reported here will motivate instructors to reconsider their views on the use of the L1 as when this is judiciously allowed in the classroom, the conditions for L2 learning tend to improve.

References


