# Mother Tongue as an Interactional Mediation in Nepalese ELT Classes: A Phenomenological Study

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# **Abstract**

In this paper, I explore the use of mother tongue (MT) as an interactional mediation in the Nepalese community school English language teaching (ELT) classes within the framework of the lived experiences of the teachers and their Grade 9 students. For this, I observed the classes, collected written lived-experience descriptions (LEDs) from the teachers, and took phenomenological interviews with the teachers (N = 3) and students (N = 5). I analyzed the data thematically using ATLAS.ti 9 from the perspective of the interactional mediational aspect of the sociocultural theory of the second language (L2) learning, which postulates that the mother tongue can have the function of interactional mediator in learning an L2. The study finds the participants have lived the experience of using the MT for its interactional functions. The conclusion is that the interactional function of MT in ELT classrooms cannot be ignored in the context same or similar to the researched one which is characterized by the less interactive students hesitant at speaking in English, and the same MT shared by both the teachers and students.

**Key words:** Lived experience, interactional function, use of mother tongue, phenomenology, ELT class

Received: 15 october, 2022 Revision Accepted: 26 november, 2022 Published: 12 December, 2022

# Introduction

The teachers and students have been using more or less MT in L2 classes with special reference to ELT in various contexts around the world despite the mainstream monolingual language teaching policy (Karaagac, 2014). MT has been conceived in some ways. It can be defined, for example, as the "first language which is acquired at home" (Richards & Schmidt, 2010, p. 377) or as "a native language, home language, first language (L1), primary language, and heritage language" (Ohyama, 2017, p. 7). However, in this study, I have regarded this term as the language that people speak most commonly and/or comfortably in their everyday interactions at home (Nordquist, 2017). Following this perspective of the term, the use of the MT in TL classes in the researched context happened to be the use of Nepali.

There are several arguments and empirical findings on such bi- or multi-lingual practices in ELT classes in various contexts for various reasons. Lantolf (2000), for example, argues that the

instructional conversations between students and teachers rather than purely instructional teacher talk mediate learning. The use of the MT (i.e., Nepali) can be one of the measures for making the instruction conversational, especially for students who are weak and hesitant at speaking in English. In addition, Swain and Lapkin (2000) maintain that collaborative dialogue in L1 or L2 mediates second language learning. Similarly, for Cummins et al. (2005), the use of the MT in L2 classes is a means for active engagement in learning.

Tian and Wang's (2009) study shows that switching the code into the students' MT is "a discourse strategy that teachers use for promoting classroom interaction and ensuring efficient classroom management" (p. 719). Similarly, Neokleous (2016) found that learners naturally used their MT for a wide variety of purposes including asking and answering questions. Kano (2012), Nambisan (2014), Wang (2016), Physik (2018), and Anderson (2022) also endorse the multilingual practices that involve the use of the MT, prioritizing learners' engagement in classroom discourse and activities over maximal target language use in ELT classes.

All the above arguments and findings regarding the use of the MT deal with its interactional mediation for learning the TL. Nonetheless, none of the above-reviewed studies has treated the use of MT for its interactional mediation for learning the TL in much detail. Furthermore, there are relatively few studies that dealt with the phenomenon within the "lifeworld" (Vagle, 2018) of the concerned teachers and students. Likewise, little research can be found that considered the phenomenon from the perspective of the theory that 'the use of the MT can have interactional mediation in the TL classes'—one of the constructs of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory of L2 learning. This study is a step to fulfill this gap in the literature.

The essence of Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory of learning is that human learning is always mediated by social interaction, and social interaction mediates learning if it occurs within the learner's zone of proximal development (ZPD). Therefore, this theory incorporates three main constructs— "social interaction" (Fahim & Haghani, 2012), "mediation" (Lantolf, 2000; Wu, 2018), and "ZPD" (Lantolf & Aljaafreh, 1995; Wu, 2018)—interrelated to each other. Mediation further incorporates the sub-constructs—cognitive, affective, and interactional mediations (Wu, 2018). This research study looks at the participants' lived experiences with the use of the MT only through the lens of its interactional mediation in learning the TL. To put it in another way, this study pursues the information in the selected participants' lived experiences only for the interactional functions of the MT. Therefore, the specific theory adopted in this study is that the use of the MT along with English mediates the students' learning of the TL by making the instruction more conversational than with the English-only instruction.

Accordingly, how the Nepalese teachers of English and their Grade 9 students experience and make meaning of their use of the MT in ELT classes regarding its interactional mediation for learning English has been the research problem. Consequently, the key research question was: How can the

use of MT (here, Nepali) serve the function of an interactional mediator for learning the TL (here, English) in the lifeworld of the teachers and students?

The findings of this study are expected to inform language policy making, curriculum designing, textbook writing, and deciding the nature of the TL teaching and learning activities, thereby rendering the study significant to the concerned people working in a context similar to the researched one at various levels of TL education.

# Methodology

To solve the specified research problem, I have adopted Heidegger's hermeneutic phenomenology, in which the researcher's world is not bracketed but fully engaged in the study since the phenomenon is considered to be "lived out interpretively in the world" (Vagle, 2018, p. 9) as opposed to Husserlian classical phenomenology in which the world outside the phenomenon is bracketed to carefully describe the structures of the phenomenon as experienced in the consciousness. There are three key constructs of Heidegger's hermeneutic phenomenology that counter the Husserlian concept of bracketing in his classical phenomenology. They are "dasein", "fore-sight/fore-conception" and "hermeneutic circle" (Peoples, 2021).

Dasein is a German term that means 'there (da) being (sein)' (Schmidt, 2006), or in English syntax "being there" (Peoples, 2021, p. 76). In research, it is the being of the researcher and the participants. Fore-conception (also called foresight) refers to the researcher's "pre-understandings" (Clarke, 2009) or "presuppositions" (Cerbone, 2006, p. 17; Chan et al., 2020, p. 6; Gander, 2017, p. xvi), or "preconceived knowledge" (Peoples, 2021, p. 76) or ideas about the phenomenon to be studied. The hermeneutic circle refers to the revisionary process of interpretation in which the researcher continually moves back and forth "between smaller and larger units of meaning to determine the meaning of both" (Gijsbers, 2017, 7:44).

The implication of these three constructs in the present study is that the analysis of the data has been influenced by the world of the participants and mine, and the ultimate findings are the result of the revisionary processes—that is, my preconception on the use of MT in ELT classes for its interactional bridging had been revised each time I came across new information from the participants, and my concluding understanding and interpretation of the use of the MT for the purpose is not the ultimate one, and therefore cannot be generalized in the context other than the same or similar to the researched one.

The methodology in detail has been discussed below in terms of research participants, research tools, data collection methods and procedure, and the data analysis procedure.

# **Research Participants**

The research participants were three experienced, qualified, and trained community school English teachers (cryptonyms as T1, T2, and T3 from the corresponding school's cryptonyms as Sc1, Sc2, and Sc3) and their Grade 9 students who had lived the experience of using Nepali, their common MT, for its interactional function in ELT classes, and could "provide a thorough and rich description of the phenomenon" (Vagle, 2018, p. 147) under study in a friendly and open manner.

The demographic details of the teacher participants are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic Profile of the Teacher Interviewees

TP	Gender	Age	Education	Training	Teaching experience
T1	Female	48	MEd (English)	TMTT	26 years
T2	Male	54	MA, BEd (English), BL	TMTT, TOT, TPD	30 years
Т3	Male	49	MEd (English)	TPD, TOT	25 years

Note: TP = Teacher Participant; TPD = Teacher Professional Development; TOT = Training of Trainer; TMTT = Ten Months Teacher Training; All the training is in-service.

Among the Grade 9 students of the selected school, I purposively selected only five students (S1 from Sc1, S2 and S3 from Sc2, and S4 and S5 from Sc3) for the interview. The age of the student interviewees ranged from 16 to 17, having Nepali as the common MT with three different L1s (Bajurali, Tamang, and Nepali).

#### **Research Tools**

The research tools included a diary, class observation guidelines, invitations for the LED, and interview guidelines.

# **Data Collection Methods**

I collected the required information through classroom observation, the LED (from the teachers), and "phenomenological interview" (Bevan, 2014) with the teachers as well as the students.

# **Data Collection Procedure**

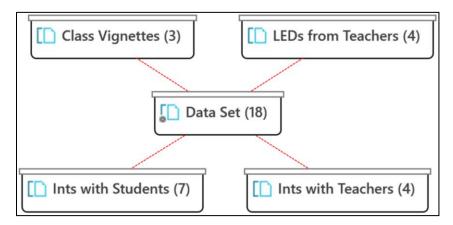
I consulted the selected school head teachers and English teachers, told them the purpose of my visit, and took oral informed consent from them to involve the English teachers and their Grade 9 students as the participants in my research study. With the help of corresponding teacher participants, I also visited the students and took consent from them as well. I observed and audio-recorded altogether 7 (3+3+4) Grade 9 ELT classes. I requested the teacher participants via emails and telephone calls for

their LEDs of using MT for its interactional mediation. I got altogether four (2 + 1 + 1) LEDs from them. I took altogether four (2 + 0 + 2) interviews with the teacher participants to elicit their further lived experiences of the phenomenon and their sense-making of the experiences. Besides, I took altogether seven interviews with the student participants.

# **Data Analysis Procedure**

I analyzed the data by creating themes using ATLAS. ti 9—a computer-aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). Specifically speaking, first, I prepared 18 written text documents (3 from class observation, 4 from the teachers' LED, 4 from interviews with teachers, and 7 from interviews with students) by transcribing and/or translating, and in some cases only refining the field data. Therefore, the "data set" to be analyzed consisted of 18 documents. Second, I grouped the documents based on the way I collected the data for ease of navigating the documents for further analysis (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Document Groups



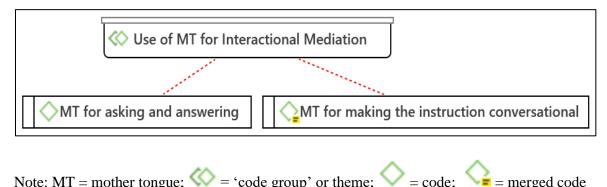
Note: Int = interview; LED = lived-experience description;  $\square$  =smart document group;  $\square$  = document group; the numbers in the parentheses indicate the number of documents in the group

Third, I coded the documents using the software by way of initial coding, recoding, splitting, merging, and renaming, and finalized the coding after several revisions following the principle of the hermeneutic circle. That is to say, I analyzed and synthesized the information repeatedly to develop new meanings or interpretations of the whole and the parts of the information every time until I arrived at the final understanding and interpretation of the lived experiences of the participants on the phenomenon under study. Fourth, I created a code report with comments and supporting quotations from ATLAS. ti project. Finally (i.e., in the fifth step), I wrote the report of the analysis utilizing a code report.

#### Results

The participants of this study were found to have lived the experience of using Nepali for stimulating interaction between the teacher and students, and among students as well, which ultimately mediates learning the TL (here, English). The "global" theme of the interactional mediation of the MT has been analyzed into its use by the participants to ask and answer questions, share problems, and exchange ideas when the English-only practice was less interactive due to cognitive difficulty on the part of the students. Therefore, the overall network of the use of the MT for its interactional mediation can be shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Codes Supporting the Global Themes



**Use of the MT for Asking and Answering** 

The participants reported their experience that they used the MT while asking and answering questions in ELT classes. In the following classroom exchanges, the students ask questions and the teachers reply them using Nepali:

- T1: Why does the company send some of their surveyors . . .
- S: /tjo bhaneko ke ho/ ['what does that mean'] miss?
- T1: Company /le kinə/ surveyors /lai/ far western part of Nepal /ma p↔thajo/? //tjəhi chə tə, pədhə tə/ (referring to the text)

#### (Class vignette 1)

- S: Sir, bitterly /bhaneko/ sweet /ho/? ['does bitterly means sweet?']
- T3: Sweet? No sweet, bitterly /bhaneko tito sãga/

# (Class vignette 2)

- T3: Transcription . . . (Explains in English) /ke gərne buz<sup>h</sup>jeu/? ['do you understand, what to do?']
- Ss: /buzhenə/ sir ['(we) do not understand sir']

S: /bhetienə bhəne ke gərne/ ['what to do if not found?']

# (Class vignette 3)

The students also reported their experience of using MT for asking and answering questions. S2, for example, stated that they (i.e., the students) mostly used Nepali "when asking questions" (S2 Int 1). He further argued that "those who are poor in English do not ask questions in English" (S2 Int 1). S3 shared her experience that they "ask in both English and Nepali" (S3 Int 1). Similarly, S5 reveals a unique sense of using MT in asking and answering questions to teachers when he says, "When asking questions to the teacher, and when I wouldn't be able to answer his questions in English, I would use Nepali; after that, he would teach us how to say the answer in English" (S5 Int 1).

The teacher participants also stated that the students use Nepali while asking and answering questions. T3, in this context, remarks that the students "use Nepali when answering the question", but he asks "them to answer in Nepali when asked in Nepali and English when asked in English" (T3 Int 1).

All this about the students' use of MT to ask and answer questions so that the class could be more interactive is not new to my experience in both my learning and teaching career, and perhaps, not strange to any ELT teacher or student.

# Use of the MT for making the instruction conversational

Similarly, the teachers seemed to create an environment for using or allowing students to use MT whenever the students tended to be silent due to English-only instruction as in the following class vignettes:

- T1: Debate is a discussion about a topic . . . (gives example). Knowledge is greater than power. We should be satisfied [with] what we have, this is for the motion. Against the motion, what can be there?
- Ss: (silence)
- T1: Do you know? Can you tell me?
- Ss: (silence)
- T1: Against the motion /ke hunə səkc<sup>h</sup>ə/? /jəsko bipəjəma ke hunə səkc<sup>h</sup>ə/? ['what can be against this (the motion)?']
- Ss: We should not ...
- T1: We should not be satisfied [with] what we have.

# (Class vignette 4)

T2: Has anybody written supporting progress?

S: (silence)

T2: Progress /cainchə bhənerə kəsətle lekhnu bhachə/? ['has anybody written supporting progress?']

S:  $\frac{c^h o}{[\text{'yes'}]}$ .

# (Class Vignette 5)

S1 stated his experience that they (the students) would speak English with their teacher, but when it was difficult for them to speak English, they spoke Nepali (S1 Int 1). He meant that they used the MT whenever they were confronted with some sort of difficulty to continue the discourse in English. The student (i.e., S1) argues that the English teacher understands both English and Nepali, "therefore according to the level and habit of the students, they can talk to her either in Nepali or in English" (S1 Int 2). He confesses that he does not know much English, so he mostly asks questions and speaks Nepali. He argued that at least he spoke Nepali to learn English. This reveals his idea that we can use whatever languages we know as resources to mediate interaction which, in turn, mediates the learning of a new language (here, English).

S3 also has a similar position regarding the use of MT to avoid silence in ELT classes. She thinks that "Nepali should also be used" since some students remain silent even when the teacher says, 'Do you understand' because of the lack of understanding (S3 Int 1). This indicates that the students are so weak in English or at least hesitant at speaking English, and therefore the teachers use and allow the students to use the MT so that the students do not keep quiet.

The system of restricting the MT in ELT classes does not feel good to the students. "The students do not know how to speak English, and on top of that, they could not say what they want to say" (S4 Int 1) if the students' MT is restricted in ELT classes. The students could easily interact with the teacher in the MT and could gradually increase the amount of English if their classroom discourse could be scaffolded by the use of the MT. In this context, S5 expressed that he knows little English; and argues that there is no reason why he "shouldn't speak Nepali in such a situation" (S5 Int 1).

The teacher participants also have experiences that the use of the MT makes the students smart and interactive. T2 argues that "if their languages are used, students will be a little smarter and more active in interaction" (T2 Int 1). T1, in her LED, has written that when she illustrated the poem in English without using Nepali words, approximately 75% of the students didn't engage in the discussion (T1 LED 1). She has also written that "After communicating using the Nepali language, they felt comfortable and they were able to express their opinions freely and easily" (T1 LED 1).

T2 shared a story with me which, as reported, he tells to his students in Nepali in ELT classes to encourage them to listen to and respond because, as he argues, "some students do not listen to what is said in English" (T2 Int 1). His story goes like this:

Here is the story of two frogs. The two little frogs fell into a pit while playing. An army of frogs came there and told the two small frogs that they were as good as dead. Both the small frogs tried to jump up out of the pit with all their might ignoring the comments of the other frogs. Finally, one of them gave up trying. He fell and died. The other frog continued to jump as hard as he could. Once again, the army of frogs yelled at him that it was futile to put in effort but to die. He jumped even harder and finally succeeded to come out of the pit. When he got out, the other frogs said, "Did you not hear us?" The frog explained to them that he was deaf. He thought they were encouraging him to come out of the pit the entire time. Our students are not deaf to the ear, but mentally deaf when it comes to expressing themselves in English. (T2 Int 1)

T2 emphasizes making the students "understand and interact either by explaining in Nepali or in any other way round" (T2 Int 1). He also added in an interaction that he tells "jokes [using Nepali] to encourage tacitum students to speak" (T2 Int 1). In addition, he remarked that "if Nepali is not allowed, the class becomes silent" in a community school though he encouraged the students "to speak English all the time by asking them to try speaking English . . . " (T2 Int 1).

T2 has an experience where if the students are not allowed to speak Nepali, they do not speak at all (T2 Int 1). He put forward a logical argument that "if Nepali is not allowed, there will be no interaction; then, how to understand their problem without interaction" (T2 Int 1) and give necessary feedback. The teacher has also experienced the value of giving instruction for classroom activities and asking questions in the MT for enhancing interaction:

Even when doing pair work and group work, some students wait for instructions in Nepali. They ignore English instructions. Similarly, I have found an environment in which there is more chance of interaction when questions are asked in Nepali rather than in English when teaching reading comprehension. (T2 LED 1)

T3 also has experiences similar to that of T1 and T2. In an interaction with him, the teacher said, "When I go for English to English, avoiding interaction [in Nepali], students go silent" (T3 Int 2). He focuses on the value of using the MT in encouraging the students to speak when he puts in his LED, "I haven't found so many advantages of using Nepali by the students in ELT classes except that they would be encouraged to speak and express their feelings" (T3 LED 1) while using or allowing them to use Nepali in ELT classes.

All the above experiences of using the MT for interactional mediation in the lifeworld of Grade 9 ELT teachers and students are not new and surprising to me since I have lived through similar experiences. I have to use Nepali and also allow its use by my students to make them speak. For

instance, I sometimes have to encourage the students at least to speak by using Nepali, such as, /kehi tə bolnus nə ho/ 'say at least something', /nepaliməI bhannus nə/ 'say in Nepali', and so on.

Concerning the overall mediational use of the MT in ELT classes, I have experiences similar to that of the participants. I remember that my teachers and I as students using MT, and Nepali when we had a hard time understanding things in English. I, as a teacher, have many examples of using and allowing the students to use the MT when I found the English-only instruction unintelligible to the students, and when they seemed to be unmotivated and passive in teaching-learning activities.

#### Discussion

The findings of this study seem to corroborate several extant literatures. The interactional mediation of the MT, for example, complies with the argument that any language intelligible to its users mediates social interaction, and social interaction mediates human learning (Fahim & Haghani, 2012; Lantolf, 2011). The findings are also informed by Lantolf's (2000) idea that the instructional conversations between students and teachers rather than purely instructional teacher talk mediate learning. It is because the teacher's instruction can be made conversational between students and teacher by giving students some prompts in simple English or the MT so that the prompts could be intelligible to the students leading to getting the things done.

In addition, even Swain and Lapkin's (2000) argument that collaborative dialogue in L1 or L2 mediates second language learning, and Cummins et al.'s (2005) idea of using L1 as a means for active engagement in learning an L2 in classes indicate the authors' position for the use of the MT for interactional mediation. Similarly, Qian, Tian, and Wang's (2009) conclusion based on their research findings that switching the code into L1 is "a discourse strategy that teachers use for promoting classroom interaction and ensuring efficient classroom management" (p. 719) informs the interactional mediation of the MT.

Similarly, Neokleous' (2016) finding that learners naturally used L1 for a wide variety of purposes including asking and answering questions resembles the specific research finding of the present study that the participants have lived the experience of using the MT by students for asking and answering. The overall findings of the study go in consonance with Kano (2012), Nambisan (2014), Wang (2016), Phyak (2018), and Anderson's (2022) recommendation for multilingual practices prioritizing learners' engagement in classroom discourse and activities over maximal target language use in ELT classes.

# **Conclusion**

On the finding that the teachers have lived the experience of using the MT for its interactional mediation since the English-only instruction cannot be conversational due to students' poor cognitive skill and hesitance at speaking in English, and with the discussion of this finding with the extant literature, it can be argued that the use of the MT for making the students interactive among themselves and with the teacher and the content, is expediential with the caution that too much use of the MT may also reduce the exposure to English, thereby reducing the students' opportunity to learn

English. Therefore, it is the teachers' task to identify the circumstances in which the students find it hard to interact with the English-only use and to decide how much of the MT is appropriate to make the classroom interactive and alive without reducing the amount of English exposure to the students.

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